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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

THE Right Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari, Nawab Hydar Nawaz Jung Bahadur, has ceased his connection with the *Islamic Culture* as Chairman of its Managing Board ; and the Honourable Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur has taken over charge of the function.

It is in the appropriateness of things that the Management of the *Islamic Culture* should place it on record the willing and enthusiastic services the Right Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari has rendered to the cause and the objects which the *Islamic Culture* has endeavoured to represent. The services are too many to recapitulate.

The Honourable Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur has undertaken to guide hereafter the course of the *Islamic Culture*. No better hand could have been secured for us to steer the helm. He comes of the learned stock which in the course of recent history manifested itself in one of its fruitions—Sayyed Husain Bilgrami—Nawab ‘Imādul Mulk Bahadur. The *Islamic Culture* therefore can rest assured that under the influence of such a representative of that stock, Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, the Journal will grow from strength to strength.

The *Islamic Culture* has secured the co-operation of the Honourable Mr. Sayyed Abdul Aziz and of Mr. Sayyed Mohiuddin. The former is Judicial Minister and the latter is Secretary in the Government of Hyderabad. The Board feels certain that their co-operation will strengthen further the objects of the *Islamic Culture*.

# A SURVEY OF MUSLIM CONTRIBUTION TO SCIENCE AND CULTURE

## INTRODUCTION

MODERN research has established the fact that the human race built up its civilization some six thousand years ago on the banks of the Shatt-al'Arab and the Nile ; whence it spread gradually through various channels all over the world. Knowledge gathered from patient observations, experience and accidental discoveries was disseminated through Chaldia, Babel, Egypt, India and Phœnicia and ultimately reaching Ionia and Greece, found there a most congenial atmosphere to develop and systematise for six or seven centuries before the birth of Jesus Christ.

Greek enterprise in colonization brought the fruits of Hellenic research within the reach of various communities bordering on the Levant. But decentralisation imperceptibly led to deterioration and decay and Greece lost her initiation in the cultivation of Arts, Science and Literature. Alexandria and Syracuse upheld, however, for a time the traditions of Greece, but succumbed eventually to the iron discipline of Rome, which, while it ensured order and administration, failed to encourage originality and scientific investigation.

On the downfall of Rome by the Barbarians chaos and intellectual stagnation once more held sway over the civilized world. The masterpieces of Greek science and culture lay buried in tottering libraries or museums and might possibly have disappeared altogether from the face of the Earth but for the miracle of Arab rise to power and its subsequent patronage of learning.

Islam not only bound the nomadic tribes of Arabia in a common bond of brotherhood, it gave them a Book, the Qur'an which taught them how to lead a life of purity and righteousness. The beauty of its language and the grandeur of its inculcations inspired the desert people to share the blessings of their faith and Shari'at with the rest of mankind.

We are not concerned here with the territorial conquests of the early votaries of Islam. These will be referred to in a cursory manner merely to trace the transmission of Muslim culture and learning to distant countries and nations.

After the subjugation of practically the whole of Arabia during the lifetime of the Prophet, and the conquest of Syria, al-'Irāq, Persia and

Egypt in the days of the four Orthodox Khalifs, the Umayyad regime (of about ninety-seven years) brought the whole of North Africa (with extensions into the Iberian Peninsula), Central Asia right up to the borders of China proper, modern Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Sindh and parts of the Panjab under Muslim sway. Most of these acquisitions occurred during the time of 'Abdul Malik and his son al-Walid, under the generalship of Maslamah, Mūsa ibn Nūṣayr and Muḥammad bin Qāsim al-Thaqafī. Had the Umayyads refrained from petty tribal jealousies and, above all, followed in the footsteps of the Orthodox Khalifs as did 'Omar, II, they would probably have made further conquests and certainly continued much longer in power. As it was, they made bitter enemies amongst both the Arabs and the Persians and were finally crushed by Abu-al-'Abbās al-Saffāh, the champion of the 'Abbāsid cause, in 750, and practically the entire Islamic world passed under the sovereignty of Banī 'Abbās.

The third Khalif 'Uthmān had already put together the various Sūrahs revealed to the Prophet and ensured the unalterability of the text and pronunciation of the Qur'ān. The basic principles of Arabic grammar were framed by the great exponent of Islamic learning, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. During the Umayyad regime Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf introduced at Baṣrah the use of dots to discriminate between letters of different sounds but similar form and of diacritical marks to serve as vowels. Arabic thus systematised and endowed with natural flexibility was ready to assimilate the ideas and expressions of the most fully developed languages of the time, Greek, Sasanid and Sanskrit.

As pointed out by Al-Tha'ālibī (d. 1038) in *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* the real opener of the 'Abbāsid regime was Abu Ja'far al-Manṣūr (754-775), the mid-comer was 'Abdullāh al Māmūn (813-833) and the ' closer ' was al-Wāthiq (842-847), though the dynasty continued till the thirty-seventh and last representative, al-Mustā'ṣim who perished in the sack of Baghdād by Hulagu in 1258. It is not so much for its conquests and military glory that the 'Abbāsid Khilāfat is famous, as for its achievements in peaceful pursuits such as commerce, arts, science and architecture, though the struggle with Byzantium continued intermittently and on one occasion at least brought the victorious 'Abbāsid armies to the very gates of Constantinople, humiliating the Empress Irene (782)<sup>1</sup> and later enforcing a tax on the person of her successor Nicephorus I (806).<sup>2</sup>

### CULTIVATION OF MEDICINE, MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY IN THE 'ABBĀSID REGIME

IT was al-Manṣūr who built Baghdād near the site of old Ctesiphon on the plan submitted by the Persian philosopher Nau Bakht and the

1. Ṭabarī, Vol. III, p. 504.

2. Ibid., pp. 696, 709-10.

astronomer Māshā'allah, a convert to Islam from Judaism. Within fifty years of its planning it rose to be the most important city in the world, rivalling Constantinople itself in the grandeur of its royal mansions, number of public buildings, extent of population and volume of trade and commerce. The glowing accounts of its wealth and splendour preserved for us in the pages of *al-Aghāni* by Abu-al-Faraj 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qurayshī al-Iṣbahānī (897-967) and of *al-Fihrist* by ibn abī-Ya'qūb al-Nadīm al-Warrāq (d. 995) surpass the feeble attempts of the compilers of *Alf Laylah wa Laylah* to portray the brilliance of the court of Hārūn-al-Rashīd.

Al-Manṣūr's illness led to the invitation of the famous Nestorian physician Jurjīs ibn-Bakhtī Yashū' of the medical academy of Jundi Shāpūr to the 'Abbāsid court,<sup>1</sup> an event fraught with most far-reaching effects on the future development of the science and art of medicine. The treatment was successful and the Bakhtī Yashū' family flourished for generations in Baghdād as court physicians,<sup>2</sup> awakening a keen interest in their royal masters to promote the study of the masterpieces of Hippocrates (436 B.C.) and Galen (200 A.D.).

The advent of an Indian mathematician and astronomer to the court of al-Manṣūr in 773 with a copy of *Siddhānta* (Sindhind, a Sanskrit treatise on astronomy) induced that early patron of learning to get the work translated into Arabic. Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī performed the task with the help of competent assistants, and within a few years al-'Irāq gave birth to a number of astronomers who not only mastered all the available knowledge of astronomy but made original contributions to it from time to time, right down to the end of the fourteenth century. Desert life under crystal clear skies had impressed on the Arab mind from time immemorial the majesty of the heavens, shining with countless stars whose configurations they came to know by heart and whose diurnal rotation they utilised to serve as their time-piece. Some of the most eloquent passages in the Qur'ān refer to the grandeur of the stellar world, the regularity of solar and lunar movements among the constellations, the repetition of the phases of the moon and the dazzling brilliance of the restless planets. No wonder that the Arabs and later converts to Islam from other nationalities took so enthusiastically to astronomy and left on it their permanent mark. We shall have occasion to deal with this matter in detail subsequently.

The same Indian mathematician introduced to the Arabs Hindu numerals, their efficient notation and the inestimable importance of Zero (Arabic Sifr). They adopted the methods of Hindu arithmetic unhesitatingly and popularised them all over the world so much that Western Europe until quite recently tacitly believed the Arabs themselves to be the originators of these numerals and their notation.

Among the treasures won from Byzantine cities were Greek manus-

1. *Fihrist*, p. 296.

2. *Qifti*, pp. 134-5.

cripts on geometry, astronomy, medicine and philosophy. Even as early as at the close of the eighth century A.D. we find Abu-Yaḥyā ibn al-Baṭrīq translating for al-Manṣūr the major works of Galen and Hippocrates. Several other works like the Elements of Euclid and the Almagest (Arabic al-Majisṭī) of Ptolemy are stated by Ya'qūbī<sup>1</sup> to have been translated into Arabic at about this time but evidently they had to be revised by abler translators under the patronage of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his son al-Māmūn. For lack of adequate knowledge of Greek these early versions had to be rendered first into Syriac by Syrian scholars and retranslated from that language into Arabic. Syrian Christians therefore played an important part in this intellectual drama. Yūḥanna ibn Māsawayh (d. 857), a pupil of Jibrīl ibn-Bakhtī Yashū' and teacher of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, for instance, translated a number of Greek manuscripts into Arabic.

Iranian astronomy was also assimilated by the Arabs at the time of Hārūn, the translations being done by al-Faḍl ibn Nawbakht (d. 815) who was his chief librarian. But Persia seems to have exerted more influence on Arab literature and fine arts than on science and philosophy. Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 757)<sup>2</sup> a Zoroastrian convert to Islam, translated *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* from Pahlawi (being itself a translation from original Sanskrit). He also wrote a book on ethics and behaviour (*Tahdhīb-al-Akhlāq*) based on Indo-Persian sources. From Arabic, *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* was, in course of time, translated into practically all the languages of the civilized world and exerted a deep influence on the literature and imagination of a number of modern nations, as witness for example, La Fontaine's acknowledging it as a source of his famous Fables. The original Sanskrit work in its complete form is stated to be lost.

After Hārūn al-Rashīd's death when al-Māmūn succeeded to the 'Abbāsid throne (having defeated his elder brother al-Amīn with the support of Tāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn of Khurāsān and his Persian mercenaries) he rebuilt Baghdād and founded his unique Dār-al-Ḥikmah where a galaxy of expert translators and original investigators enriched the Arabic language with the choicest products of Hellenic science and philosophy. Foremost among his staff of translators was the Nestorian Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (809-73), mainly occupied with the translation of Greek works on medicine and philosophy. The scale of remuneration paid to translators in this age of literary supremacy may be gauged from the fact that Ḥunayn and his collaborators when they were in the service of ibn Shākīr received a salary of about £250 per mensem, and when Ḥunayn was appointed Superintendent of al-Māmūn's Literary Academy he received in gold the weight of the books he translated.<sup>3</sup> Al-Mutawakkil also extended his patronage to Ḥunayn and made him his private physician and personal friend.

Al-Māmūn's zeal for scientific research resulted in the measurement

1. Vol. I, pp. 150-151.

2. *Fihrist*, p. 118.

3. Ibn-abī-'Uṣaybī'ah, Vol. I, p. 187.



of a degree of terrestrial latitude from astronomical observations conducted on the plain of Sinjār north of Euphrates and again in the neighbourhood of Palmyra. Dr. George Sarton and Philip al-Khouri Hitti state that the length came out as  $56\frac{2}{3}$  miles, which is really too small. From data supplied in al-Khāzinī's *Mizān-al-Hikmah* I obtain this length as roughly equal to 69 miles (assuming the *dhirā'* to be equal to 1.627 feet nearly, from the footnote to the Arabic text and translation of al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb al-Taḥḥīm* by R. Ramsay Wright, Luzac, 1934, page 120), which is extremely close to the actual figure. I am not aware of any later Muslim attempts after al-Māmūn's time to repeat the geodetic survey and am inclined to conclude that al-Khāzinī's figures based evidently on al-Bīrūnī's calculations are derived ultimately from al-Māmūn's measurements but with a correct estimation of the length of the *dhirā'*. The matter, however, requires further and more careful investigation.

In al-Mutawakkil's time (847-61) the Sabian mathematician Thābit ibn Qurrah and his disciples translated the principal Greek works on geometry and astronomy including the classical treatises of Apollonius of Perga (ca 262) and Archimedes (d. 212).<sup>1</sup> Latterly Thābit won the personal friendship of al-Mu'taḍid who ruled from 892-902. After Thābit his sons Ibrāhīm and Sinān, his grandsons Thābit and Ibrāhīm and great-grandson, Abū al-Faraj (on the authority of Ibn-abī-Uṣaybi'ah and Qiftī) continued the work of translation and compilation, enriching mathematics and astronomy with their original discoveries and observations. Sinān was the first to embrace Islam and died in 943. His son Ibrāhīm was born in 908 or 909 and died at the early age of 37 or 38; but left an immortal name in the annals of mathematics through his quadrature of the parabola, the simplest ever made before the introduction of the integral calculus.<sup>2</sup>

In the foremost rank of mathematicians of all times stands Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (780 Ca 850). He composed the oldest works on arithmetic and algebra, now unfortunately lost in the original Arabic. They were the principal source of mathematical knowledge for centuries to come both in the East and the West. The work on arithmetic first introduced the Hindu numerals to Europe, as the very name *algorism* signifies; and the work on Algebra (*Hisāb al-Jabr wal-Muqābalaḥ*) not only gave the name to this important branch of mathematics in the European world, but contained in addition to the usual analytical solutions of linear and quadratic equations (without of course, the conception of imaginary quantities) graphical solutions of typical quadratic equations. It was revised by Abū-Kāmil Shujā' ibn Aslam in the first half of the tenth century. Al-Khwārizmī's *Zīj* (consisting of astronomical tables) was also very popular and remained standard until revised by Maslamah al-Majrīṭī (of Madrid) in the second half of the tenth century. These tables

1. *Fihrist*, p. 267.

2. George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. I, p. 624.

included values of trigonometrical sine and tangent functions also, as was the fashion among early writers before trigonometry became a definite subject by itself. He prepared also a map of the earth in collaboration with a number of scientists of al-Māmūn's time for his book, *Ṣūrat al-Ard*.

The greatest of Sabian astronomers and one of the most original investigators in Islam, Abū-'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Jābir al-Baṭṭānī (between 877 and 918) was a Muslim scientist well-known to the Latin world as Albategnius. On comparing his own observations with those of Ptolemy he discovered the motion of the Sun's apogee and the variation of the inclination of the Ecliptic. He arrived at a more correct value for precession of the equinoxes ( $54''.5$  per annum) and initiated the use of sines in trigonometrical calculations. It was from a perusal of his dissertation on the apparent motion of the fixed stars that Hevelius discovered the secular variation of the moon.

Before him Abu-al-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-Farghānī, (Latin Alfraganus, ca 840) adorned the Dār-ul-Ḥikmah of al-Māmūn and took part in the measurements for the degree of terrestrial latitude. His book *Ḥarakāt al-Samāwīyah wa Jawāmi' 'ilm al-Nujūm*, in which he follows Ptolemy but substitutes more accurate figures based on local observations, enjoyed (in its Latin version known as the *Scientia Stellarum*) great popularity among European scientists of the Middle Ages. Most of Dante's astronomical data were derived from this book. Al-Farghānī built also a nilometer in Fustaṭ for al-Mutawakkil.<sup>1</sup> Abū-Ma'shar (Latin Albumasar) though better known to Europe as an astrologer was the first to explain the tides as influenced by the moon (a fact unfortunately ignored by Kepler as savouring of astrology).

The Arabs were keen students of medicine. Hārūn al-Rashīd was the first Khalifa to endow a public hospital in Baghdād. The tradition was continued by his successors. Al-Muqtadir appointed Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah to conduct a regular examination of medical practitioners in Baghdād in 931 and over 800 candidates were thus awarded certificates to practise in their profession. Sinān further instituted travelling hospitals and inspected prisons administering appropriate treatment to ailing prisoners.<sup>2</sup> As a result of this activity no less than 34 hospitals were founded in the Muslim world in the course of a few years.

## PATRONAGE AT THE EASTERN PROVINCIAL COURTS

WHEN the power of the 'Abbāsīd Khalifs weakened in the provinces and distant governors began to wield more or less unrestricted authority, scientific inquiry continued unabated under the patronage of the local rulers. It was thus that the short-lived Ṭulūnid dynasty (868-905) acquired

<sup>1</sup> Ibn-abī-Uṣaybī'ah, Vol. I, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 221.

credit for the founding of a bimāristān in Cairo (in 873) during the rule of ibn-Ṭūlūn. This Ṭūlūnid hospital continued to function till the fifteenth century.

One of the most renowned physicians of the entire world Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariya al-Rāzī (Latin Rhazes) was born in 850 at Rai near modern Tehran. He received his early training as a pupil of 'Alī ibn Sahl Rabbān al-Ṭabarī (a Jewish convert to Islam) author of *Firdaus-al-Hikmah* and himself a great investigator not only in medicine but in a number of other sciences. Al-Rāzī's book, *al-Hāwī* (Latin *Continens*) was an encyclopædia of medicine with many extracts from Greek and Hindu authors as well as his own personal observations. While at the court of Maṣṣūr ibn Ishāq, the Sāmānid ruler of Fars and Transoxiana he wrote his *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī* (*Liber Almansoris* a smaller compilation in ten volumes based largely on Greek medicine. He has contributed largely to Muslim knowledge of gynæcology, obstetrics and ophthalmology; but the most outstanding work to his credit is his tract on small-pox and measles (*al-Judārī wa al-Ḥaṣbah*)<sup>1</sup> available in English through William A. Greenhill's translation (London 1848)<sup>1</sup>. It is stated to be one of the most accurate works on these two diseases even from the point of view of modern research. *Liber Almansoris* was published in several editions, one as late as 1890 in Milan.

Al-Rāzī left his mark on surgery also. He was the inventor of the *Seton*. His interest in physics is evident from his investigations on the determination of specific gravity by means of the hydrostatic balance, called by him *Mizān al-Ṭabī'ī*; and his book *Kitāb al-Asrār* displays his keenness on chemistry as well, through his description of chemical processes and apparatus. He went over to Baghdād to take up his duties as chief physician and to select a suitable site for a bimāristān which he did by hanging up raw meat in various localities and chose the spot where it showed least signs of putrefaction. The *Fihrist* credits Rāzī with the authorship of 113 major and 28 minor works.<sup>2</sup>

Here mention must be made of ibn 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī's (died 994) *Kitāb-al-Malikī*. He was known to Latin Europe as Haly 'Abbās and his book as *Liber Regius*, written for the Buwayh Sulṭān 'Aḍud-al-Dawlah and less voluminous than al-Rāzī's *al-Hāwī*. It remained a standard textbook for a number of years until it was superseded by ibn-Sīnā's world-famous *al-Qānūn fī-al-Ṭibb*. 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās was the first to discuss in a rudimentary manner the structure and function of the capillaries and to give the right explanation of childbirth, not as was erroneously imagined for ages, as an effort on the part of the child itself, but as the timely reaction of the muscles of the womb at parturition. Even more illustrious than al-Rāzī's name in the history of medicine is that of Abū-'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn Sīnā (Latin Avicenna, 980-1037). His all-round knowledge

1. Hitti, footnote, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1937, p. 366.

2. Ibn-abī-Uṣaybi'ab, Vol. I, pp. 309-10.

representing all that could be discerned at the time raises him to a position second only to that of Aristotle. For generations to come his word was law. The reverence he enjoyed was due not so much to the absolute correctness of the views he put forward, as it was for his grasp of the subjects he handled and the clarity of his exposition. The title *Shaykh*-al-Ra'is bestowed on him by his disciples was well deserved on account of these rare natural gifts and qualifications.

Young ibn-Sīnā visited Bukhārā to wait on the Sāmānid ruler Nūh II, and having access to the well-equipped royal libraries engrossed himself in the systematic study of all that was available. His *Qānūn* in its Latin translation passed through fifteen editions in the last thirty years of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Its pharmacopia contained 760 drugs. Ibn-Sīnā was the first to detect the contagiousness of phthisis and the spreading of diseases by water. His *Kitāb al-Shifā'* (Sanatio), a philosophical encyclopædia was also very popular. It contained much original matter on the theory of music, which in the hands of al-Fārābī led subsequently to far-reaching practical results. He was opposed to the then current belief in the transmutation of metals as he considered their differences to be innate and far from superficial. It is a great pleasure to note that the portraits of al-Rāzī and Ibn-Sīnā still adorn the great hall of the Faculty of Medicine in the University of Paris. Ophthalmology was a specially favourite subject of Arab physicians. 'Alī ibn 'Isa's *Tadhkirat-al-Kahhālīn* treats of 132 diseases of the eye and is one of the earliest Arab treatises on the subject. In the time of al-Hākim of Egypt, 'Ammar ibn 'Alī al-Mawsili wrote *al-Muntakhab fī 'Ilāj al 'Ayn*. Much valuable work was done on the diseases of the eye and their treatment in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries also, as may be judged from the masterly expositions of Ibn-al-Nāqid of Cairo (died 1188) in his *Kitāb al-Mujarrabāt*, of Khalīfa ibn-al-Maḥāsīn of Ḥalab in his *al-Kāfī fī-al-Kuḥl* (1256) and of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ibn-Yūsuf of Ḥamāh (1296) in his *Nūr-al-'Uyūn wal Jāmi' al-Funūn*, which was unsuperseded even in the nineteenth century.

The interest roused in astronomy by the school of al-Māmūn was carried on to later courts usurping the power of the 'Abbāsīd Khalīfs. The Buwayh Sultān Sharaf-al-Dawlah built an observatory in his palace at Baghdād in 982, where 'Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī, Aḥmad al-Ṣaghānī and the celebrated Abū-al-Wafā' were engaged on active observational work. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī was one of the three greatest practical astronomers of Islam (the two others being Ibn Yūnus and Ulugh Bēg, who will be referred to later). Al-Ṣūfī's illustrated treatise, *Kitāb-al-Kawākib al-Thābit al-Muṣawwar* (available in original Arabic, as well as in a French translation by Schjellerup) contains a catalogue of stars based on his own observations, giving their magnitudes and co-ordinates. It is the first star atlas to take cognizance of the nebula in Andromeda and is of great importance even at present, as it has revealed the changes undergone by

1. Hitti, *loc. cit.*, p. 368.

a number of prominent stars in their magnitudes in the course of ten centuries (for example, theta Eridani), and may throw some light on their proper motions also.

Aḥmad al-Ṣāghānī probably made the astrolabes and other instruments used by himself and other astronomers working in Sharaf-al-Dawlah's observatory. Abū-al-Wafā' Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥyā ibn-Ismā'il ibn al-'Abbās al-Būzjānī (940-998) did valuable astronomical work in Baghdād but this is eclipsed by his researches in Mathematics. Apart from discussing and solving a number of interesting problems in pure geometry he contributed considerably to the development of trigonometry both plane and spherical. He gave a new method of constructing sine tables, the value of sine 30' being correct to the 8th place of decimals (Sarton).<sup>1</sup> A number of European mathematicians have discussed isolated problems handled by Abū-al-Wafā' as for example Delambre in *Histoire de Astronomie au Moyen Age* and H. Suter in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, but no extensive text of his has as yet been published.<sup>2</sup>

Among other Muslim mathematicians of this period (a really large number) may be mentioned Abū-al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī, Rustam al-Kūhī and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd-al-Jalīl al-Sijāzī. Al-Iṣfahānī commented on the first five books of Apollonius of Perga's *Conic Sections* and gave a better Arabic edition of the complete work—books 1-7. We may here note in passing that the first four books were translated by Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī and the last three by Thābit ibn Qurrah about a century earlier. Books 5 to 7 were lost completely in the original Greek, and it was from this Arabic translation alone that Abraham Echellensis, professor of Arabic and Syriac in Rome and Paris, and G. A. Borelli published a Latin version of the work in Florence in 1661.<sup>3</sup> Rustam al-Kūhī solved some of the problems of Archimedes and Apollonius that led to equations of a higher degree than the second and discussed the conditions of their solubility—these investigations being among the most brilliant in Muslim geometry.<sup>4</sup> Al-Sijazi made a special study of intersections of conic sections and circles, and replaced the old Kinematical method of trisection of an angle by a purely geometric solution (intersection of a circle by an equilateral hyperbola).

At the court of another Būwayh Sultān, Rukn al-Dawlah (932-976) at Rayy, Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin al-Khurāsānī re-determined the inclination of the Ecliptic and solved an old problem from the time of Archimedes that had baffled al-Māhānī (died sometime about 874 to 884), viz., the division of a sphere by a plane, in a given ratio (in later times known as Māhānī's problem), by solving a cubic equation.

1. *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. I., p. 667.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 667.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 664.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 665.

Astronomy was such a favourite recreation with the early Muslims that even private persons with independent means (like the three sons of Mūsa ibn Shākir at Baghdād) installed observatories at their homes. There were astronomers in Shīrāz, Samarqand and Nishāpūr engaged on celestial observations. In yet another independent Sultanate of the 'Abbāsīd Khilāfat (that of Ghaznah) we have to record the appearance of an illustrious exponent of the mathematical and physical sciences, Abū-Rayhān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (973-1048), a contemporary of Ibn-Sīnā and a distinguished member of the University founded by Maḥmūd of al-Ghaznah and patronised later by his son and successor Mas'ūd. Al-Bīrūnī wrote his *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* for this Sultān. It is a treatise on astronomy and surveys the entire field explored at the time by the Greeks, Persians and Hindus. He was a great admirer of the Hindu notation of numerals and introduced it along with their newly discovered system of decimals to the scientific world. His *Āthār-al-Bāqiyah fī-Qūrūn-al-Khāliyah*, edited by Edward Sachau contains all the details (technical and historical) of all the systems then known and in vogue among various nations for the computation of time. Sachau's enthusiasm for the author leads him to remark that "the fourth century A.H. is the turning point in the history of Islam, and the establishment of the Orthodox faith about 500 A.H. sealed the fate of independent research for ever. But for al-Ash'arī and al-Ghazzālī the Arabs might have been a nation of Galileos, Keplers and Newtons."<sup>1</sup>

Al-Bīrūnī wrote both in Arabic and Persian. He possibly knew some Hebrew and Syriac, but seems to have been ignorant of Greek. While in India, he studied Sanskrit and had thus direct access to Hindu mathematics and astronomy. He was a keen observer of nature and his description of various natural phenomena (like Zodiacal light, as pointed out by me in *Hyderabad Academy Studies No. 2*, and of correct explanation of the rise of water in springs and of formation of the desert of Sind) reveals his remarkable powers of accurate observation. This is clearly borne out by his answers to self-imposed questions in his *Kitāb al-Taḥfīm li-awā'il-i-Šinā'at-al-Tanjīm*. His determination of the specific gravities of various metals, precious stones and minerals as a means of ascertaining their purity published in al-Khāzinī's *Mizān-al-Ḥikmah* presents him in the light of an ardent experimentalist. The values deduced from his tables are remarkably accurate, if we bear in mind the imperfections of the apparatus at his disposal.

With the gradual dismemberment of 'Abbāsīd Khilāfat new dynasties rose to power in different parts of the Islamic world, that brought down the general level of Muslim supremacy in arms over non-Muslim countries but continued almost unabated the traditions of scientific inquiry and literary output established at Baghdād in its golden prime. Some reference has been made to the scientific activities of the reigns of the Tūlūnids,

1. *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* (Introduction), London, 1879.

the Samānids (874-999), the Buwayhids (945-1055) and the Ghaznawids (962-1186).

## ENCOURAGEMENT BY THE FĀṬIMIDS

THE Buwayhids were ousted by the Saljūqs who continued in power till 1194. These in their turn were overpowered by the Khwarizm Shāhs, who flourished for a while until their empire was destroyed by Chengīz in 1220. Some of the Fāṭimids (909-1171) and the Hamdānids (944-1003) were also great patrons of learning. The court of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim in spite of his mental aberrations was destined to become famous through the discoveries and researches of Ibn-Yūnus and Ibn al-Haytham. Abū al-Ḥaṣan 'Alī ibn-abī Sa'īd ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūnus (date of birth unknown, died in Cairo in 1009) commenced his astronomical observations at about 990 by the order of al-'Azīz at his well-equipped observatory at Cairo. They were completed in 1007 and published under the name of *al-Zīj al-Kabīr al-Ḥākimī* in honour of al-Ḥākim. The Zīj records observations of eclipses and conjunctions old and new, improved values of the inclination of the Ecliptic (estimated at  $23^{\circ} 35'$ ), of the longitude of the sun's apogee ( $80^{\circ} 10'$ ) of the solar parallax (reduced from  $3'$  to  $2'$ ), of the precession of the Equinoxes ( $51.2''$  a year), and makes no reference to the erroneous conception of the trepidation of the ecliptic (first introduced by Thābit ibn-Qurrah and blindly followed by a number of later astronomers even Copernicus, until finally discarded by Tycho Brahe).<sup>1</sup>

Ibn-Yūnus' work on trigonometry was less important than Abū al-Fidā's, but as an observer and recorder of astronomical phenomena he was undoubtedly the greatest in Islam.

Abū-'Alī al-Ḥaṣan ibn al-Ḥaṣan ibn al-Haytham (Latin Alhazen) was born in Baṣrah some time about 965 and died in Cairo in 1039 or so. He was the greatest Muslim physicist and one of the greatest investigators of optics of all times. He was also an astronomer, mathematician and physician writing commentaries on Aristotle and Galen. But his masterpiece was *Kitāb al-Manāẓir*, a treatise on optics, which had a great influence on the training of later scientists of Western Europe (like Roger Bacon and Kepler). Ibn-Haytham's writings reveal his fine development of the experimental faculty. His tables of angles of incidence and refraction show how closely he had approached discovering the law of constancy of ratio of sines, later attributed to Snell. He accounted correctly for twilight as due to atmospheric refraction, estimating the sun's depression to be  $19^{\circ}$  below the horizon, at the commencement of the phenomenon in the mornings or at its termination in the evenings.<sup>2</sup> (The figure generally accepted now-a-days is  $18^{\circ}$ ). He deduced the height of the homogeneous atmosphere on this basis to be somewhere near 55 miles, not at all a bad

1. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. 1. p. 716.

2. Ibid., p. 721.

approximation. He understood the laws of formation of images in spherical and parabolic mirrors, the cause of spherical aberration and of magnification produced by lenses. He gave a much sounder theory of vision than the Greeks though regarding the lens-system of the eye itself to be the sensitive part. (It may be pointed out even at this stage that Ibn-Rushd was the first scientist to discover the retina to be the real seat of sensitiveness to light). Ibn-Haytham was able to solve a number of advanced questions also in geometrical optics (for example the shape of an aplanatic surface for reflection) by his good command of mathematics.

## WORK IN OTHER DEPARTMENTS OF KNOWLEDGE

### HISTORIOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY

WHEN the Saljūqs began to dominate over the 'Abbāsīd Khalīfa (on the downfall of Buwayhids) a fresh impetus was given to the pursuit of astronomical studies. Jalāl-al-Dīn Malik Shāh summoned at his new observatory at Rayy Abū-al-Faṭḥ 'Omar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Khayyām (born Ca. 1038 at Nīshāpūr, d. 1123/4) to reform the Persian calendar. Khayyām was one of the foremost mathematicians of the Middle Ages (in addition to being a poet of undying fame through his quatrains). His algebra gives an admirable classification of equations of the second and third degrees. Both analytical and geometrical solutions were explained for the second degree and attempted and partially solved for the third degree. He noted 13 different types of cubic equations and arranged them in the order of their complexity depending on the number of terms involved.<sup>1</sup> (The modern method of classification of equations based on the term of the highest degree in the unknown quantity was introduced only in the 16th and 17th centuries). Imaginary roots were of course, not considered; negative roots too were ignored.

Ulugh Bēg's (d. 1449) interpretation of Khayyām's Calendar puts in 15 intercalary days in 62 years with an error of 1 day in about 3770 years. Modern interpretation introduces 8 intercalary days in 33 years and leads to an error of 1 day in about 5000 years.<sup>2</sup> We may add that the Gregorian correction in vogue at present in all civilized countries leads to an error of 11 days in 3330 years.

Khayyām worked on the determination of specific gravity also.

At the court of Sultān Sanjar flourished 'Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Manṣūr al-Khāzinī (about 1115-1121) a Greek (Rumi) slave whom his master 'Alī al-Khāzin provided with a good all-round scientific education. His fame rests chiefly on his exhaustive work on the balance, *Mizān al Hikmah*

1. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. 1, p. 760.

2. G. Sarton, *loc. cit.*, p. 760.



published recently with notes, etc., by the Dā'irat-al-Ma'ārif of Hyderabad.

Turning now to other mental disciplines of the Arabs, historiography, economics, geography, chemistry, botany, philosophy, etc., it is obvious that only their barest outlines can be sketched in this short paper. The Arabs had a natural liking for history and took endless pains to collect historical data and test their accuracy by certain standards that worked all right when applied to their own sources. Most of the earlier works were paractically statements of events in their chronological sequence but expressed in an elegant style and above all with fair and often impartial criticism. Abū-al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī (956) was the first to revolutionise the art of writing history. The modern method of dealing with different dynasties or countries or peoples with critical examination of the matter handled may be traced to the same writer.

In the front rank of Muslim histories are reckoned Ibn-Ishāq's (died about 767) Biography of the Prophet that has reached us only through a revision by Ibn-Hishām, (died 834),<sup>1</sup> Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah's (d. 758) *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, also al-Wāqidī's (died 823) work on the same subject and Ibn-Sa'd's (d. 845) *Siyar*. 'Abd-al-Ḥakam's (d. 870) *Futūḥ-al-Miṣr wa-Akḥbārūhā* and Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhūri's (d. 893) *Futūḥ-al-Buldān* describe Muslim conquests. The latter's *Ansāb-al-Ashraf* deals with the lineages and pedigrees of persons of distinction. Amongst other writers of history may be mentioned Ibn-Muqaffa' (d. 757) who translated from Persian into Arabic a history of the Kings of Persia (hence the name *Siyar-i-Mulūk al-'Ajam*; Ibn-al-Qutaybah (Muḥammad ibn Muslim al-Dīnawārī (d. 889) author of *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, Aḥmad ibn Dā'ūd al-Dīnawārī (d. 895) author of *Akḥbār al-Ṭiwāl*, Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī (d. ca. 961) and Wāḍih al-Ya'qūbī and Miskawayh (died 1030).

The greatest historian of his century was Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (838-923) whose monumental work *Akḥbār-i-Rusul wal Mulūk* is a mine of detailed and accurate information. Al-Ṭabarī travelled in Irān, 'Irāq, Syria and Egypt to gather material for his book from original sources and, according to the geographer Yāqūt,<sup>2</sup> wrote 40 pages daily for 40 years! Later writers have made free use of this authoritative work. 'Izz-al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr's (1160-1234) *Kāmil fī al-Tārikh* is an abridged edition of al-Ṭabarī's older work continued from where it stopped down to 1231. A more original work by Ibn-al-Athīr is *Usd-al-Ghābah*, a collection of some 7500 biographies of the Companions of the Prophet.<sup>3</sup> We may mention here Sibṭ-ibn al-Jawzī's (1186-1257) universal history from creation to 1256, called *Mir'at al-Zamān fī Tārikh al-Ayyām*.

Reference has already been made to the improved system adopted by al-Mas'ūdī in writing history. He travelled far and wide in practically every Islamic country in Asia from Baghdād and even went to Zanzibar,

1. Ibn-Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 520.

2. Yāqūt, Vol. VI, p. 424.

3. Hitti, *loc. cit.*, p. 392.

settling down finally (in the last decade of his life) in Egypt and Syria, compiling a work of 30 volumes. Only an abridged edition of it entitled *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawāhir*, brought down to 947 A.D. has survived. It is not confined to purely chronological facts but gives interesting geographical information as well, besides discussing, wherever appropriate, subjects of non-Muslim history and incipient notions (in vogue at the time) on evolution, viz., gradation between inanimate mineral matter, plants, animals and man, in *al-Tanbīh wal Ishrāf*.

Even after the fall of Baghdād there is no scarcity of historians in Islam. They flourished in the petty states that rose on the ruins of the 'Abbāsīd *Khilāfat*. Among this category we find Abū al-Fidā (1272-1331), author of *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Baṣhar* (an epitome of Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* continued up to his own times), himself of princely rank (a lineal descendant of a brother of Salāḥ-al-Dīn) and Governor in Ḥamāh; al-Dhahabī (1274-1348) author of *Duwal-al-Islām*; Abū al-Maḥāsīn ibn Taghrī Birdī (1411-69), attached to the court of Mamlūk Sultāns and author of *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wal-Qāhirah* and Jalāl-al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (1445-1505) author of 560 works on theology, history and philology, of which we may mention *Husn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wal-Qāhirah*, *al-Muḥḥir fī 'Ulūm al-Lughah* and *al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*.<sup>1</sup>

Arab writers excelled equally well in compiling biographies of notable persons. Ibn al-'Asākir's (d. 1177) *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, comprising 80 volumes, is devoted to the lives of great men of Damascus. Yāqūt ibn 'Abdullāh al-Ḥamawī (1179-1229) wrote *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, a charming biography of literati. 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Qiftī (1172-1248), author of *Ikhbār al-'Ulama bi-Akḥbār al-Ḥukamā'*, though a wazīr to Ayyūbid rulers, found time to compile biographies of physicians and philosophers; Muwaffaq al-Dīn abū al-'Abbas Aḥmad ibn abī-Uṣaybī'ah (1203-70) himself a physician of Cairo, botanized with the Spanish scientist ibn al-Bayṭār and compiled a most comprehensive biography of some 400 notable physicians and surgeons (Greek and Arab), in his celebrated work '*Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibba'*', an inexhaustible source of information concerning the lives of Arab scientists in general, as the majority of them were not only physicians but astronomers, mathematicians and philosophers as well.

We close this sketchy list with the name of Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khallikān (1282), Qāḍī of Syria and author of a most delightful dictionary of national biography *Wafayāt al-A'yān al-Zamān* dealing with the lives of 868 prominent Musalmans—a marvel of accuracy and elegance.

Search for knowledge, desire for Haj and interest in trade and innate propensity to see the world and explore its marvels led the Arabs to contribute immensely to geographical science. They travelled by land and sea to distant China, for example, Ibn-Wahb in 870. We read of a

1. Hitti, loc. cit, p. 688.

Muslim embassy to the court of the Chinese Emperor Tai-Tsung in 628 (three years before the Nestorian missionaries) by sea to Canton in a trading vessel from Yanbu', the port of Madinah and building a mosque there for the Arab traders. An unknown author has written (in 851) an account of a certain merchant Sulaymān who roamed about the Far East. It is from this account that the civilized world first came to know of the topography and physical features of the East Indies. The practice of thumb-impression as a means of identification in China was made known by Sulaymān to the Arabs. The first authentic account about Russia was published by Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān ibn Ḥammād who was deputed by al-Muqtadir in 921 to the court of the King of Bulgarians on the river Volga.<sup>1</sup> Abū-Zaid al-Balkhī set the example of writing systematic accounts of countries under the Muslim sway when he was at the court of a Sāmānid prince. This work is lost, but al-Iṣṭakhārī's elaborate *Masālik wal-Mamālik* (flourished in 950) that has come down to us with coloured maps of countries and other details is said to be based on it.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Mas'ūdī's history is rich in geographical details also. He is the first to mention wind-mills in Sijistan and writes about Muslim traders actively engaged in business in Bohemia ! Ibn-Hawqal (943-977) revised later al-Iṣṭakhārī's book after travelling as far as Spain to gain first-hand knowledge. Al-Muqaddasī (or Maqdisī) who visited all the Islamic countries except Spain, Sijistan and India during an itinerary of twenty years, wrote (in 985 or 986) an account of his experiences in his delightful book *Aḥsan-al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālim*.

It is appropriate to speak in this connection of Ibn-Khurdādhbih's (d. 912) first publication (near about 846) of the useful series of road books, which he had issued as the director of the post and intelligence department in al-Jibāl. Ibn-Wāḍih al-Ya'qūbī's *Kitāb al-Buldān* which appeared in 891 or 892 in addition to ordinary geographical matter useful information on economical and other topics. Qudāmāh, a Christian by birth, was appointed revenue accountant in Baghdād after 928, became a convert to Islam and discussed in his book *al-Kharāj* the various provinces of the 'Abbāsid *Khilāfat*, its system of taxation and postal service. Al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad al-Hamdānī (who died in prison in Ṣan'ā in 945) deserves special mention on account of his books *al-Iklīl* and *Jazīrat al-'Arab* which contain valuable information on pre-Islamic and Islamic Arabia. The *Rasā'il-i-Ikhwān-al-Ṣafā'*, a series of papers issued by a secret society in Persia, among other interesting matters, boldly surmises large scale climatic changes to be taking place on the earth in course of ages: fertile lands passing into deserts, the sea encroaching on land and the land rising out of sea.

By far the most comprehensive writer of geography during the closing years of the 'Abbāsid period was Yāqūt (whose *Mu'jam al-Udabā'* was

1. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. I, p. 636.

2. Hitti, *loc. cit.*, p. 385.

referred to in biographies). He was a Greek boy purchased by a merchant of Hamāh and given liberal education. For a number of years he accompanied his master as his commercial clerk and was later enfranchised. He then took to copying and selling manuscripts and travelled extensively in the pursuit of this profession, collecting valuable material for his encyclopædic geographical dictionary, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, commenced at Mawṣil in 1224 and completed at Ḥalab in 1228 where he died. It is a veritable store-house of geographical knowledge of the time containing useful information on ethnography and natural sciences as well.

We have to speak of Abū al-Fidā' also in the list of prominent geographers. Though engaged in wars ever since he was 12 years old, his zeal for science and power of observation enabled him to incorporate in his work on history important geographical matter like the latitude and longitude of a number of cities deduced mostly from his own observations. It may be remarked in passing that longitudes were reckoned in those days (following Pliny) from the Canary Islands.

Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī (1418) who held important posts under the Mamlūk Sultāns of Egypt was author of *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* and gives useful geographical information in that work.

The Arabs made free use of the magnetic compass and the stars to help them navigate their ships on the high seas. They may not have been the first to observe the directive properties of the compass needle but they certainly anticipated the Chinese in its use in navigation. Aḥmad ibn Majīd of Najd, who is generally credited with having piloted Vasco da Gama's ship from Africa to India in 1497, wrote a book called *al-Fawā'id fī Uṣūl-al-Baḥr wal-Qawā'id* which has been edited by G. Ferrand in Paris in 1921-23.<sup>1</sup> It may be noted here that Aḥmad ibn Majīd styled himself as the fourth sea-lion (for skill in navigation), the other three being Muḥammad ibn Shādhān, Sahl ibn Abān and Shaith ibn Kahlān, that probably flourished in the first half of the 12th century.<sup>2</sup> In all probability, the Arabs initiated also the use of charts to steer their ships into the sea-ports they frequented, long before the Venetians and Genoese prepared their portolani. For trade reasons they must have kept these charts secret for a long time.

## BELLES LETTRES, RELIGIOUS LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

IN this brief sketch it is impossible to do more than just mention a few outstanding works on Arabic literature (sacred and secular). Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (born in 'Omān ca. 717, died in Baṣrah in 791 or 792) is generally regarded as the founder of Arabic prosody. He certainly systematized its grammar and wrote an unfinished lexicon called *Kitāb*

1. Hitti, *loc. cit.*, p. 689.

2. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 221.

*al-ʿAyn*. His Persian pupil, Sībawayh (d. ca. 793) composed the first basic text-book on Arabic grammar called *al-Kitāb*. Later, Jamāl-al-Dīn abū-ʿAmr ʿUthmān-ibn ʿUmar ibn-al-Ḥājib (1175-1249) wrote in addition to his *al-Khāfiyah* and *al-Shāfiyah* (concise works on Arabic grammar), *Kitāb-al-Maqṣad al-Jalīl fī ʿIlm al-Khalīl* on the subject of prosody.<sup>1</sup>

More famous than either of the above two names is that of Abu-al-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī (1075-1144) called Jār-Allāh for having lived in Mecca for a long time. His grammar *Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal* and lexicon *Kitāb Muqaddamāt-al-Adab* (Arabic-Persian) are still considered standard works.<sup>2</sup> Mention may also be made of ʿAbd-al-Rahmān al-Anbārī's history of Arabic literature and philology entitled *Kitāb al-Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Udabāʾ*. He was a lecturer at the famous Nizamiyah of Baghdād. So was Shaykh Abū-al-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī, an encyclopædic writer on many branches of learning, including *al-Muntaẓam*. Poetry kept up its hold on the Arab mind in all countries and climes. Many poets preferred the Jāhiliyah style, but Persian influence somewhat modified this tendency. It is no exaggeration to say that almost every educated Arab (both in the East and the West) indulged in versification. Among poets of later times may be mentioned al-Mutanabbī, (915-65) laureate at the court of Sayf-al-Dawlah Hamadānī, whose ornate and flowery style made him one of the most popular and widely quoted Arab poets of all times. Among notable prose-writers (whose list will require a life-time to prepare) a few prominent ones have already been noticed (e.g., the authors of *al-Aghānī* and *al-Fihrist*, etc.) while discussing works on history, biography and geography. For excellence of style (though somewhat affected) Badīʿ-al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (968-1008) and, after him, al-Ḥarīrī (1054-1122), author of the famous *Maqāmāt*, are generally considered unrivalled. No account of Arabic literature will be considered satisfactory without a reference to the Tales of *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah* that centre round the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd at Baghdād and of the Mamlūk Sultāns at Cairo. They are supposed to have been told by different authors at different times and to be based on works of Persian origin.

To attempt a discussion of religious literature published in Arabic will take us far away from our prescribed course even if we consider ourselves competent for the task. Even a cursory acquaintance with the standard works on Ḥadīth and Fiqh and a knowledge of the great pains taken to collect and verify the former and systematise the latter will show how solidly and judiciously the Muslim Sharīʿat is built. It is really marvellous how the early Muslim scholars of Tradition (Muḥaddithīn) and theological jurists performed their self-imposed duties unmoved by opposition and undaunted by authority. No wonder that Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (810-70), Muslim ibn-al-Ḥajjāj (d. 875), Abū-Dāʿūd (d. 888),

1. G. Sarton, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 700.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, part 1, p. 271.

al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 892), Ibn-Mājah (d. 886) and al-Nasā'ī, the authors of the six canonical works on Ḥadīth are still held in great veneration; and that about 30 million Muslims are technical adherents of the School of Mālik ibn Anas (715-95); 118 million adherents of al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit Abū-Ḥanīfah (d. 767); 73 millions, of Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī (d. 820) and 3 millions of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855).<sup>1</sup>

There were a number of Muslim philosophers both in the East and in the West. They did not feel the necessity of propounding new hypotheses or forming novel schools of thought. Almost all the great philosophers of Islam were sincere Muslims. Whenever they thought there was some apparent lack of harmony between the teachings of revealed religion and discoveries of science they tried to reconcile the two, as both were regarded as correct. This process came to be known as scholasticism in the best sense of the word. Foremost among such Eastern Muslim philosophers were al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn-Sīnā' and al-Ghazzālī. We shall mention a few facts about the lives and works of each of them.

Abu-Yūsuf Yā'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī was of pure Arab extraction, born at Kūfa in the middle of 9th century and flourished at Baghdād. He was an all-round scientist, in addition to being a great philosopher of the school of Aristotle. In neo-Platonic spirit he aimed at reconciling Aristotelian views with Platonic ideas. His best and most popular work, however, was his optics which in its Latin translation was used as text-book in the West for a number of years until replaced by Ibn al-Haytham's more complete work later.<sup>2</sup> He was author of over 250 works on different subjects: philosophy, alchemy, astrology, theory of music, etc., some of which are extant only in their Latin versions, others being completely lost—the common lot unfortunately of most Arabic works published before the Tartar invasions. Al-Kindī gives full significance to rhythm (Arabic *iqā'*) as an important constituent of Arabic music, showing thereby that mensural music was known to the Arabs centuries before the Christian peoples of Europe.

Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tarkhān abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (Latin Alfarabius) was a Turk born in Transoxiana, near about 870 and flourished at the court of Sayf-al-Dawlah al-Harnadānī. He died at Baghdād in 950. Besides being a first rate philosopher, he was an expert in both the theory and practice of music. His commentaries on Aristotle, Plato and other Greek philosophers reveal his belief in the reconcilability of Aristotelianism with Platonism through the medium of Sūfism. Among his books are *Risālah Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, *Risālah fī Ārā' Ahl al-Madīnah al-Fāḍilah* and *Siyāsah al-Madaniyah*, the last two being based on the ideas of Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics* respectively. His work on music, *Kitāb al-Mūsīqī-al-Kabīr*, presents him in the light of a great practical authority on this subject. He played exquisite music on the lute (Arabic

1. Hitti, *loc. cit.*, p. 398.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 370.

al-'ūd) and could move the entire court of Sayf-al-Dawlah to roaring laughter or to tears, according to the character of the tunes he played.

Ibn-Sina's work as a physician has already been dealt with in connection with the development of Arab medicine. His philosophy is embodied (along with other matter) in his encyclopædic treatise *Kitāb al-Shafā'* (*Sanatio*). It may be taken to represent Aristotelian traditions modified by neo-Platonic ideas and at the same time kept in control by Muslim theology. He died at a comparative early age (57 years) but left a permanent impress on all the intellectual disciplines of the Middle Ages : physics, mathematics, metaphysics, ethics, economy, politics, logic, psychology and music. He was keen on experimental work also, to which his investigations on specific gravity and the design of a simple device similar to that of the Vernier (for increasing accuracy of length measurement) bear ample testimony.<sup>1</sup>

Such abstract physical subjects as the nature of motion, of contact, force, vacuum, infinity, light and heat were also tackled by him, and his powerful intellect, in spite of the paucity of correct data available in those days of early science, as for instance the finite velocity of light and the impossibility of chemical transmutation of elements. He was probably the most comprehensive and clear-headed scientist of Islam and certainly one of the most famous of all nationalities, places and times.

Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī, born in 1058 at Tūs where he died in 1111, was one of the noblest men of all times and the greatest theologian of Islam. He fixed the ultimate form of the Ash'ariya system founded by Abū-al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ash'arī (d. 935/6) of Baghdad, viz., tacit belief in religious dogmas outside the reach of worldly comprehension. Al-Ghazzālī's mental struggles to reconcile the tenets of Islam with the teachings of prevailing philosophy and science are recorded in his own words. He was at one time a professor at the Nizamiyah at Baghdād, then turned ascetic for a while, wandering about for 12 years in search of truth and mental peace, and finally found solace in Sūfism. His masterpiece *Iḥyā' al-'Ulūm al-Dīn* and other similar works were widely read by Muslims, Jews and Christians and contributed to the spread of scholasticism in Asia and Europe, as may be judged by their influence on Thomas Aquinas and even Blaise Pascal. Some European critics attribute to his and al-Ash'arī's teachings the decline noticed in the prosecution of scientific studies among Muslims from 12th century onwards. But this seems to be too sweeping a remark. There were many more potent factors that brought about this decline and al-Ghazzālī was himself a great advocate of search after truth in matters both spiritual and temporal.

MOHD. A. R. KHAN.

(To be continued).

1. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. I, p. 710.

# THE CHAPTER ON PEARLS IN THE BOOK ON PRECIOUS STONES BY AL-BĒRŪNĪ

(Continued).

## DESCRIPTION AND NAMES OF PEARLS AMONG JEWELLERS

AS regards the names (of jewels) among jewellers they are for the greater part derived from comparisons and for this reason they differ among various nations together with the different localities and seasons. I mean among various tribes and in different centuries. It is for this reason that we leave aside the names for their varieties given by al-Kindī. The pearl in the Indian language is called *Mōtī*, and they have a king of this name who is well-known and he made conquests and punitive expeditions against the Turks who lived in the lands neighbouring Kashmīr.

Among the kinds of pearls are the round ones which are called 'Uyūn (used in the plural) of which no singular is known so that one could say 'Ain. In the same way there is no plural of 'Ain (pure gold) when used for gold, in which the plural 'Uyūn is not used. They have the roundness of the pupil of the eye and if they are of beautiful colour and abundant water and lustre they call them *Najm* (star) and *Khūsh-āb* (beautiful water). Then there are long-shaped ones, equal on both ends resembling the dung of sheep; this kind is called in Persian *Pushkī*. Sometimes it is compared with an olive and then it is called *Zaitūnī*. Again it is called *Khāyahdis* which means egg-like. Then there is the *Ghulāmī* which has a round base, level in its circumference with a pointed top as if it has been shaped on a lath, the base being part of a globe. Then there are such as resemble the *Qalansuwa* and the tun-shaped hats; another kind is the spindle-shaped called in Persian *Bādrīsagī* for the spindle is called in Persian *Bādrīs*. Another kind is called *Fūfalī* which is flat at the bottom, concave on the upper circumference like the *Fūfal* (areca-nut) and the bottom is *Muka'ab* (concave) also; then there is the *Jauzī* (almond-shaped) and the *Sha'īrī* (barley-grain) which is thinning off at the two ends. It is called in Persian *Jaudānah*, which means barley-grain. Then comes the lacerated one with sharp edges on its face due to distortion caused by protrusions and incisions. Further, there is the *Qulzumī* named after the sea of *Qulzum* (the Red Sea) most of which are lacerated and of bad shape. Sometimes one finds in the *Sarandīp* (Ceylon) pearls lacerated ones which look like a number of (small) pearls stuck together and made one. Further, there is the *Muḍṭamar*<sup>1</sup> (the slender one) which is thin and slender.

1. *Muḍ ṭamir*.—Ed.



He recited (a verse by ar-Rā'ī) :<sup>1</sup>

"The Pleiades glistened and gave light like the glistening of a pearl in which is slenderness."

He made the constellation one pearl though they are six pearls in the same way as the Arabs make them one star (Najm) though they are six stars and the slenderness of this constellation is because the southern portion is formed by two stars and the northern by four so that they are not equipoised but the northern portion has the excess and leans towards the east and what joins it in the south is thinned.

Then there is (among pearls) the Muzannar (waist-girdled) which is also called Kamarbast, namely girdled, which some people think to be Kamarpusht, that is crooked-backed. The thinnings in the middle is as if it were tied with a waist-belt which clings round it. As regards this kind special caution must be taken in buying it, lest it be composed of two pearls of equal size which have been fastened one to another—so joined that the inside (i.e., where they join) is concealed with gypsum mixed with cheese, that will not dissolve in water, or with Sandarūs-gum.<sup>2</sup> This is so because a pearl does resemble an onion in being composed of layers one wrapping over the other. Sometimes they (pearls) are manufactured from the inside surface of the shell after the makers had found out how to soften it and peel it off with a sharp iron instrument such as the goldsmiths use for piercing the two parts of the Jumāna. It is asserted that there are pearls which are made from a plaster prepared from churned milk mixed with sublimate of mercury kneaded with cheese-paste and then such pearls are as forgeries placed among genuine ones which resemble them in colour and size. This forgery is almost similar to that by which pearls are dissolved in distilled vinegar and the juice of lemons for the resulting produce was once submitted to me. This happened in this way that I asked one of the Mecca-pilgrims to bring me some medicines and other commodities, among them tiny pearls for the preparation of salves<sup>3</sup> for the strengthening of the heart. So the seller in Baghdād asked him who the person was who required it and he described me to him and told him that I required them for that specific purpose. So he fetched out two round beads, the colour of which I can only describe as the colour of camel-dung. Then he said: "Tell him," meaning me, "that I inherited from my father a considerable fortune and I spent it upon the manufacture of pearls and the final result were these two; so do not waste thy life and money on what I have wasted it. Good Bye!"

Sometimes they write upon shells and similar sea-products with wax what is intended to remain outstanding and leave (without wax) what they wish that it should be like being engraved and lying deeper. Then the object is cast into sharp vinegar and which is some sal-amoniac and

1. A poet of the first century of the Hijra and antagonist of the more renowned poet Jarir.

2. The gum of the plant *Callitris Quadrivalvis*, called Sandarakh in trade.

3. Such pearls are still used to this day in Indian medicine though the very composition of the pearls precludes any medical value.

left for some days ; then it is taken out and that which I have explained has corroded and is lying deeper while that which was covered with wax stands out higher and protrudes. I believe that the juice of lemons will be more effective if it is mixed with sal-amoniac.

A kind of pearls is called Khushk-Āb (dry water) ; these are Chinese ones named after the land Qatā'ī.<sup>1</sup> They are of a dull colour, the whiteness approaching the colour of chalk, without any water and with very little lustre and they almost resemble pebbles and for this reason they are called Khushk-Āb in opposition to those called Khush-Āb and their prices are much lower than those of other varieties. Some people (even) believe that they are manufactured.

The martyred blessed Amīr Mas'ūd<sup>2</sup> accused one of those who brought it (one of such pearls) to him that it was so (manufactured). The man was bewildered and with a knife peeled one of the beads and said : " Are manufactured ones by hand like this ? " Neither the words nor the deed of this man are any proof which dispels this assertion, for would he who is able to manufacture a pearl be unable to make it in layers which can be peeled off one after another ?

The Qulzumī pearls have some likeness to those of Qatā'ī as regards their colour, but have other defects such as corrosion and the lead-like colour and blackness.

The two brothers<sup>3</sup> say : " It happens very occasionally that among the Qulzumī pearls are found such as are called Khūshāb and that they both bought a Ghulāmī pearl of such quality weighing three and a quarter Mithqāl."

Hamza<sup>4</sup> (also) mentions names of various kinds of pearls : Shāhwār which means royal, which is the noblest and choicest ; Khūshāb by which the large ones are meant with the meaning that it is a single bead except that it is like a corn-ear composed of a number of beads and consequently it must be serrated similar to one that is composed of several imposed one upon another ; Darā-Marwārīd (bell-pearl) which is the same as Ārā-Marwārīd (ornament pearl) for among them (the Persians) Marwārīd means the small pearls. Dharam Marwārīd (choice pearl)<sup>5</sup> which are the largest and may be Arabicised by Durra. This is because the substance of the stars is not known except to the elect and the preciousness of these jewels is evident to common people and the luminous stars are compared to pearls. For this reason a star is called Durri<sup>6</sup> in some readings of the

1. خطائی Khātāiy See Dozy. -- Ed.

2. Mas'ūd, the son of Maḥmūd, ruler of Ghazna. Bērūnī was greatly favoured by him and always mentions him with reverence.

3. Al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain of Ray mentioned before.

4. Hamza b. al-Ḥasan al Iṣbahānī was born about 280 in Isfahān and died about the year 360 in his native town. He is the author of a short history and as a philologist is one of the chief sources for the equation of Persian and Arabic terms for various plants and other subjects.

5. Derived from Dharma meaning " virtue or righteousness " in Indian languages.

6. Sūrat an-Nūr, v. 35 : As if it (the candle) were a pearly star kindled from a blessed tree, an olive tree.

Holy Writ and if it were not for the general knowledge and custom rather than the truth, it would be more appropriate to say Durr Kaukabī (star-like pearl) instead of Kaukab Durri (pearl-like star). In the same way they call it Najm (star) and the Arabs know that the Qur'ān was sent down in such manner that the admonishing should be clear to the admonished. Abū Tammām has said :

“ Pearls like the lustrous stars have adorned their skin with the shell of embellishment, not the shell.”

Naṣr<sup>1</sup> mentions among pearls which are inferior to the pure ones : Raṣāṣīy (lead-coloured) ; also there is a variety the whiteness of which is tinged with yellow called Tibanīy (straw-coloured). Then there is another kind of the colour of the sun (Shams) which is a name for Jasmin and it is called Samīn. Another kind resembles milk and for this reason it is called Shīrbām. These changes happen to it in the shell if the water is scanty and the shell is exposed to the heat of the sun till it scorches them in the manner the skin of a man and his body are scorched and the pearl in consequence changes its colour. Another shade is found in the sea of Sarandīp (Ceylon) the whiteness of which is tinged with red and such are called Wardīy (rose-coloured). How many pearls have I seen which could not be distinguished in colour from copper !

Naṣr mentions among the defective pearls a kind called Sharraṭha (or Sharraba)<sup>2</sup> which is a kind the layers of which are apart and on account of their dryness, air gets between two layers ; then if plunged into water, the two layers join again. This is cause for a fraud, for, if the air were to beat on it for a while they would return to their state of being apart and the fraud becomes evident. He mentions another kind which he calls Shabah which has a thin skin while its inside is composed of clay which does not last long and perishes. Another kind has a slight tinge of red which soon vanishes, it is called Waraq.

Al-Kindī mentions (a kind called) Qurūsh which consists of one skin only which contains water and blackish skins ; if it is pierced, the water escapes and the hollow is filled with mustac.

## PRICES OF PEARLS

THE custom in the consideration of the weights of pearls is by Mithqāls<sup>3</sup> and for their prices by Nishāpūrī Dīnārs and as basis for comparison are

1. This is the author of a book on jewels used by Bērūnī and mentioned in the introduction.

2. I am not sure about the reading. Sharraṭha would mean cracked, derived from the verb Sharraṭha =to be cracked (of skin), while Sharraba would mean that it sucks up water. Both are possible from the description of such pearls.

3. The Mithqāl used as weight is ascertained to be equal to 4.497 grammes. The fixing of the Nishāpūrī Dīnār however presents to-day greater difficulties as no standard coinage exists in the present day but we may roughly fix it at a little over four rupees considering its purchasing value, or we may take it at approximately five shillings or eight marks of German money.

used those round beads called by the names of Najm and 'Uyūn. The two brothers mention that the price of a Najm weighing one Mithqāl is one thousand Dīnārs, the price of one weighing one-half and a third of a Mithqāl is 800 Dīnārs, the price of one weighing two-thirds of a Mithqāl is 500 Dīnārs, half a Mithqāl 200 Dīnārs, a third of a Mithqāl fifty Dīnārs, a quarter twenty Dīnārs, a sixth five Dīnārs, an eighth three Dīnārs and a twelfth one Dīnār. The Ghulāmīy fetched half the price of the Najm for al-Kindī states that the price of a Khāyadānah is half the price of a round pearl if they are of equal weight, and that the price of the girdled one is one-fifth of that of the round one if they are of the same weight, while the price of all other shapes is ten Dīnārs to the Mithqāl. The absolutely perfect Najm had different values in 'Omān and Bahraīn for they both say that the Bahraīnī Najm when perfectly round and of exceptional beauty and weighed half a Mithqāl was called Durra and its price was one thousand Dīnārs. As regards such as weighed two Mithqāls they had no real price and you could make it without hesitation whatever you liked. What al-Kindī says about the variety called Khāyah-Dīs (egg-shaped) it is round with level points but slightly longish, while that kind which was globular on one point and edged on the other point was called Muq'ad. This one was lower in price than the one called Khāyah-Dīs. The pearl called al-Yatīma weighed three Mithqāls and it was called al-Yatīma (orphan) because its shell had gone before a sister (pearl) could be born (in it). Likewise a similar one was called Farīd (unique) when its equal could not be found and it was necessary to make it the centre of a necklace which is called Qilāda.

Others than the two (brothers) say that the price is fixed on the basis of the round ones and on the prices prevalent in Bahraīn so that a pearl which weighed a sixth of a Mithqāl was priced from two to three Dīnārs, while a third of a Mithqāl from twelve to twenty, one weighing half a Mithqāl from thirty to fifty, one weighing two-thirds of a Mithqāl as much as seventy; one weighing a half and a third as much as one hundred, while one weighing a Mithqāl was priced at as much as two hundred Dīnārs. After that the price increases at the rate of one hundred Dīnārs for every grain (Dānaq) till it reaches (the weight of) one and a half Mithqāls. After that the price increases sharply by five hundred Dīnārs per grain and when it reaches two Mithqāls by two thousand, after three Mithqāls by three (thousand). This is an injustice as it should be more.

He says that the Dahlakī<sup>1</sup> (pearls) are lead-coloured and their price in Mecca in Maghribī Dīnārs<sup>2</sup> was two Dīnārs per grain, ten for two grains. Sometimes there are found among the Qulzumīy pearls large ones and if they are free from corrosion and holes, the price for such as weigh three Mithqāls is six hundred Dīnārs and if it should reach the weight of

1. Named after the islands of Dahlak in the Red Sea near the Abyssinian coast.

2. Coined in Egypt during the rule of the Fātimid dynasty; they were rather better in value than the Nishāpūrī Dīnārs.

ten *Mithqāls* it becomes high priced and beyond calculation.

As regards the prices of pearls in the day of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik of<sup>1</sup> the Marwānīs in a price-list, which I found, gives the rule for pricing that the *Dānaq* (grain) was equal to two Carat (*Qairāt*) and a half and the Dirham (Dram) was equal to 21 *Qairāt*. I have worked out a schedule though there is some confusion in the account, and as for myself my duty is to relate it solely as I have found it and as regards the divergencies in the statements, I simply repeat them. I have collected what I found scattered to satisfy the enquirer. Here is the description of the schedule.

(It refers to) Pure round and longish pearls in which there is no blemish.

Number of pearls per Dirham	Price of one in Dirhams	Number of pearls per Dirham	Price of one
20 ..	1 $\frac{1}{6}$ ..	4 ..	85
17 ..	3 ..	3 ..	220
15 ..	6 ..	2 ..	775
13 ..	7 ..	1 $\frac{2}{3}$ Drm. each. ..	1275
12 ..	9 ..	1 Drm. ..	8880
11 ..	12 ..	1 $\frac{1}{6}$ Drm. ..	13.500
10 ..	15 ..	1 $\frac{1}{3}$ .. ..	21.000
9 ..	18 ..	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .. ..	27.400
8 ..	36 ..	1 $\frac{2}{3}$ .. ..	33.300
7 ..	40 ..	1 $\frac{5}{6}$ .. ..	50.660
6 ..	50 ..	2 Drm. ..	66.066
5 ..	70 ..		

Here is a great difference with reference to the weight of pearls<sup>2</sup> which make a fixed price impossible and I cannot establish the cause whether it is due to their place of prevalence or on account of the hollownesses hidden to touch which may possibly have occurred through accidental damage, such as may be the cause with the large ones when the analogy of the dark corundum (sapphire) is taken as the basis for the specific weight

1. The great Umayyad ruler reigned from 65-86 A.H. It is a pity that Bērūnī does not tell us of what nature this list of prices was on account of its early date. The weights mentioned also deserve attention. The *Qairāt* was one-twentieth of a *Mithqāl* according to the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (p. 63) which here approximately equals the weight of the Dirham (21). Al-Khāzinī in the *Mizān al-Ḥikma*, (p. 138) recently published by the Dā'irat ul-Ma'ārif, gives after Bērūnī the same schedule and also an abbreviated account on pearls and other jewels, all derived from Bērūnī. I did not have access to this work at the time of preparing the edition of the work of Bērūnī.

2. He is speaking here of the specific weight for the basis of which he has fixed the weight of the sapphire at 100 for all precious stones. In the same manner he takes the figure of 100 for the specific weight of gold and cites other metals correspondingly. By recalculating I have found him astoundingly correct in almost all cases.

at the figure of 100. Then the specific weight (of pearls) is 65 and a third and a quarter, while shells weight specifically 62 and three-fifth.

Abū Duwād (al-Iyādi)<sup>1</sup> has said :

“ A pearl for which the merchant dived was shown openly to the ‘Azīz (ruler) on a cloudy day.”

The merchant is however one who orders his hired servants to dive and orders the work without doing it himself. The wages per day are one Manā<sup>2</sup> of flour and a quarter or a Manā of dates whether the shells contain pearls or are void and only flesh is found in them. The relation of the price for diving and the gain of the merchant is similar to that paid in tilling the ground between the owner of the estate and the agricultural worker though the latter does all the work. Al-‘Azīz (the ruler) in the above verse is the great one of the people and only such as he among people of opulence have any desire for pearls. Should the poet mean the king of Egypt, for such is the title of their kings, then it seems far-fetched and for that reason paltry. He means by the cloudy day the lack of sunshine and that the shade falls on them (the pearls), for if the sun shines on them their lustre decreases to the sight and it is like a torch at mid-day. Its beauty becomes evident in the shade as all things become clearer by their contrasts. All people who practise a trade have places and times for displaying their wares and what they do in this way is a kind of deception and fraud. Another reading of the verse Yaum Ṭall (a day of drizzle) is without point.<sup>3</sup> Now dew falls at night and rises in the morning and does not prevent the sun from shining, on the contrary it increases its brightness on account of the clearness of the air and its moisture. If, however, the intention is the disappearance of the sunlight, then the rain of the cloud travelling towards it when it shakes down the drizzle can suitably be compared with dew. ‘Amr ibn Aḥmar<sup>4</sup> has said :

“ Not the shining sides of the pearl of the jeweller (are like this girl) from which the displayer removes the cover,

“ Having wrapped it in brocade and silk to polish it, it dazzles the eyes.”

He means what shines of the pearl when the covering is removed from it. He mentions the jeweller and makes Jumān from silver according to those who consider it (such). Ḥassān ibn Thābit<sup>5</sup> has said :

“ For thou when thou comest out to us on the day of going out into the courtyard of the castle, art more beautiful

“ Than a pearl for which a king will pay a high price, one of those which the still waters of the sea have reared.”

1. An early poet of the time of paganism renowned for his description of horses. Some of his poems have been preserved.

2. Here must be some error, as the Manā was equal to two Riṭl or about eight kilogrammes, that is over 16 pounds.

3. The letter ṭā’.

4. A poet of the tribe of Bāhila who lived in the time of paganism and early Islam ; his purity of diction is praised.

5. The celebrated poet of the Prophet whose poems have been published in an unsatisfactory edition

## THE PIERCING OF PEARLS

AS the presenting of jewels is for the adornment with them and mostly for being hung on one of the members of the body or the fastening to them, this cannot be done except by piercing a hole into which the string can be inserted in beads or the cord in pearls, just as the pearls are of no use as long as they are in the inside of the shells till they are extracted. When the pearls are pierced, they are called *Mathāqīb* (pierced ones) after the grammatical analogy of *Mamlūk* and *Mamālīk*, Abul Faraj ibn Hindū has said :

“What is the price of a precious pearl and its value unless its shell is broken and it is separated (from them).” He has also said :

“The pearl looks beautiful on the neck of a blossoming maiden, but its beauty does not become evident while the shell encloses it.” Ibn ar-Rūmī has said :

“Seldom is excellence found except in slim men, rather than in heavy ones.”

“The pearl is strung on fine threads ; the nobility of the pearls prevents it from being strung on ropes.”

As regards the use of pearls in books of medicine, it is the unpierced ones which are used in salves and eye-ointment and then they are used only when finely ground. So the piercing is (also) a kind of grinding. The aim in it (the grinding) is to guard against poisoning in the pierced hole and to ward off harm from the entrails and the eye, for it is they for which they are used and the small and large are equal (in value) for this purpose, but the smaller ones are wanted for being cheaper. Thus being on guard is to avoid the habit of jewellers ; for they never look at them or at any other jewel except after having placed them in the mouth and cleaned them, after moistening, with the sleeves. Now there are poisons a small quantity of which, nay the smell, is fatal. For this reason it is necessary that none be put into the mouth except after being thoroughly washed and the thread passed repeatedly through the hole till it is clean. It is reported that al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī, peace be on him, was an expert on jewels and that they were handed to him to value and that he was poisoned in this way, just as many others have been poisoned by the forces of God before him by similar poisons.

It has been said that pearls, after their complete growth and extraction from the sea, are in danger of accidental harm if originally they contained some putridness, corrosion, worms or some unexpected misfortune should befall them through being broken in the piercing or through loosening of the skin. For this reason connoisseurs will not value them till after they have been pierced if they are valuable. So they throw them to the apprentices who are ignorant (of their value) ; so they go to work upon them with fierceness and their hands do not shake for fear of accidents. For if they were to work lazily, there would be splittings in the bored hole. Nay, sometimes they beat them so that they are occupied with weeping

and cannot think (of other things). When the pearl is pierced that danger is gone and one can get at the interior and the heat which is caused by boring is a remedy of the putridness through the air being allowed by the hole, just as the pain leaves a tooth when it is holed or bored for then the heat which causes the swelling in the flesh between the gaps finds an outlet ; sometimes the pain ceases by extracting such a tooth and the flow of the bad blood from the places next to it. The work of the polishing of the pearls and most other works are left to the apprentices whom we have mentioned with regard to the piercing.

The poet Labid has said :

“Then the water (sweat) polishes their back in the way the apprentices polish a new pearl.”

### THE REPAIR OF DISEASED PEARLS

DISEASE takes hold of living beings quicker than of plants and of plants quicker than of dead solids and this happens by the degree of moisture, and decay lays hold of it the more when the heat is unable to take its course in the natural channels which penetrate to the causes of decay. Now the pearl is part of an animal and has a resemblance to the bones (of an animal) and length of time acting upon it changes it from its (original) colour and brings it to blood and slaughter and there is no cure of the accidental happening in the very material except from the direction of its origin from the commencement. Then it may be possible to bring it back to what it was originally. As regards the inborn quality, it is with them like the feebleness of old age for which no return to the state of youthfulness can be hoped for. Concerning the change of colour when it is comparable to the hoariness in the hair no attempt can be made to change it except that like dyeing the hair which is a kind of fraud towards it. If however it is due to some outside influence which comes upon it like dirt, sweat, vapours, oils or the wafts of scent, the best way of curing (the defect) is by peeling and removal of the upper diseased layer. It is said that if a pearl is hot to the touch among its likes, it is a sign that it is worm-eaten and sometimes this worm is the original cause for corrosion. This need not cause wonder in flesh, hair and bones for being maggoty, worm-eaten and corroded. Similarly, Iyās ibn Mu‘āwīya<sup>1</sup> concluded that a snake was under a brick in the carpeting of his room because it was warmer than others without any visible outside cause which could warm it.

Sometimes the pearl is afflicted with disease in the interior of the shell due to the badness of its feeding, which (for example) is the mud such as is found in the Qulzum where the sand mixed with it petrifies it (the mud). Sometimes there is in them putrid water ; then it is pierced and it is extracted till it is empty and filled with mustac. The ‘Omānī

1. Abū Wāḥila, the judge of al-Baṣra. His grandfather was a Companion of the Prophet and he is a well-known Traditionist and died in 122 A.H.



pearl has the advantage of sweet feeding-grounds, air and a good depth of the water. This is the desired condition, as has been reported to us, and is similar to what the adepts of alchemy want and there is no proof for it except experiment nor any guide to it except experience. We shall not go into details and we shall not rely upon those who report it, for they find pleasure in it and intend to deceive by concealing it. Especially they mostly relate about the use of fire, yet fire is what spoils them and makes bones like chalk and when used in excess every part gets its share. It has been witnessed what it (fire) has done to pearls in the idol-temples which the raiders burned with eagerness and religious zeal, for a coward does not well apply fire. Now Dilhirā, their ruler, who was a prisoner with the Amīr Yamīn ad-Daula<sup>1</sup> sent a message to him saying : " These madmen cause thee loss as regards the jewels the value of which is considerable. So stop it (the fire) and leave them and the burning !" But he did not listen to his words insisting (on the destruction) as it was his habit of being contrary. Then when the fire had died down, he searched the cinders, and the precious large beads were found as if they had been chiselled from bamboo-pith and nothing worth having was found except the red corundums (rubies).

It is said that the Arabs call pearls 'Āj because 'Āj (ivory) is among the substances used for ornaments. A bedouin has said .

" The water of 'Umaira from the hands of a milcher was yellow like 'Āj through being kept from sight and by perfumes."

I do not think that he meant pearls, though pearls are praised for being kept from sight, but he meant ivory itself for its yellowness like pearls and because they mention their custom and that of the Indians who make for their women armlets of ivory, thin ones differing in width and narrowness according to the circumference of the wrist and they (the Arabs) call them Waqf. An-Nābigha has said :

" Like a wristlet of ivory which has been touched with pungent musk which the merchants bring from the Yaman."

Really one should turn away from this kind of thing which cannot be relied upon were it not that one hopes it to be possible and that it might be of advantage for something treasured.

Naṣr says : If the lustre of a pearl has gone and it has become dusky, it should be put into a sliced leg of mutton and this leg of mutton wrapped in fermented dough, then put into a jar and heated over a fire ; then when it is taken out, it should be oiled with camphor. Similarly, they say that if it (the pearls) were buried in rice-flour for some days that (lustre) which has gone, will return. Likewise if it were treated with the marrow of bones and the juice of pumpkins. They say also concerning the whiteness of a spoiled pearl that it should be cast into sharp vinegar with a carat of sal-amoniak and a grain of borax (tankār) and a grain of nitre (būrāq) and three grains of powdered Kalī, then boiled gently in an iron ladle. Then the ladle should be lifted of the fire and (the pearls) plunged

1. The Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna and conqueror of the Panjab.

into cold water and rubbed with Andarānī<sup>1</sup> salt and afterwards thoroughly washed with water. This is on the assumption that it peels off the upper layer of its face.

They say : If the change (of colour) be due to the perfume of scents, it should be placed in a clay-lined pot in which is soap and Nūrā (unslaked chalk) which has not been slaked and Andarānī salt in equal parts on which is poured sweet water and wine-vinegar ; then it is boiled on a gentle fire and the scum of the soap continually ladled off and thrown away till it ceases (to make any more foam) and (the mixture) is clear in the pot. Then the pearl is taken out and washed. They say concerning those pearls which are yellow or black that they are placed in a piece of cotton-wool and placed in Riyāhī<sup>2</sup> camphor, then they are placed in a cotton cloth and hung in pure mercury and put into a vessel and placed over a gentle charcoal fire for the space of time one can count slowly one hundred and fifty. Then it is removed from the fire and cooled, care being taken of draft (touching them) and if necessary this is repeated.

If the blackness is in the skin, it (the pearl) is plunged into the milk of figs for forty days, then changed into a vessel in which is Maḥlab,<sup>3</sup> Khirwa and camphor, one part of each ingredient, and placed over charcoal-fire for two hours without fanning the fire, then it is taken off. If (however) the blackness is in the interior it is smeared with bees-wax and placed in a vessel with the sour juice of lemons and is shaken continually ; the sour juice is renewed every three days till it whitens. If it is yellow and the yellowness is in the skin, it (the pearl) is soaked in milk of figs for forty days then changed into a vessel in which are equal parts of soap, kali and borax and the same is done in a like case with the black ones. If the yellowness is in the interior, it is placed in (a mixture of) Maḥlab, Simsim<sup>4</sup> and camphor in equal parts, all finely ground, so that they are buried in it ; then dough is wrapped round it and it is placed in an iron spoon and upon it is poured the oil of sheep's trotters so as to cover it and then it is boiled twice over a gentle fire and then taken off. If the pearl be red, it is boiled in fresh milk, then smeared with Persian Ushnān,<sup>5</sup> camphor and Yamanī Shabb,<sup>6</sup> in equal parts made into a paste after having been pounded very fine and mixed with fresh milk ; with this it is covered thickly and then it is placed in dough made of fresh milk and bread in an oven. If the

1. Rock-salt said to be named after a Syrian village named Andar.

2. Riyāhī camphor is mentioned by Ibn al-Baitār, IV, 42-43 ; it is said to be named after a king named Riyāh or Rabāh. This kind is also called Faṣṣūrī after a place called Faṣṣūr, which is on the east coast of Sumatra (cf. Ferrand, *Relations* ; Nuwairī, *Nihāya*, XI, 292-295). The reading Riyāh or Rabāh is uncertain as both occur in works dealing with drugs and scents.

3. Maḥlab is the seed of the tree *Cerasus Mahaleb* ; Khirwa is *Ricinus Communis* from both of which oils are extracted.

4. Simsim is the plant *Sesamum Orientale* from which the Sesame oil is extracted.

5. Ushnān is soda derived from a number of plants especially *Salsola Kali* L.

6. Shabb is alum.

pearl be leaden in colour, it is steeped in the sour juice of lemons for three days, then washed with the white of eggs and protected against drafts.

### ON THE CONDITION OF THE MARJĀN

IT has already been stated concerning the word Marjān that in the dialect of the people of the Yaman it is derived from the verb *Marajtu*<sup>1</sup> meaning *I mixed*, because they are mixed grains of jewels, but this does not distinguish a pearl (Durra) from a Marjān. The popular idea is that it (Marjān) is a coral which is a maritime plant, and those who lean to this opinion have no other proof than the popular idea and it is far-fetched and due to imaginations from sayings like those one finds in the book of Oribasios<sup>2</sup> that musk is a remedy against worry, fright, sadness and pains in the heart if with it are unpierced pearls, Marjān, opium, honey and saffron. Perhaps the author of the book mentioned the coral in his language (or dialect), then he surmised after the custom of ordinary folk and translated it by Marjān. Now Marjān are the small pearls for in poetry occurs what confirms this and again what contradicts it and the repetition of some (of these verses) is a pleasure to the ears and a sharpening of the wit. Abul Alā' as-Sarawī<sup>3</sup> has said :

“ Our eyes made rain pour and gushed in their flow blood and swift tears

“ Like pearls and Marjān which are ceaselessly strung in necklaces, both loose and tight ones.”

Now as he compares pearls and Marjān side by side with tears and blood, he hides the meaning by a comparison with corals ; but perhaps Abul 'Alā' intended only the following one after another and the joining and not the colour. 'Abd al-Malik al-Hārithī<sup>4</sup> has said :

“ They place Marjān between the pearls as if on their necks are alternate hailstones and life coals.”

In this case if the word Marjān was intended for small pearls, it would not be correct as small pearls are not intersected by large ones, and if it were done, it would not be praised since the small ones are really refuse and they are only used as a substitute for the large ones. For it is the small ones which are used for being placed between the large ones so that the eye catches those which are (thus) separated. As-Ṣanaubarī says :

“ As if its (the garden's) trees had clothed themselves with green mantles and were crowned with pearls and Marjān.”

Because the white flower is never free from some redness which is either in the bud or in the centre of the flower and hence the opinion

1. This etymology if wrong, the word is an abbreviation of the Syriac *Margānitha*.

2. He was physician to the Roman emperor Julianus (361-63 A.C.) and wrote a medical encyclopædia Bērūnī cites from his works frequently in his own work on drugs.

3. A poet of the third century, a native of the town Sarī in Ṭabaristān (*Tha'ālibī*, *Yatīma*, III, 280).

4. He may be the same as 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd al-Murādī, a poet of the second half of the fourth century of the Hijra of whom *Tha'ālibī* cites some verses (*Yatīma*, I, 364).

leans the way that here he means corals. Abū-Ḥayya<sup>1</sup> has said :

"When they let drop their talk to the youth, their talk is like the dropping of the pebbles of Marjān from the hand of the one who strings them."

Corals are petrified, hence they can be called pebbles but the pearl is a small bone and not a stone. Of course it is possible that a pearl may be called a pebble on account of its close relation, as its rivals are stones and because the various kinds of ornaments are more frequently mine-products, though the pearl and the oyster-shell are of similar composition, and the oyster-shell and their like are called in books *Khazaf* which is a manufactured stone. Abū Nuwās has said :

"Oh pearl ! which glitters in the redness of gold."

And this verse of his :

"Crowned with pearls and Marjān like a rose betwixt red anemones."

So he thinks that the white pearl is adorned in the necklace between two reds, meaning the ruby and the coral. Such a necklace would be uncommon and of bad taste. On the contrary the small pearls are put between every large pearl and two encompassing rubies filling the place between them, holding them apart ; then on account of their polish the redness of the ruby glistens and can be compared with the redness of gold. *Dhur-Rumma* says :

"As if the loops of the Marjān were hung upon the mother of a kid of the gazelles of al-Mashāqir."

Loops are not attached to pearls, especially not to small ones, but corals are bored lengthways and hence he imagined that they were hung on loops. Nay, sometimes they are not bored at all and then they make of silver or gold hooks or loops. The verse of al-Akḥṭal specifies it (Marjān) as a pearl and not coral :

"As if the rain-drops were pearls (Marjān) which he (the antelope) lets drop upon the horns, the sides of the back and the haunches."

Now it is incumbent upon us that we turn to the seas as they are the places where pearls and Marjān are found and by giving this special attention we shall further elucidate what we are about.

## MENTION OF THE SEA AND DEEP WATER

LEXICOGRAPHERS say about Baḥr (the sea) that it is much water in bulk which does not flow (like rivers) and 'Alī ibn 'Isā<sup>2</sup> insists upon its quantity and he says that the Arabs call both salt and sweet Baḥr if it be in quantity. From this comes the saying of the Almighty :<sup>3</sup> The two Baḥr

1. A poet of the first century of the Hijra. (A short biography in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, XV, 64-65).

2. 'Alī b. 'Isā ar-Raba'i, a pupil of Sirāfi and Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, died in Baghdād in 420 A.H. over 90 years old (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, V, 283 ; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 344, etc.).

3. *Sūrat al-Furqān*, v. 55.

(seas) were mixed (when meeting), namely the sweet and the salty. Ḥassān<sup>1</sup> has said :

“ My tongue is a trenchant sword, no blemish in it, and my sea is not made turbid by buckets (let down in it). ”

Buckets are not let down into the sea but in wells, though the mention of Baḥr (sea) is more majestic. Abū-Ḥanīfā ad-Dīnawarī<sup>2</sup> insists that the word implies expanse of space and he adds : The seas (Biḥār) are between lands and are spacious, the singular is Baḥr. Kuthayyir<sup>3</sup> has said describing a torrent :

“ It leaves overthrown trees of Arāk<sup>4</sup> and Tanḍub<sup>5</sup> and leaves blue (pools) in the neighbourhood of the seas. ”

He means puddles of water. He says the water of rain is clear when it is fresh and becomes blue when clarified.

In the *Dīwān al-Adab*<sup>6</sup> we find : The sea is called Baḥr on account of its Istihbār,<sup>7</sup> that is its outspreading. Others say that Baḥr means a vast flow with much water and from the point of quantity it can be applied to spring-water in comparison and eliminates other similar ones, as for example the Nile is a Baḥr in relation to a branch-channel or a watering wheel and compared with the Sea of Syria it is not a Baḥr which in relation to the world-embracing ocean is only a branch-channel. The word Yamm<sup>8</sup> (deep water) is applied to the Nile of Egypt because the land of Egypt once used to be a sea, then the water sank away as it became silted with soil and there remained seven channels. This is well known from the books on principles. They also say that the word Baḥr is derived from the verb *Abḥara al-Mā*, i.e., the water became salty, and the waters of the seas are salty. Nuṣaib<sup>9</sup> has said :

“ The water of the earth has become a sea (Baḥr) which has added to my illness that the sweet drink has become salty. ”

Others say that it is called Baḥr on account of its depth and its splitting away from the earth and the declivity of its surface through its depth.

1. Ḥassān b. Thābit, the poet of the Prophet, mentioned before.

2. Aḥmad b. Dā'ūd b. Wanand died according to the best authorities in 282 A.H. His history has been preserved, but his chief work on plants has unfortunately been lost as it was the most comprehensive work of its kind and is cited very frequently by Arabic lexicographers. (Biographies are in Yāqūt's *Irshād*, I. 123 ; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 132, etc.).

3. A poet of the first century mentioned before.

4. Arāk is the name of the tree, *Salvadora Persiaca*, the wood of which is used by Arabs for toothpicks.

5. Name of a tree the wood of which when burned gives an abundance of smoke.

6. An Arabic lexicon by Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī, uncle of the author of the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, al-Jauharī. He died in 350 A.H. Manuscripts, mostly ancient, are found in many libraries. The work is important as it is the basis of the *Ṣaḥāḥ* of Jauharī and it is the first work arranged in accordance with the last radical letters.

7. This is not correct, the opposite is the case Istihbār is derived from Baḥr. The same is the case with other derivations cited further on.

8. Yamm is the Syriac word for sea or deep water.

9. A poet of the first century of the Hijra mentioned before.

From this word is derived *Bahīra* for a camel whose ear is slit after she has given birth to five youngs. One also says *Tabahhara*, *he was profound in knowledge* when he has penetrated it to the other side. Others say that it was called so (*Bahr*) on account of its water becoming changed through opacity and darkening of colour. They say of blood that it is *Bāhir* and *Bahrānī* when it is thick and black. They say about the swelling sea (the open sea) *Lujj* that it is that of which one cannot see the shores from the middle on account of its vastness and its abundance of water. They use for *Lujj* (open sea) also the word *Sharm* so also the word *Sharm* is used in place of *Bahr*, because its place has been cut off from the earth and both *Sharm* and *Bahr* mean the cutting off. He recited :

“I did not wish on account of my love for ‘Alwa that we were on a raft of timber in the sea and had no wealth.”

As regards *Yamm*, al-*Khalīl* says that it is the sea the bottom of which cannot be reached, nor its shores, and it is the same as *Lujja* (the open sea). They say : *Yamma (al-Behru) as-Sāhilā* when it overflows the shore and rises above it. There is no difference of opinion that *Yamm* and *Bahr* are synonymous and that this (*Yamm*) is its name in Syrian. However the Holy Writ speaks of it differently from the explanation of al-*Khalīl* for it is there used for all massed waters ; for God Almighty says :<sup>1</sup> “Then did we seize him and his armies and plunged them into the sea (*Yamm*).” The drowning of Pharaoh was in the Red Sea which is near the town of *Qulzum* which lies at the end of its tongue and the Hebrews know it by the name of *Bahr Šūf*, that is the Sea of Rushes as if they were growing in the shallow water of the tongue and its breadth there is considerably falling short of the description given by al-*Khalīl*. God Almighty says :<sup>2</sup> “Then if thou fearest for him, cast him into the deep water (*Yamm*).” This is by restraint as it refers either to the river Nile or one of its branches leading to ‘*Ain Shams*, the capital of Pharaoh. Anyone standing on the bank of the Nile can easily see what is on the other bank. The Almighty says speaking of Moses :<sup>3</sup> “We shall certainly burn him or cast him into the deep water (*Yamm*).” This was in the desert at-*Tih*<sup>4</sup> and it is impossible that there should be any sea or even a lake or a swamp ; it was either a pool in which water had collected from the torrents of rain-water or a watering-trough filled with water oozing from the rocks. As against the appellation of *Bahr* and *Yamm* for one (and the same) thing in the Holy Writ and in tales is that al-‘*Ajjāj*<sup>5</sup> makes them separate ones when he says :

“Like a mighty sea which is overwhelmed by *Yamm*.”

1. *Sūra* 29, v. 40.

2. *Sūra* 28, v. 6.

3. *Sūra* 20, v. 97.

4. The desert of mount Sinai where the jews wandered the forty years.

5. A poet of the first century who composed only *Rajaz* verses. As central Arabian he would hardly know what the Syrian word *Yamm* really meant.

This is what the lexicographers have said about the sea and its definitions and they know best ; but the truth is that it is the gathering of waters to which flow the rivers running on the earth and nothing flows to them (the rivers) except accidentally during the tides and that is thick water mixed with earthy particles. In addition to its thickness (the sea-water) is strongly salty, approaching bitterness. Some people assert with regard to its name that it means *cutting* from another point of view and that is its authority. I mean the crisis (Buḥrān) in serious diseases which cut off the proper order during its days as to what the condition of the sick person will turn and behold its (the sea's) changes conceal the causes of ebb and flood on two days or two months in the seas.<sup>1</sup> So the order concerning them is cut off and their coming-in and going (of the tides) are for various kinds of advantages. God be our help !<sup>2</sup>

F. KRENKOW.

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1. I am not quite clear what Bērūnī here really means.

2. The following two chapters, for some reason unknown to me, were originally omitted in the press and had to be printed as an appendix at the end of the work.

## FREE-WILL AND FATALISM IN ISLAM<sup>1</sup>

EUROPEAN commentators on Muslim theology are generally of the opinion that Islam is a strictly fatalistic religion for the Qur'ān, according to them, preaches absolute predestination of man's actions and volitions by the arbitrary Will of God. Thus they say :

(1) "The Qur'ān, generally speaking, teaches a rather crass determinism...."<sup>2</sup>

(2) "It is this dark fatalism which, whatever the Qur'ān may teach on the subject, is the ruling principle in all Muslim communities...."<sup>3</sup>

(3) "In this we have before us the adequate idea of predestination, or, to give it a truer name, predamnation held and taught in the schools of the Qur'ān...."<sup>4</sup>

(4) "It is not Islam that has created fatalism, but the desert ; Islam has done no more than accept and sanction a state of mind characteristic of the nomad...."<sup>5</sup>

These European critics of Muslim theology, however, have lost sight of the most important fact that the Qur'ān has clearly advocated freedom and responsibility for man along with his predestination. Islam, as such, cannot be charged with crass determinism, as the European commentators have unfortunately done. Even the orthodox theologians of Islam who accepted the teachings of the Qur'ān *bilā kayfa walā taṣbīh*, read unadulterated fatalism into their religion and declared boldly : 'Whatever has, or shall come to pass in this world, whether it be good or bad, proceeds entirely from the Divine Will, and has been irrevocably fixed and reconciled on a preserved tablet by the pen of fate.'<sup>6</sup> If everything has been

1. Free-will and fatalism are ethico-theological concepts. Free-will in ethics is often interpreted as libertarianism or self-determinism and theological fatalism is often called predestination and is sometimes interpreted as determinism or necessitarianism.

2. Noeldeke's *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 90.

3. Rev. E. Sell's *The Faith of Islam*, p. 277.

4. Palgrave's *Central and Eastern Arabia*, Vol. I, p. 367.

5. André Servier's *Islam and the Psychology of the Musalmans*, p. 20.

6. Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 472.



thus predestined by God, then man's claim for freedom and responsibility is reduced to a mere pious illusion. But the orthodox theologians, in their anxiety to preserve the absolute sovereignty of Allāh, overlooked the logical incompatibility between fatalism and human responsibility on the one hand and God's justice and His predestination, on the other.

The European commentators, however, sensed inconsistency between fatalism and human responsibility and they boldly declared with the moralists that 'either free will is a fact, or moral judgment a delusion.'<sup>1</sup> They observed further that if Islam believes in fatalism and denies free-will then there is no justification for holding man responsible for his actions and volitions which have been arbitrarily predestined by God ; and, if God demands responsibility from man by denying him freedom, then there is no way of escape from accepting the inevitable logical conclusion that God is an arbitrary and unjust Ruler. It is because of this that Prof. McDonald has characterised the God of Islam as 'the absolute Semitic despot who guides aright and leads astray . . . ,'<sup>2</sup> and Monckton Milnes has likened Him to

"An unconditioned, irrespective will,  
 "Demanding simple awe,  
 "Beyond all principles of good or ill,  
 "Above idea of Law."<sup>3</sup>

In order to save Islam from such undesirable attacks the rationalistic thinkers of Islam defended freedom and responsibility for man by denying fatalism, as the *Ahl at-tauhid wal-'adl*. They vindicated God's justice by declaring that He has made 'man undetermined in a world determined by strict law.'<sup>4</sup> Thus, as against the orthodox theologians, they boldly maintained that ' . . . in Islam, there is no such thing as fatalism '<sup>5</sup> and that man is free and responsible for his actions and volitions. Man is not compelled by God to will or to do a certain thing ; man enjoys freedom and is determined by himself alone. Islamic rationalism,<sup>6</sup> as such, interpreted free-will in terms of self-determination which has been welcome to the Western moralists ; but Islamic dogmatism<sup>7</sup> could not reconcile itself with the logic of rationalism and challenged the latter with the doctrine of fatalism. Thus, the problem of free-will and fatalism in Islam has had a chequered career of its own and has proved to be the hot-bed of a long-drawn controversy.

1. Martineau's *Types of Ethical Theory*, Vol. II, p. 41.

2. McDonald's *Muslim Theology, etc.*, p. 128.

3. Monckton Milnes' *Palm Leaves*, p. 36.

4. *An-Nazzām, the Mu'tazilite*.

5. Khwāja Kamāluddīn's *The Threshold of Truth*, p. 84.

6. By Islamic rationalism I mean the standpoint of the Mu'tazilites.

7. By Islamic dogmatism I mean the standpoint of the orthodox theologians and all those who believe in absolute fatalism.

Islam, in fact, has been threatened with an insurmountable difficulty. The controversy between free-will and fatalism has placed it between the horns of a dilemma. If, with the rationalists, Islam believes in man's freedom, then God's absolute sovereignty is impaired, although His justice and human responsibility are substantiated ; if, however, it believes in dogmatic fatalism, it cannot logically vindicate God's justice and human responsibility, although fatalism undoubtedly establishes God's absolute sovereignty. But, is the controversy really insoluble ? Are the doctrines of free-will and fatalism really irreconcilable ? Could we not attempt a reconciliation between them and escape between the horns of the dilemma by pointing out that free-will and fatalism are not mutually exclusive and that man, in the true sense, can be both free and predestined at the same time ? It is thus and thus alone that God's justice and sovereignty could be vindicated along with man's free-will, fatalism and responsibility.

Such a position, although apparently untenable, has been virtually accepted by Islam and this will be evident from a thorough analysis of the nature of man on the one hand, and of the nature of the relation between God, man and the material world, on the other. With the Qur'ān in hand and God overhead and reason as our guiding principle, we can boldly assert that in Islam man has been regarded as a complex organism, a repository of spirit, mind and matter which constitute his transcendental, empirical and material selves.<sup>1</sup> Due to his complex nature, man is at once higher than the angels and lower than the brutes, and the Qur'ān has explicitly stated that 'Of the godliest fabric We created man, then brought him down to the lowest of the low.'<sup>2</sup> This 'godliest fabric' is the spiritual self of man and that which has 'brought him down to the lowest of the low' is his material self. The spiritual self is rational and is the reservoir of Divine potentialities inasmuch as 'God...breathed of His Spirit unto him'<sup>3</sup> and made him His representative on earth. Being a reproduction of the absolute, the spiritual self (*rūḥ*) of man constitutes his essence or reality. Man's material self, on the other hand, is irrational and is swayed by its unreal and brutal tendencies, appetites and desires which can only be controlled by the 'categorical imperatives' of the spiritual self. In between the spiritual and the material selves of man stands his empirical or psychological self. This empirical self is equally unreal with the material self, for like the latter it is neither a substance nor a subject. Consciousness, the attribute of the empirical self, cannot exist *per se*. It is simply the resultant of the activity of the spiritual self upon the raw materials of sensation. The empirical and the material selves, as such, are used as mere vehicles through which man's spiritual or transcendental self as subject expresses itself.

1. The absolute, transcendental, empirical and material selves correspond to God, man's spirit, mind and body.

2. The Qur'ān, Sura 95 : 4.

3. The Qur'ān, Sura 32 : 6 : 8.

Having in view this analysis of the nature of man as a complex of the transcendental, empirical and material selves, we are now in a position to examine how far and in what sense man can be regarded as free and determined at the same time and whether free-will and fatalism can be reconciled or not. The transcendental self of man, which constitutes his essence or reality, has been strictly determined by the Divine potentialities and, as such, the transcendental self of man seems to be predestined by the absolute self. The unreal empirical self of man, again, is determined not only by the Divine potentialities of the transcendental self and the repressed 'complexes' of the unconscious but also by the appetites and desires of the material self along with the sense-data from the physical world. The empirical self, as such, has been likened to 'a theatre, where several perceptions successively make their appearance, pass, repass, glide away and mingle in an infinite variety of postures and situations.'<sup>1</sup> If the transcendental and the empirical selves of man are thus determined, his material self must necessarily be doubly burdened with determination, limitation and negation. The material self is not only determined by the other selves and ultimately, by the absolute self, but it is determined too by the principles of uniformity and causality of the physical world of nature. If man is thus determined in every respect, then fatalism or determinism proves victorious and man's free-will reduced to a mere 'polite fiction.'

But is man, in the true sense of the term, really governed by fatalism or determinism? If man is essentially a spirit (*rūh*) and if his spiritual self is vitally connected with the Absolute Self of God, then man must partake of Divine freedom. This vital connection between man and God has been neglected by all the deterministic theories. In fact, God in Islam is not simply a transcendent spectator. He is at once 'far off and near,'<sup>2</sup> both transcendent and immanent; He is the *natura naturans* over against the *natura naturata* and is 'nearer to us than the artery in our neck.'<sup>3</sup> Once this vital connection between man and God is recognised, as Islam has invariably done, then man's freedom of the will could never be questioned. Man, in so far as he is a spirit, is free in the true sense of the term; his empirical and material selves, on the other hand, are strictly determined.

Man, as spirit, enjoys not only potential and actual freedom; he has the capacity to realise the ideal of absolute freedom which is the prerogative of God alone. If God as Spirit is free in the absolute sense, then man as spirit is free in the relative sense. This relative freedom of man, however, manifests in two forms—potential freedom and actual free-will which are vitally connected with each other. The potential freedom of man's spiritual self has been directly derived from the freedom of the Absolute

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1. Hume.

2. The Qur'ān.

3. Idem, 2 : 16.

Self along with his other potentialities which are all Divine in their origin. Man, however, enjoys the power (*Qadr*) to convert his potential freedom into actual free-will by the light of reason alone. Reason enables man to know that his potential freedom has its source in God, and it is reason, again, that directs him to will to enjoy that freedom in an actual form. Reason gives knowledge and knowledge is expressed through will and man's actual free-will, as such, is the resultant of his potential freedom and actual will which are combined together by the light of reason or knowledge alone. Thus, man enjoys not only potential freedom, but also actual free-will and he is not merely determined as the determinists maintain.

This actual free-will of man, however, is only relative and not absolute and it has been confounded with the Western doctrine of freedom as self-determination. It is in virtue of this actual free-will that man is regarded as a self-directive, self-regulative and self-legislative person. It is due to this actual free-will again, that man is held responsible for his actions and volitions. The empirical and the material selves of man, however, are strictly determined by the actual free-will which appertains to his transcendental or spiritual self. It is the spiritual self alone that enjoys not only potential freedom but also actual free-will. This freedom of the spiritual self is manifested through his mental and physical functions on the one hand, and the external world of nature, on the other. If man has been made the representative of God on earth,<sup>1</sup> he has also been granted the required freedom to control the ongoings of both the internal and the external worlds. That is why man remains 'undetermined in a world determined by strict law.'<sup>2</sup>

This actual free-will which appertains to the spiritual self of man cannot, however, be identified with the Western doctrine of 'freedom as self-determination.' According to Islam, the self that determines freedom is not the finite self of man, but the Absolute Self of God. It is God and God alone Who has determined man with freedom along with other potentialities. Even the rationalists of Islam failed to recognise this vital connection between man and God, and along with their Western followers they subscribed to the doctrine of freedom as self-determination without trying to understand the nature of the real self that determines freedom. The self of man which derives its strength from God becomes a mere nonentity when it is severed from its source in the absolute. Thus, if free-will is interpreted as self-determination, then according to the tenets of Islam, it should mean determination by the Absolute Self of God. Islam does not believe in unbridled liberty for the individual, nor does it maintain absolute fatalism for him. On the other hand, it establishes a happy reconciliation between free-will and fatalism. The spiritual self of

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1. The Qur'ân, Sura 6 : 165.

2. Vide *An-Nazzâm*, the *Mu'tazilite*.

man, according to Islam, has been determined with freedom by the Absolute Self of God.

The Islamic interpretation of freedom as determination by the absolute self is confronted with two difficulties. The critics of Islam might point out that if man's freedom is determined, it is no real freedom even if it is determined by God. So determinism proves victorious and man's responsibility vanishes. Secondly, they might argue that if God has determined man in every respect, then fatalism or predestination win the battle and there is no justification for human freedom and Divine justice. As against both these criticisms Islam maintains that free-will is not necessarily incompatible with fatalism and that a man can be both free and predestined at the same time without there being any difficulty in establishing human responsibility and Divine justice. Islam points out that the first argument of the critics, who themselves advocate the doctrine of 'freedom as self-determination,' is self-contradictory. If the determination of man's freedom by God makes freedom unreal, then the determination of the same freedom by man makes it all the more unreal. If the self-determinists confound freedom with absolute liberty, then Islam begs to part company with them. Islam, however, is prepared to accept whole-heartedly the position that freedom as self-determination is only relative and unreal.

Man, according to the teachings of Islam, can never be absolutely free because that threatens the absolute sovereignty of Allah. Islam believes on the contrary, that 'by no means can aught befall us but what God has destined for us.'<sup>1</sup> If the opponents read into this verse the expression of fatalism or predestination, Islam gladly points out that such an expression is thoroughly reconcilable with the view that God has predestined man to freedom too. That is why Allāh bids us to 'repel evil with what is good.'<sup>2</sup> This freedom of man to repel evil has been predestined by the freedom of the absolute, but it cannot, as such, be identified with an absolute freedom. The actual free-will of man, however, is only relative and it is perfectly compatible with the Islamic conception of predestination by God. Predestination or fatalism, in Islam, means nothing more than prevision on the part of God. God, to whom the past, present and future appear as one eternal 'Now,' has foreknowledge or prevision of the manner in which the individual would be freely developing or not, his God-gifted potentialities. Thus, free-will and fatalism on the one hand and human responsibility and Divine justice on the other, are aptly reconciled by the Islamic interpretation of freedom as self-determination.

If man has been thus predestined with actual and potential freedoms, he must necessarily be held responsible for all his actions and volitions, although his freedom is only relative and not absolute. The Western

1. The Qur'ān, Sūra 9 : 51.

2. The Qurān Sūra 34-35, 5-41.

critics have rightly pointed out that a man cannot be held responsible for involuntary actions. Islam subscribes to this view and maintains that God does not arbitrarily hold man responsible for actions which are beyond his control, nor does He 'impose upon any soul a duty but to the extent of its ability.'<sup>1</sup> Not only this; the God of Islam is so good and just that 'if any one of you does evil in ignorance and later on turns away from it in repentance and acts aright, then He is Forgiving, Merciful.'<sup>2</sup> Thus, the Western critics have not at all been justified in stigmatising that the God of Islam as an unjust despot when He demands responsibility from man for all his actions and volitions which are determined by his knowledge and freedom. The God of Islam, on the other hand, is so good that He '...bids not to commit filthy actions'<sup>3</sup> and '...if He were to exercise His own Will, He would guide all into right.'<sup>4</sup> Thus, it is evident that Allāh has not only determined man with freedom, but by so doing He has limited too the freedom of His own choice. This limitation of God's freedom, however, has not been imposed upon Him by any outside agency, but by His own good and just nature. Thus, Divine justice is perfectly compatible with fatalism, freedom and human responsibility.

The freedom that man enjoys and for which he is held responsible, is his actual free-will. This actual free-will which the Westerners have confounded with their doctrine of self-determination, however, is developed from his potential freedom as given by God. The doctrine of self-determination, when detached from its source in the absolute, gives man only relative and unreal freedom. That is why the doctrine of self-determination does not afford man the highest type of freedom. The relativity and unreality that appertain to self-determinism are based on ignorance alone. Islam does not remain content with such an unreal and relative freedom. It exhorts man to realise the ideal of absolute freedom through the path of self-realisation in the absolute. Thus, according to the teachings of Islam, freedom as self-determination has to be supplemented by the real and absolute freedom as self-realisation.

In reality, the doctrine of self-determinism proves to be empty and blind when it is cut adrift from its theological moorings. Once we recognise our vital connection with God through knowledge, and pierce through the veil of illusion surrounding self-determination, we shall enjoy the ideal of absolute freedom through self-realisation in the absolute. Islam, however, switches on the vital connection between the finite and the infinite self and interprets self-determination in terms of determination by the Infinite Self of God. This recognition of the infinite in the finite which enables man to taste the honey of absolute freedom is possible of attainment through self-realisation alone.

1. The Quran, *Sūra* : 286, 40-2.

2. Idem „ 54.6-6.

3. Idem „ 7 : 28.

4. Idem „ 16 : 9.

Free-will and fatalism in Islam represent rather two aspects of the same spiritual self-realisation. That which appears as predestined to God's prevision, is accepted freely as an ideal by the individual. Such a predestined ideal, however, does not play the role of the will-o-the-wisp which recedes as we approach it. Rather it is an ideal which is capable of realisation in our actual life. The moment we recognise the vital connection of our spiritual self with the absolute, we enjoy the only real freedom—the freedom of the absolute. In reality the more we realise our spiritual nature, the more we are free; and the more we are captivated by the sensual pleasures of the material self, the more we are constrained and determined. To rise above the unreal pleasures and determinations of the material self and to recognise the common basis of free-will and fatalism in the absolute, is self-realisation in the true sense of the term; and such self-realisation enables us to realise the ideal of absolute freedom in our ethico-theological life. Thus, if Hegel has identified the real with the rational, Islam has advanced a step forward in identifying the real with the ideal. If self-realisation supplies man with the ideal of absolute freedom, it gives him too the only real freedom which transcends the unreal and relative freedom of self-determination.

The realisation of the vital connection between man and God and the attainment of the ideal 'freedom as self-realisation' is dependent upon proper knowledge, prayer and self-culture. It is by means of knowledge alone that man's potential freedom is transformed into his actual free-will, and it is by means of knowledge, again, that he recognises the vital connection between God, man and the world. God, in Islam, expresses Himself through the ongoings of the mental and the physical worlds which, in other words, are symbolic manifestations of the absolute. The Qur'ān says: 'We shall show them our signs in the outside world and inside themselves.'<sup>1</sup> As knowledge implies the interpretation of the manifest content or such signs in terms of their latent content,<sup>2</sup> to know a thing implies viewing it *sub specie æternitatis*. The more we recognise the mental and the physical worlds as self-revelations of the absolute, the more we embrace Him with faith and reverence; and the more we gain faith in Him, the more we pray for Him; and the more we pray for Him, the more we realise our self in Him; and the more we attain to the stage of self-realisation, the more we enjoy real freedom,—the freedom of the absolute. Thus, the realisation of real freedom in the ethico-theological life of man involves self-realisation through knowledge, faith and prayer. 'Remember God often,' the Qur'ān says, and such remembrance is prayer which, as Dr. Iqbāl has rightly pointed out, is 'the ego's escape from mechanism to freedom.'<sup>3</sup> Prayer, in other words, enables man to realise his vital connection with the absolute and thus to

1. The Qur'ān, Sura 52. 6-41.

2. Vide Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*.

3. Vide *Six Lectures*, etc. by Dr. Iqbāl.

partake of His freedom. Thus, self-realisation implies freedom in the true sense of the term.

It should be noted, however, that freedom as self-realisation transcends the limitations of freedom as self-determination, but it does not necessarily supplant the latter; rather, the unreality and relativity of self-determination is supplemented by the ideal of absolute freedom through self-realisation. The doctrine of self-realisation has enabled Islam to reconcile the apparent opposition between free-will and fatalism. When man, through knowledge, self-culture and prayer, realises his Divine nature, he finds that free-will and fatalism represent rather two aspects of the same truth. That which is fatalism to God's prevision, is freely realised by the individual in his practical life. Thus, if self-determination gives man only limited and relative freedom, self-realisation grants him real and perfect freedom.

The Islamic doctrine of self-realisation is to be distinguished from the Buddhistic ideal of self-annihilation or *nirvana*. The doctrine of self-realisation recognises two phases in the spiritual development of man. In the first phase, which is known as *fanā-fillāh*, the devotee passes away towards God through constant remembrance or prayer. This phase has some resemblance with the doctrine of self-annihilation or *nirvana* of the Buddhists inasmuch as, like the latter, it is negative in its outlook. Both aim at the annihilation of the self in the absolute. But, whereas *Nirvana* is purely negative involving, as it does, the complete self-annihilation of the finite in the infinite, the negative element in *fanā-fillāh* is supplemented by the highest ideal of *baqā-billāh*, where the finite self, after passing away into the infinite, enjoys everlasting life in God. This ideal of *baqā-billāh* does not, like *nirvana*, snatch away freedom and independence from the individual; rather, it entitles him to enjoy freedom of the absolute.<sup>1</sup> This is self-realisation in the highest possible sense.

Freedom as self-realisation is also different from the doctrine of eudæmonism.<sup>2</sup> Eudæmonism, involves, no doubt, self-realisation, but the self that it aims at realising is the harmonious development of the rational and the irrational selves of man. The Islamic doctrine of self-realisation, on the other hand, transcends the ideal of eudæmonism and advocates the realisation of the spiritual self in the absolute. This, according to Islam, affords man the highest type of freedom. The spirit, being the highest reality in man, the rational and irrational selves prove to be nonentities through which the spiritual self expresses itself. It is due to this reason that Islam discards both hedonism and asceticism along with eudæmonism and advocates the ideal of self-realisation which grants man perfect freedom, the freedom of the absolute.

Thus, we find that the Islamic conception of freedom as self-realisation is at once distinct from the doctrine of self-determination and self-annihilation on the one hand, and the ideals of hedonism, asceticism

1. Vide Nicholson's *Mystics of Islam*.

2. *Ethics* by Seth.



and eudæmonism, on the other. The relative and unreal freedom of self-determination, along with man's potential freedom and actual free-will, is supplemented by the absolute and real freedom as self-realisation. Islam, as such, has granted man freedom of various degrees. Lowest in the scale is his potential freedom which is converted into his actual free-will through knowledge, and highest in the scale is his real freedom as self-realisation to be obtained through knowledge, prayer and self-culture. Thus, if man enjoys free-will in every respect, he should naturally be held responsible for all his actions and volitions. Islam, as such, cannot be called a strictly fatalistic religion ; nor should its Allāh be stigmatised as an ' arbitrary despot ' for demanding responsibility from man.

Islam, however, does not discard fatalism altogether ; rather it justifies fatalism in a scientific spirit. It maintains that free-will and fatalism are not mutually exclusive ; on the contrary, they are perfectly compatible with each other such that a man may be both free and predestined at the same time. Fatalism, in Islam, means prevision of God about the future which the individual *freely* realises in his life-time. Free-will and fatalism, in other words, represent rather two aspects of the same spiritual development in man. It is only when man realises the vital connection of his spiritual self with the absolute through knowledge, prayer and self-culture that he is enabled to discover the common basis of the identity between free-will and fatalism in the absolute. To rise to that stage of freedom through self-realisation is to recognise Providence and to realise the intimate connection between ethical freedom and theological fatalism.

Thus, ethical freedom as self-determination is supplemented by the Islamic doctrine of freedom as self-realisation. This is the most important and the most original contribution of Islam to the problem of free-will and fatalism.

M. U. AHMAD.

# FRATERNIZATION (MU'ĀKHĀT) IN EARLY ISLAMIC SOCIETY

WHEN (the Prophet) Moḥammad preached the fraternity of Islam and abolished the ancient ties of family and tribe, he soon realized the necessity of substituting other ties for those he had declared to be null and void. He therefore, tried to bring his followers into closer union by introducing Mu'ākhāt (مؤاخاة) or brotherhood between each pair of his congregation. This unification was attempted on a principle fundamentally different from that which was in vogue in ancient Arabian society, both settled and nomadic. Our chief sources of information on the subject are : *Sīrat* of Ibn-Hishām (p. 344), which is the earliest source ; the *History* of Ibn-Khaldūn (Vol. II, 161) ; *Khamīs* of Diyārbakrī (I, 397-98) ; and *Insān al-'Uyūn* of Ḥalabī (II, 101). There are also occasional remarks about it in other works, such as Ibn-Hajar's *Iṣāba*, Ibn-Qutaiba's *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* and Ibn al-Athīr's *Usud al-Ghābah*. These brotherhoods were concluded, as the formula runs :<sup>1</sup>

على الحق و المؤاساة و يتواردتون بعد المات دون ذوى الارحام .

There is also a tradition about the ritual observed at the ceremony of fraternization :<sup>2</sup>

قال . . . انّ النبي صلعم حين آخى بين اصحابه وضع يده على منكب على ثم قال انت اخى ترثنى  
و ادرثك .

Similarly, we read in Ibn-Hishām (p. 344) :

قال ابن اسحاق و آخى رسول الله صلعم بين اصحابه من المهاجرين و الانصار فقال فيما بلغنى  
و نعوذ بالله ان نقول عليه ما لم يقل تاخوا في الله اخوين اخوين ثم اخذ بيد على بن ابى طالب رضوان

1. Ibn-Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 1.

With due respect to the learned author, I should say that the narrator of the tradition, Muḥammad ibn 'Omar al-Wāqidī, is not considered credulous enough by the Traditionists. Vide *Tahzib al-Tahzib* of al-Asqalānī, Vol. IX., p. 364.—Ed., I. C.

2. Ibn-Sa'd, Vol. III, pt. 1, p. 14.

The words ritual and ceremony are rather loosely used as the same act was not repeated at all occasions of Fraternization. Moreover, Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il has also been suspected as untrustworthy. See *Tahzib-al-Tahzib*, Vol. IX, p. 61.—Ed. I. C.

الله عليه فقال هذا اخى فكان رسول الله صلعم (سيد المرسلين و امام المتقين و رسول رب العالمين الذى ليس له خطر و لا نظير من العباد) و على بن ابي طالب رضوان الله عليه اخوين .

From this cautious description of the ceremony, which from its very restraint may be accepted as genuine, there is a far cry to the rather elaborate narrative, given by Ḥalabī (II, 101) :

ذكر ابن الجوزى عن زيد بن ابي اوفى قال دخلت على رسول الله صلعم فى مسجد فجعل يقول اين فلان اين فلان فلم يزل يتفقدهم و يبعث اليهم حتى اجتمعوا عنده فقال انى محدثكم بحديث فاحفظوه و عوه و حدثوا به من بعدكم ان الله تعالى اصطفى من خلقه خلقا ثم تلا هذه الاية : الله يصطفى من الملائكة رسلا و من الناس ، و انى اصطفى منكم من احب ان اصطفيه و اواخى بينكم كما اخى الله تعالى بين ملائكته قم يا ابا بكر فقام فجثا بين يديه صلعم فقال ان لك عندى يدا الله يحزبك بها و لو كنت متخذًا خليلا لاتخذتك خليلا فانت منى بمنزلة قميصى من جسدى و حرك قميصه بيده ثم قال ادن يا عمر فدنا فقال قد كنت شديد الباس علينا يا ابا حفص فدعوت الله ان يعز بك الدين أو بابى جهل ففعل الله ذلك بك و كنت احبها الى الله فانت معى فى الجنة ثالث ثلاثة من هذه الامة و اخى بينه و بين ابي بكر .

These brothers were expected to support each other. They used to go to battle together, as we learn from Ibn-Sa'd and Ibn-Hishām. They even inherited from each other, to the exclusion of their blood-relations. How seriously the obligations involved were taken, may be seen from the story of Sa'd bin al-Rabī, who asked his "brother" 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf to take whatever he liked of his property and to marry one of his wives.<sup>1</sup>

Caetani, in his *Annali dell'islam* (Vol. I, p. 408), devotes a paragraph to these brotherhoods and gives a list of those persons who were thus united. This list is based on that given in Ibn-Hishām and compared with and augmented from Ibn-Khaldūn, Ḥalabī and Ibn-Ḥajar. It contains the names of eighteen pairs of brethren, with the addition of three variants. It is certain that Ibn-Ishāq's list is not complete, for other sources state the number of pairs to have been 45 or 50. Moreover, as Caetani points out, it is not altogether reliable, since it contains obvious errors.

Nearly all the sources are agreed on the time during which this institution prevailed. According to Ibn-Ishāq, Ibn-Sa'd (Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 1) and other authorities mentioned above, the brotherhoods were concluded between Muhājirūn, and between Muhājirūn and Anṣār and were abolished at the time of the Battle of Badr by the revelation of the āyāt al-Mīrāth, by which the right of inheritance was regulated. The Arabic authors regarded this date as the criterion to judge whether a brotherhood was likely to have existed between certain men or not. For instance, the

1. Ibn-Sa'd, III, pt. 1, p. 89.

tradition that Salmān al-Fārisī was "brother" of Abū-'d-Dardā' or Hudhaifa is rejected as incorrect<sup>1</sup> since Salmān came to Madīna two years after Badr (Ibn-Sa'd, IV, 60). Similarly, it was impossible, as some authorities would have it, that Ja'far bin Abī-Tālib was the "brother" of Mu'ādh b. Jabal, since he had gone to Abyssinia and did not return until after Badr and the abolition of brotherhoods (Ibn-Sa'd, Vol. IV, 23; Ibn-Hishām, p. 344). Likewise, the genuineness of a tradition about the existence of a brotherhood between Abū-Dharr and al-Mundhir b. 'Amr of the Banū Sā'ida is denied by al-Wāqidī for the reason that Abū-Dharr, even after his conversion to Islam, continued to live among his own people and did not repair to Madīna until after al-Khandaq (cf. Ibn-Sa'd, III, 2, p. 100).

Whereas it is certain that the institution of brotherhood, if not abolished formally, was at any rate discontinued after Badr and no new brotherhoods were concluded after that date, it is not so certain at what time the Prophet introduced this institution. In a note to the section on these brotherhoods, Caetani draws attention to the fact that in Ḥalabī (II, p. 101) and *Khamīs* (I, 398), mention is made of the conclusion of brotherhood between Muslims in Mecca before the Hijra. The relevant passage in Ḥalabī runs thus :

هذا كلام ابن الجوزي و هو يقتضي انه صلعم بعد الهجرة آخى بين المهاجرين و الانصار ايضاً  
لما آخى بينهم قبل الهجرة و هذا لا يتم الا لو آخى بين غير ابى بكر و عمر من المهاجرين و يكون ابن  
ابى اوفى اقتصر و المعروف المشهور ان المؤاخاة انما وقعت مرتين مرة بين المهاجرين قبل الهجرة و مرة  
بين المهاجرين و الانصار بعد الهجرة و الله اعلم .

Caetani also refers to a note in Ibn-Hajar's *Iṣāba* (II, 586), according to which brotherhood existed in Mecca between Ṭalḥa bin 'Ubaidullah and az-Zubair bin al-'Awām. To this may be added the following passage from *Iṣāba*, II, p. 891 (No. 9322, in the Art. on 'Abdullah b. Mas'ūd) :

و آخى النبي صلعم بينه وبين الزبير و بعد الهجرة بينه و بين سعد بن معاذ .

This statement would imply the existence of fraternities before the Hijra in Mecca ; and seems to have escaped Caetani's notice. Ibn-Hajar does not give his authority for this statement ; Ḥalabī quotes Ibn-al-Jauzī ;

1. This Tradition is also ascribed to an untrustworthy Traditionist. Further the words of the Tradition انما كان يكران كل مؤاخاة كانت بعد بدر do not imply that all other Traditionists also refused to accept fraternization concluded after the battle of Badr. And there is no reason why such fraternization should not be accepted since the Āyāt-i-Mirāth did not put an end to principles of this institution other than that of Mirāth. Even in Mirāth one-third of the dead man's property was allowed to be distributed among the legatees. Briefly stated, I think that the question in issue is largely dependent upon understanding the psychology of the Muslim peoples and background of the Muslim faith. — *Ed. Islamic Culture.*

while the authorities in *Khamīs* are Ibn-Hajar and Ibn-'Abd al-Barr.<sup>1</sup> In another work of his, *Fath al-Bārī bi Sharh Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Ibn-Hajar refers once more to the conclusion of brotherhood in Mecca in a passage which is quoted in *Khamīs* as the source. Ibn-al-Athīr, too, knew that brotherhood had been concluded between the earliest converts in Mecca before the Hijra; he refers to it twice in his *Usud al-Ghāba*, once under az-Zubair (II, 197) and again under Ṭalḥa bin 'Ubaidullāh (III, 59). So far as I know, the brotherhoods concluded in Mecca do not find mention elsewhere in our published sources. However, in the hitherto unpublished *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar* by Muḥammad bin Ḥabīb, of which there is a unique MS. in the British Museum, we find a chapter on Mu'ākhāt in folios 26b to 28a, which begins with a list of brotherhoods concluded in Mecca. The heading of this chapter and the last sentence of its first paragraph expressly state that the Companions mentioned in fol. 26b, 1-17-28a, 1-8 had been brethren in Mecca."<sup>2</sup> Ibn-Ḥabīb enumerates nine such pairs, viz., the Prophet and 'Alī b. Abī-Ṭālib; Ḥamza and Zaid bin Ḥāritha; Abū-Bakr and 'Umar; 'Uthmān and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Auf; az-Zubair and 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd; 'Ubaida b. al-Ḥārith and Bilāl; Muṣ'ab b. 'Umair and Sa'd b. Abī'l-Waqqās; Abū-'Ubaida b. al-Jarrāh and Salīm, mawla of Abū-Ḥudhaifa; and lastly, Sa'id b. Zaid and Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaidallāh. Since Ibn-Hajar and Ibn-al-Athīr knew Ibn-Ḥabīb's *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*—they refer to the work several times and Ibn-Hajar often quotes from a chapter on the مؤاخاة—it may be assumed with a high degree of probability that they derived their knowledge of the Meccan fraternization from this work. But the fact that the pair Ṭalḥa-az-Zubair is not found in the *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar* among the Meccan brethren, speaks against this assumption.

In his *Ṭabaqāt*, Ibn-Sa'd gives in the case of each Companion the name of his 'brother'; but, although he faithfully states every variation in the pairs of names that came to his notice, he does not betray knowledge of the fact that fraternization had taken place in Mecca, not even by criticising

1. نقل الشيخ ابن حجر في شرح صحيح البخاري عن ابن عبد البر انه كانت المؤاخاة مرتين الاولى قبل الهجرة 1. بمكة بين المهاجرين خاصة روى الحاكم بن عبد الله النيسابوري حديثاً يدل على ما قاله ابن حجر وهو حديث أبي عمرو قال آخى النبي عليه الصلوة والسلام بين أبي بكر وعمر وبين طلحة والزبير وبين عثمان وعبد الرحمن بن عوف وفي رواية بين حمزة بن عبد المطلب وزيد بن حارثة فقال على يا رسول الله آخيت بين أصحابك فمن أخى قال أنا أخوك وفي رواية أنت أخى في الدنيا والآخرة وهو لاء كلهم من المهاجرين (*Khamīs*, I, 398).

For the fraternity between the Prophet and 'Alī, see also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab*, IV, 456:

الا ما ينفرد به من قول رسول الله صلعم حين آخى بين أصحابه أنت أخى وهو صلعم لا ضله ولا بد وقوله أنت منى بمنزلة هارون من موسى الا انه لا نبي بعدي النبي

2. ذكر مؤاخاة النبي صلى الله عليه بين أصحابه المهاجرين قبل الهجرة وكان آخى بينهم على الحق 2. هذه مؤاخاة مكة: (fol. 27a). The paragraph ends thus: (fol. 26b). والمواساة وذلك بمكة.

or rejecting such a supposition. Comparing the groups of names given by Ibn-Sa'd and Ibn-Ḥabīb, we find that four of the nine pairs listed by the latter as brethren in Mecca are found in Ibn-Sa'd, too, but only as variants and without any indication that their brotherhood dated from before the Hijra. These four pairs are: Abū-Bakr, 'Umar; Ḥamza-Zaid; Zubair—'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd; and Muṣ'ab b. 'Umair—Sa'd b. Abī-Waqqās. For the first pair we find four different combinations, for the second two, for the third four, and for the last pair five different combinations, in Ibn-Sa'd, without any indication that he was aware in the least that one or the other of them might refer to a brotherhood existing between them before their arrival in Madīna.

The greater part of the chapter on the Mu'ākhāt in Ibn-Ḥabīb's work is devoted to the fraternities concluded in Madīna. Ibn-Ḥabīb agrees with the other authorities in that this institution was abolished at the time of Badr with the revelation of the āyāt al-Mirāth; and he, too, rejects the Tradition about the brotherhood of Salmān al-Fārisī and Abū-'d-Dardā', arguing in the same way as other authors have done. His list comprises 56 pairs; in the case of 'Umar and 'Uthmān he adds two different combinations, so that he mentions 60 pairs altogether. Moreover, Mu'ādh b. 'Afrā' is connected with 'Umar and with Ma'mar b. al-Ḥārith. The total number of pairs taken from Ibn-Sa'd (who has not, however, drawn up a list like the one in *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*) is sixty, out of which eight names occur in various combinations. In four cases Ibn-Sa'd adds that the Tradition is doubtful, false or impossible. He also mentions four pairs, who are alleged to have become brethren only after Badr or even after *Khandaq*, which shows the tradition to be spurious. These Traditions do not gain anything in authenticity by the additional information, as in the case of al-'Abbās and Naufal b. al-Ḥārith, that they had been boon companions even before the advent of Islam.<sup>1</sup>

A comparison between the pairs, as given by Ibn-Ḥabīb and Ibn-Sa'd, yields the following result:

Forty-nine pairs are identical.

Nine pairs are identical, but there are slight variations in the respective names. For instance, Ibn-Ḥabīb associates Suwaid b. 'Amr with Wabb b. Sarḥ; whereas Ibn-Sa'd gives the latter's name as Wabb b. Sa'd b. Abī-Sarḥ.

Two pairs are found in Ibn-Ḥabīb but not in Ibn-Sa'd, viz., Abū-Marṭhaḍ al-Ḡhanawī, ḥalīf of Ḥamza—'Ubaida b. aṣ-Ṣāmit; Shammās b. 'Uthmān b. ash-Sharīd—Ḥanzala b. Abī 'Āmir.

1. The list in Ibn-Hishām, pp. 933-34 gives five pairs, three of which agree with Ibn-Sa'd or Ibn-Ḥabīb. In addition, Ibn-Hishām connects Abū-Dharr al-Ḡhifārī with al-Miqdād b. 'Amr (whom Ibn-Ishāq does not mention in his list on p. 344 ff.)—a fraternity which is impossible, as the former came to Madīna only after the battle of al-*Khandaq*. He also speaks of a fraternity between Mu'āwiya b. Abī-Sufyān and al-Ḥutāt b. Yazīd al-Mujā'ishī, said to have been arranged by the Prophet. Al-Ḥutāt, in consequence thereof, is said to have died at Mu'āwiya's during his reign and Mu'āwiya to have become his heir.

Although the institution did not exist for a long time, it does seem to have exercised some influence on the life of the Muslim community. The Prophet's intention to create a feeling of community among his followers was helped by the facility, with which, in Arabic society, groups were formed or individuals associated with each other for the purpose of mutual protection and help: the terms, *jiwār* and *hilf* are familiar to every student of Arabian antiquity. Just as an adopted son became an equal to and was looked upon as a blood-relative, so the 'brother' considered himself a member of his 'brother's family. Ibn-Ishāq narrates that Bilāl, Abū-Bakr's *mawla*, when asked by 'Umar for the purpose of registration to which family he belonged, claimed to be a member of the family of Abū-Ruwaiḥa 'Abdallah b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Khāth'amī, his 'brother,' since the Prophet had pronounced him such. Hence also Zaid b. Hāritha's claim on Ḥamza's daughter 'Ammāra,<sup>1</sup> because he had been Ḥamza's brother at Mecca, according to Ibn-Ḥabīb (fol. 26a, where the story is told; Wāqidī-Wellhausen, p. 302, too, tells the story, but he ignores the last detail, nor does Ibn-Sa'd know of it).

Nor are we to condemn in haste 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Auf's action in claiming to be the legal heir to the whole fortune of Sa'd b. ar-Rabi'a, his 'brother,' leaving the latter's widow destitute. He remembered the formula, with which their brotherhood had been solemnly concluded: <sup>2</sup> على الحق و المواساة و يتوارثون بعد المات دون ذوى الارحام. This incident, however, showed the Prophet the social injustice of the institution. The widow is said to have come to the Prophet, weeping and complaining, how she and her children had been deprived of their livelihood. After a night's interval, the Prophet received a revelation, the famous āyāt al-Mirāth, by which the right of inheritance was regulated, and the family's prior right was reinstituted.<sup>3</sup> The revelation of this verse marked the formal end of the Mū'ākhāt, while it had been unofficially discontinued since Badr, or at least no new brotherhood had been instituted since then. The victory at Badr not only greatly enhanced the prestige of the Muslim community as a whole, but it also materially benefited its individual members, so that it was no longer necessary to ensure their safety by artificial means. It also shows the Prophet's statesmanship and keen feeling for the trend of public opinion that he quickly perceived the necessity of abolishing an institution, which instead of being a tie between his followers, had become a source of contention and disaffection.

DR. MISS ILSE LICHTENSTAEDTER.

1. Ibn-Sa'd, III, 3; VIII, 209. Her name is given as Umama (Ibn-Sa'd, VIII, 33 and 113). Ibn-Ḥabīb calls her Amatullāh (fol. 40a).

2. Ibn-Ḥabīb, fol. 27a.

3. Wāqidī-Wellhausen, p. 146; Caetani, *Annali*, I, p. 655, note 1. Ibn-Ḥabīb connects the revelation of this verse with the complaint of Aus b. Thābit's wife and four daughters, who were deprived of their livelihood by their uncle's (عم) claim to the fortune which Aus had left. Wellhausen does not seem to have understood the meaning of the word أخ; for he says: "Brüder, damit scheint des Vaters Brüder gemeint zu sein...." (p. 147, note).

# MUSLIM CONDUCT OF STATE

(Continued)

## CHAPTER XXI

### *Enemy Property*

#### *Preliminary Remarks.*

PROPERTY may be movable or immovable. It may be owned by private individuals, or by the State. Even if it is unowned by anybody, yet the very fact of its situation within the territorial jurisdiction of a State renders it as belonging to that State. In a broad sense, all the land within the territory of a State, be it owned by private individuals or by the government itself, is supposed to be the property of the State. For, foreign aggression against the property of a private citizen in a State is as much an insult to the State as one committed against the property owned by the State. The notion is based on the idea that the world and all that is therein is God's,<sup>1</sup> and He bequeaths it to whomever He pleases;<sup>2</sup> and that the ruler of a country functions as an agent of God in that part of the world.<sup>3</sup> Hence the legal dictum that all the parts of a Muslim territory lie under the authority of the Muslim ruler (ان نواحى دارالاسلام تحت يد امام المسلمين).<sup>4</sup> There is a tradition of the Prophet :

The 'Ādite land belongs to God and to His Messenger. And thereafter does it to you. So whoever colonises a derelict land, it will be his. Yet no one has a right to an enclosure after three years [if he has not developed it].<sup>5</sup>

A commentator says :

An old thing is called 'Ādite, attributed to the people of 'Ād on account of the remote antiquity of their time, no matter whether it really belonged to them or not. Here it means a piece of land

عادى الارض لله و لرسوله ثم لكم  
من بعد . فمن احيا أرضا ميتة فهي له و  
ليس لمحتجر حق بعد ثلاث سنين .

يقال للشيء القديم " عادى " نسبة الى قوم عاد لقدم زمانهم ، سواء كان لهم او لغيرهم . والمراد ههنا ما كان قبل الاسلام في غير ملك

1. Qur'ān, 7 : 128.

2. Ibid.

3. Qur'ān, 38 : 26, 6 : 165.

4. *Mabsūṭ* of Sarakhsīy, X, 93.

5. *Khārāj* of Abū-Yūsuf, p. 37 ; *Khārāj* of Qudāmah-ibn-Ja'far, part 7, chapter 5 (MS. Köprülu, Istanbul).



which was unowned in the time before Islam, that is, situate in a place which had no owner.<sup>1</sup>

أحد أى فى مكان ليس له مالك .

Discussing the implications of this tradition, Qudāmah-ibn-Ja'far says :

To resume the matter, all that is owned neither by a Muslim nor a friendly foreigner, will be at the disposal of the ruler who may enfeoff it to whomever he pleases.<sup>2</sup>

وجملة الامر ما لم يقع عليه ملك مسلم ولا معاهد فان حكم ذلك الى الامام يقطعه من اختار .

It is to be noted that not all the property of a State is always to be found in its own territory, and not an inconsiderable extent may lie in other countries. Property belonging to embassies, to citizens temporarily residing or trading abroad, also debts and trusts, are examples thereof.

The general principle guiding Muslim law in the treatment of property belonging to an enemy has been explained thus :

The principle is that all property capable of being transferred from one ownership to another may be made booty, not otherwise. For, possession by means of occupation is just like possession by means of the other methods which effect ownership. Thus whatever may be owned by virtue of other methods, may pre-eminently be so by means of occupation.<sup>3</sup>

The different kinds of property described above are treated in different manners, as under :

### 1. State Property.

It may either be movable or immovable, and it may either fall under the general exchequer or be reserved for the royal household. For its special importance, we begin with the territory of an enemy state.

(i) *Territory*.—By conquest and occupation of a territory, the sovereignty thereof—with the obligation of protection and right of allegiance—is transferred to the conqueror. The occupation, whether permanent or strategical and temporary, gives the occupant the right of taxing, administering and otherwise treating the occupied land as a part of his dominions.

The question of how to treat conquered territory came in for sharp discussion and disputation very early in Islam. The practice of the Prophet had apparently left the matter undecided. For he had sometimes distributed the conquered land among the victorious army as booty, and at

1. شرح كتاب الخراج لابی يوسف by 'Abdal-'Azīz-bin-Muḥammad ar-Raḥabīy, fol. 73a (MS. L. aléli No. 1609, Istanbul).

2. *Op. cit.*, part 7, ch. 6 (MS. Istanbul).

3. *Muḥiṭ* by Raḍīy-ud-dīn-as-Sarakhsīy, I, 599b (MS. Waliuddin, Istanbul).

others he had not only allowed the freedom of the vanquished but even did not touch their property. The question requires closer scrutiny before recording the final settlement of the dispute in the time of the Caliph 'Umar.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the cases of the distribution of conquered lands by the Prophet among his soldiers are only those of Banū-an-Naḍir and Banū-Quraizah. Both these Jewish tribes of Madīnah had fought against the Prophet and capitulated after a siege. The Qur'ān enjoins the administering of personal laws to Jews and Christians.<sup>1</sup> It may be that the Prophet was paying these Jews in their own coin.<sup>2</sup> For the Bible commanded :—

When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be, that all the people that is found therein shall be tributaries unto thee, and they shall serve thee. And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it. And when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thine hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword. But the women and the little ones and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself ; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies, which the Lord thy God hath given thee. (*Deut. XX, 10-14*).

- In the case of the Banū-an-Naḍir, the Prophet was content only to expel them, and allowed each person to take with him a camel-load of property.<sup>3</sup> In the case of the Banū-Quraizah, it was the arbitrator of their own choice who awarded exactly what Deuteronomy provided.<sup>4</sup> Upon hearing of the decision of the arbitrator, the Prophet made only the comment that God had predestined that from above the seven heavens.<sup>5</sup>

Expulsion was also imposed upon the Jews of Khaibar after they had fought and eventually surrendered ; but later the Prophet agreed to let them stay on the land and work as lessees until further orders.<sup>6</sup> These orders were not issued before the time of the Caliph 'Umar, who, in accordance with a will of the Prophet upon his death-bed,<sup>6</sup> transported them along with other undesirable elements from Arabia to Mesopotamia.<sup>7</sup> The Jews of Fadak and Wādī'l-Qurā also agreed to the same conditions of lease as those of Khaibar.<sup>8</sup>

1. Qur'ān, 5 : 44-48. cf. supra, part II, ch. iv, section "Persons," b.

2. On hearing the award of the arbitrator, the Prophet is reported to have remarked : لقد حكمت فيهم

بحكم الله من فوق سبعة أروقة (Ṭabarīy, p. 1493—Ibn-Sa'd, 1/2, p. 54).

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 653 ; *Hist.* of Ṭabarīy, p. 1451 ; Ibn-Sa'd, 1/2, p. 41.

4. Deuteronomy, xx/5-14.

5. Ibn-Hishām, p. 764.

6. *Idem*, p. 1021 ; and others.

7. Ibn-Sa'd, 1/2, p. 83.

8. Ibn-Hishām, p. 764 ; *Futūḥ* of Balādhuriy, p. 33-35.

Regarding non-Jews, surrendering after fight, the following state-document is of interest :—

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a rescript of Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, in favour of Ukaidir at the time of his embracing Islam and forsaking the false gods and the idols before Commander Khālid-ibn-al-Walid, the Sword of God, regarding Dūmatuljandal and its environs.

To us all the lands not rich in water, and not having enclosures, the uncultivable and the neglected as also the coats of arms, the armour, the solidungular animals, and the fort.

To you the walled palm-groves, the water in cultivated lands.

Your beasts will not be prevented from obtaining pasture. Fractions will not be counted in the calculation of taxes. Pastures will not be closed against you. You will observe the daily religious services and pay the zakāt-tax.

You engage God as your guarantee. In return you will be assured of *bona fides* and scrupulous observance.<sup>1</sup>

The confiscation of all unowned land as well as the fort in favour of the State, and the maintenance of all private owners on their property were terms imposed upon vanquished people whose expulsion was not desirable.

The same seems to be the practice even regarding territories surrendering without fight. For we come across scores of enfeoffments in the time of the Prophet regarding lands situate in different parts of Arabia and Palestine in favour of people rendering useful services to the Muslim State, in spite of the fact that these places had peacefully been won over to Islam. In the documents concerning some such donations of lands, we come across the characteristic phrase "provided the land concerned is not owned by any Muslim citizen."<sup>2</sup>

Soon after the time of the Prophet, when the fertile lands of 'Irāq and Syria were occupied by Muslim armies, the soldiers clamoured for the distribution among them of the booty, in which they included lands, in accordance with the Muslim law of war-booty. The matter was referred to the metropolis of Madīnah where long deliberations ensued. The decision reached was communicated to the commanders of respective armies. Abū-Yūsuf has described the proceedings at considerable length and recorded the despatches addressed to the commanders of 'Irāqi and Syrian armies.<sup>3</sup> The translation of the latter document will suffice for our purposes :—

Abū-'Ubaidah wrote informing 'Umar of the defeat of the non-Muslims, of the spoil which God had given the Muslims, of the terms

1. Abū-'Ubaid, كتاب الاموال, § 508; Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 36; Balādhuriy, p. 61.

2. Cf. Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 45; Abū-Dawūd, II, 32; etc.

3. Abū-Yūsuf, p. 13-15, 81-82.

of peace which the peoples of the conquered countries had offered, and of the request of the Muslims to distribute among them as war-booty the cities and its inhabitants and lands with their trees and cultivation, adding that he had refused to do so until he had written to him and asked for his opinion.

‘Umar replied : Read what you mentioned of the spoils which God has given you and the terms on which you have made peace with the people of towns and cities. I consulted therein the Companions of the Prophet, who differed among themselves. My opinion follows the Book of God, Who has said :

“And that which God gave as spoil unto His messenger from them, ye urged not any horse or riding camel for the sake thereof, but God giveth His messenger lordship over whom He will. God is Able to do all things. That which God giveth as spoil unto His messenger from the people of townships, it is for God and His messenger and for the near kin and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer, that it circulate not between [only] the rich among you. And whatever the messenger giveth you, take it, and whatsoever he forbiddeth, abstain from it. And keep your duty to God. Lo ! God is stern in reprisal.

“And [this spoil] is for the poor fugitives who have been driven out from their homes and their belongings, who seek bounty from God, and help God and His messenger. They are the loyal.”<sup>1</sup>

This refers to the early Meccan refugees. Further :

“And for those remaining in [their] homeland and in their faith before them, who love those who flee unto them for refuge and find in their breasts no need for that which hath been given them, but prefer [the Refugees] above themselves though poverty become their lot. And whoso is saved from his own avarice—such are they who are successful.”<sup>2</sup>

Surely these are the Anṣār (*i.e.*, Madīnite Helpers). Moreover :

“And for those who come [into the faith] after them.”<sup>3</sup> These are the sons of Adam, white and black; and God has included them among the recipients of these spoils down to the Last Day.

So let what God has given you as spoil remain in the hands of its [original] owners yet impose the protection-tax upon them according to their capacity, which you shall distribute among the Muslims, and which will be a source of the prosperity of the country. For they know it better and master [its exploitation] in a pre-eminent degree. In no way can you or the Muslims who are with you make them part of the spoil and distribute them, since you have made peace with them and

1. Qur’ān. ch. 59, verses 6-8.

2. Ibid., verse 9.

3. Ibid., verse 10.

taken protection-tax from them in proportion to their capacity. And in fact God has explained this for us and for you, and mentioned in His Book :

“ Fight against such of those as have been given the Scripture who believe not in God nor the Last Day, and forbid not that which God and His messenger have forbidden, and follow not the religion of truth until they pay the protection-tax (*jizyah*) according to [their] capacity, being brought low.”<sup>1</sup>

As soon as you have taken protection-tax from them, you have no way and no recourse against them. Tell me, if we capture their people and distribute them, what will remain for the Muslims who will come after us ? By God ! they will not find anybody to talk to nor anything to take advantage of. On the other hand [if we do not enslave the vanquished people], they will provide subsistence for the Muslims as long as they live ; and when we die and also they, our sons will eat out of their sons as long as they live. They are the slaves of all the followers of the religion of Islam so long as the religion of Islam triumphs.

Therefore impose upon them the protection-tax and do not enslave them, and prevent the Muslims from oppressing them and doing them harm and appropriating their belongings except in the rightful way, and execute to the full the terms of peace that you have given them.

And as for the procession of the cross in their feasts, do not prevent them therefrom outside the city, if it is without banners and standards, once a year, as they have requested you. As for the inside of the city betwixt the Muslims and their mosques, no crosses should appear.<sup>2</sup>

From that time on there is practically no instance of practice to the contrary, although the Muslim jurists assert in theory that the choice is still left with the Muslim ruler, in case of new conquests of land, to distribute it as booty or to preserve it as State property, the income from which to be spent for the welfare of the whole community.<sup>3</sup> There is, however, no difference of opinion that whenever any terms are accepted by the Muslims, they must be fulfilled in good faith.<sup>4</sup>

(a) *Sacred Lands*.—There is one more peculiarity in the treatment of conquered land. Non-Muslims must be transported from Arabia where they cannot settle.

(b) *Crown Lands*.—Muslim jurists and historians mention that the Caliph ‘Umar treated ten kinds of Iranian lands as crown lands, *viz.*, lands belonging to the ex-ruler or his household, lands of those who fell

1. Qur’ān, 9 : 29.

2. *Kharāj* of Abū-Yūsuf, pp. 81-82.

3. *Idem*, p. 35-36.

4. *Idem*, p. 35.

in battle and so became ownerless, lands of those who fled from the country and did not return, lands connected with postal stations, forests and the like.<sup>1</sup>

(c) *Condominium*.—Some complication may arise regarding lands owned jointly by two States one of them remaining neutral.<sup>2</sup> Yet no belligerent will treat land as neutral if it is placed at the disposal of belligerent joint-owners for purposes of military importance, such as transit of troops, equipping and repairing of armaments and the like. Mere declaration of neutrality would be of no avail if either of the belligerents did not recognize this protestation not borne out by deeds.

(ii) *Equipment of the Army*.—In the war-zone no distinction is made of private or State property as far as war material is concerned. Men and munitions both have to bear the brunt of the war in the form of capture, destruction and damage. We have already dealt with the question of prisoners of war. The question of the distribution of booty will be treated in a subsequent section of this chapter.

## 2. *Private Property.*

There is no difference in the actual war-zone between the property belonging to the enemy State and between the one belonging to private individuals. If a city or fort is stormed, much depends upon the terms of the surrender. In *Khaibar* the Prophet obtained the condition that the vanquished enemy would surrender everything except the clothes they actually wore—though later he forsook this right as a sign of generosity. Enemy is chased and subdued, but general and indiscriminate plunder of captured towns is nowhere recorded in Orthodox Practice.

## 3. *Distribution of Booty.*

The history of Muslim law on the point is interesting. When the Muslims were chased from their Meccan home, and they founded a City-State in their refuge of *Madīnah*, they had no laws to follow regarding booty. Generally in such cases the Prophet followed the practice of the Scriptuaries. So when *Ibn-Jaḥsh* went on an expedition<sup>3</sup> just before the battle of *Badr*, he took the initiative of allotting one-fifth of the booty to the State and distributed the other four-fifths among the soldiers.<sup>3</sup> The

1. *Kharāj* of Abū-Yūsuf, p. 32; *Kharāj* of Yahyā-ibn-Ādam, p. 45 (ed. Brill); *Kharāj* of Qudāmah-ibn-Ja'far, part 7, ch. 6 (MS. Istanbul); *Hist. of Tabariy*, p. 2371. Cf. also Māwardiy and Balāḡhūriy, etc. *in loco*.

2. Cf. *supra* part 2, ch. 3, for various historical instances of joint rule. Reference may also be made to the prayer of Moses for the appointment of a sharer of his office (Qur'ān, 20: 32 (وَأَشْرِكْ فِي أَمْرِي)). Among contemporary Muslim states, Sudan is a condominium of Egypt and Britain, and Berar is a *corregnum* between Hyderabad and Britain (i.e., single sovereignty and joint administration).

3. *Ibn-Sa'd*, 1/2, p. 5; *Hist. of Tabariy*, p. 1275f.

Prophet did not accept the booty and chide the party for fighting without his permission. Three months later, the battle of Badr saw scores of enemy prisoners. The Prophet's council was divided between those who advised the decapitation of the prisoners and those who suggested release on payment of ransom. The Prophet was moved with pity and accepted the latter view.<sup>1</sup> And regarding general booty, the Prophet used complete discretion.<sup>2</sup> It was not until sometime later that a law was fixed by the Qur'ān that the booty captured after a fight should be divided between the members of the army and the State in a ratio of 4/5 and 1/5,<sup>3</sup> a horseman getting double<sup>4</sup> the share of an infantryman, without any distinction between the shares of the commander and the private. As for the booty acquired without fight, the whole went to the general exchequer and lay at the discretion of the head of the State.<sup>5</sup> This kind of booty is technically called *Fai'* as distinguished from *Ghanimah* or despoliation by force.

If a place is not stormed but has surrendered peacefully, all that the Muslim government acquires under treaty is included in *Fai'*. Recurrent tribute, non-recurrent payments under treaty, ownerless property found in enemy country but not captured during the actual fight—these are other examples thereof.<sup>6</sup> The people of Fadak got frightened at the fate of *Khaibar*, and begged peace of the Prophet on the same conditions as applied to the conquered people of *Khaibar*. The spoils found in *Khaibar* were treated as *Ghanimah*, but those of Fadak were considered as *Fai'*; and were disposed of by the Prophet at his discretion, for the same reason.

Both *Ghanimah* and *Fai'* may include not only cattles or movable property but also real or immovable property, and also slaves.

We have already discussed Muslim law on the question of lands and prisoners of war. If a slave is taken captive and is not repatriated on ransom or exchange basis or even gratis, then he is disposed of in the ordinary way. In order to overcome the difficulties of fraction, slaves are usually sold in auction, and the proceeds distributed among the capturing army and the Muslim state in the ordinary proportion of four to one.

Booty is to be distributed in the Islamic territory, which includes the newly conquered place if it is formally annexed to the Muslim territory even during the course of the war. Muslim jurists describe Badr as simply a place where victory was won over the enemy, but the place was not annexed.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, they say that *Khaibar* and the country of Banū-al-Muṣṭaliq were annexed as soon as these places were conquered by the Prophet.<sup>8</sup> That is why the booty of Badr and Ḥunain and other

1. *Hist. of Tabariy*, p. 1356; Ibn-Sa'd, 1/2, p. 14.

2. *Tabariy*, p. 1334.

3. Qur'ān, 8: 41.

4. In fact the practice of the Prophet is reported (cf. *Kharāj* of Abū-Yūsuf, p. 11) to have varied between a double and treble share for horseman. The divergence in the practice may have been due to the importance of cavalry in individual battles.

5. Kāsānīy, VII, 116.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Kāsānīy, *Badā'ī'*, VII, 121.

8. *Ibid.*

places not till then annexed to the Islamic territory, was not distributed in those places ; and it was distributed on the spot in case of Khaibar, etc.

As said, four-fifths of the booty are allotted as the prize of the capturing army. There is no distinction between a volunteer and a regular paid soldier, or between a private and an officer, even the commander-in-chief—all receive the same share.<sup>1</sup> Yet infantrymen get half—and according to some only a third—of the share of the cavalry.<sup>2</sup> The followers of the army, however, who do not fight usually, such as contractors, traders and the like—do not share the booty unless they fight.<sup>3</sup> There is no distinction, however, between those who actually fought and those who were not required to fight, although they could have fought had it been found necessary, such as those who occupy strategic positions, guards, etc. In the battle of Badr, the Prophet allowed eight persons to share in the booty in spite of their absence from war-zone. They were employed by the commander for special duties, such as scouting, etc.<sup>4</sup> Women, slaves, minors, non-Muslims, though given a gift ( رضخ ) for their meritorious work, cannot have equal shares along with Muslim grown-up soldiers. An exception is, however, made regarding non-Muslim soldiers when they form in themselves a formidable force ( لحم منعة ), or without whom the rest of the Muslim army would not be strong enough ; then they also share equally with the Muslim soldiers.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from the regular four-fifths of the booty, the soldiers get two more kinds of reward or prize for their exertion, *viz.*, *tanfīl* and *salab*, which we shall now deal.

(i) By *tanfīl* in Muslim law, we understand a prize-gift given to a soldier or soldiers for doing certain acts generally demanding greater risk of life. This is to be given out of the share of the State.<sup>6</sup>

There are many Traditions of the Prophet reporting his rewarding the soldiery with a fourth part of the State-share for captures during the forward march, and with a third of the State-share during the return journey.<sup>7</sup> The reason, as I was assured by a modern military officer, was because a return journey or retreat without complete conquest is always much more precarious than a forward march and a penetration.

(ii) By *salab* is meant the spoil taken by a victorious combatant from the slain. According to the Ḥanafite school of thought, this custom-

1. *Aṣl* of Shāibānīy, Vol. IV, ch. القسمة, and also ch. Zakāt, ما يوسع فيه الخمس والعنبر و لمن تجب ; *Fatāwī 'Ālamgīriyāh*, ch. Booty, p. 238 ; *Hist. of Ṭabarīy*, p. 1362, quoting a precedent of the time of the Prophet.

2. Ibn-Rushd, بداية المجتهد, I, 318-19, Abū-Yūsuf, p. 10-11.

3. Ibn-Rushd, *op. cit.*, I, 316-17.

4. Ibn-Sa'd, I/2, p. 6.

5. Sarakhsīy, شرح السيرة الكبرى, IV, 309.

6. Kāsānīy, VII, 114-15.

7. Ibn-Rushd, *op. cit.*, I, 320 ; Sarakhsīy, مبسوط, X, 28.



ary rule operates only upon previous declaration on the part of the Commander.<sup>1</sup>

The whole of the *salab* goes to the victor ; no fifth is shared by the State, except according to the Mālikite school. There is, however, one instance in which a fifth of the *salab* was acquired for the State by the Caliph 'Umar. It is said that al-Barā'-ibn-Mālik killed a Persian satrap in a hand-to-hand fight, and a fifth of his spoil was worth thirty thousand drachmas ; and the Caliph is recorded to have said : " Though usually we did not take a fifth from *salab*, this is worth too big a sum."—And this was the first time when a *salab* was shared by the State.<sup>2</sup> This shows that the reward of the *salab* is but a grace of the State.

Abū-Ya'lā al-Farrā' gives in detail the circumstances in which a person may rightfully claim the property of the persons whom he has slain. He says :<sup>3</sup>

(a) At the risk of life; if fired from a castle or from the backward rows, no right to the *salab* will be maintained.

(b) To kill in combat, not when the enemy is retreating with the defeated army.

(c) To slay in resistance, not for example when the enemy has laid down his arms or is taken prisoner.

(d) To kill the enemy or at least make him harmless by severing both hands and feet, or a hand and foot of the same side, or make him blind.

(e) Some hold that those who do not share in full, such as the slaves, also do not get the *salab*.

The *salab* includes not only the arms and wearing apparel but the horse, etc.

Ṣafīy.—We have seen above,<sup>4</sup> that in pre-Islamic Arabia, the commanders of the razzias used to have the right over a fourth of the booty, over the indivisible fractions, over things captured before the defeat of the enemy and general plunder, and over choice things—such as a sword, a girl, a horse, etc.—which he could select for himself before dividing the booty among the captors. Of these, as we have just seen, the fourth part was reduced by the Prophet to only a fifth, and that also went to the whole of the people not to the private coffers of the commander or the head of the State. The choice, or *ṣafīy* as it is called, was exercised by the Prophet,<sup>5</sup> and it is now considered by the generality of jurists to have

1. Sarakhsiy, l. *سوط*, N, 47.

2. Ibn-Rushd, *op. cit.*, l. 321 ; Tabariy, *اختلاف الفقهاء*, fol. 52b (MS. Istanbul) ; ad-Dabūsiy, *الاسرار*, fol. 139, ch. *Siya* (MS. Istanbul) ; Qudāmah-bin-Ja'far, *كتاب الخراج*, part VII, ch. 19.

3. Abū-Ya'lā, *الاحكام السلطانية*, fol. 46b-47b, ch. xiv. (MS. Istanbul).

4. *Supra*, part I, ch. ix, pre-Islamic Arabia.

5. Ibn-Rushd, *op. cit.*, l. 316 ; Abū-Yūsuf, *والخراج*, p. 13.

been a prerogative of the Prophet himself, except Abū-Thawr, who maintained that the prerogative was inherited by the successors of the Prophet in political office.<sup>1</sup> The rest of the pagan customs were abolished by Islam.

#### 4. *Postliminium or Return of Things and Persons captured by the Enemy.*

Muslim law recognizes that if the enemy captures a thing from the Muslims, he becomes the rightful owner of it.<sup>2</sup> So much so that he may sell it to Muslims.<sup>3</sup> And if the owner of such a property is given quarter, no case may be brought against him in the Muslim Court regarding such property as he may possess at the time which originally belonged to Muslims.<sup>4</sup>—In short, same rights are recognized by Muslim law in this respect for the enemy as are possessed by Muslims, and the Muslim jurists admit that “in the sufferings of this world, Muslims and non-Muslims are equal.”<sup>5</sup>

If a member of the Muslim army is taken prisoner by the enemy, no matter whether he is Muslim or non-Muslim, and enslaved, he recovers his freedom as soon as he is out of enemy jurisdiction.<sup>6</sup> The same is true of enemy persons taken prisoner by the Muslim army: if they escape and reach a place of security, they regain their freedom.<sup>7</sup>

Regarding the postliminium it is to be noted that if any thing possessed by Muslims was captured by the enemy and was again taken back by the Muslim army, it had to be handed over to the ex-owner upon production of evidence, before the distribution of the booty.<sup>8</sup> For it was the duty of the State to take care of the interest of its subjects. If it was distributed before the ownership was proved, then the ex-owner had only the right to acquire it from the new-owner upon payment of its value, that is, he had the prior right of purchase.

1. Ibn-Rushd, *op. cit.*, I, 316.

2. Sarakhsiy, المبسوط, X, 54.

3. Idem, p. 61.

4. Idem, المبسوط, X, p. 52, 61.

5. Dabūsiy, الاسرار, fol. 147b, ch. اصابة الكفار.

6. Sarakhsiy, المبسوط, X, 93.

7. Ibid.

8. Sarakhsiy, المبسوط, X, 54; for a case of the horse and slave of Ibn-'Umar, cf. Shaibāniy, Aṣl, ch. ابواب السر في ارض الحرب (MS. Aya Sofia).

## CHAPTER XXII

*Women in the Muslim Army*

AS early as the time of the Prophet, women took part in battle as nurses,<sup>1</sup> transporters of the wounded and the dead,<sup>2</sup> cooks,<sup>3</sup> water-carriers,<sup>4</sup> general servants,<sup>5</sup> and in some emergent cases even as actual fighters.<sup>6</sup> In the battle of Qādisiyah (in the year 14 H.), women dug graves for the dead.<sup>7</sup> In the time of Sarakhsīy (d. 483 H.), women were employed in camps even as store-guards.<sup>8</sup>

Although later jurists insist that such female volunteers should be of advanced age,<sup>9</sup> we come across cases of youthful and even unmarried girls in the expeditions of the Prophet. (cf. Ibn-Hishām, p. 768). 'Ā'ishah, the wife of the Prophet, was very young when she was present at the battle of 'Uḥud where she and several other lady-volunteers supplied water to the wounded.<sup>10</sup> According to Bukhārīy,<sup>11</sup> the wives of the Prophet used to accompany him even after the command about veils. There is a story of a young girl in the battle of Khaibar.<sup>12</sup> Bukhārīy has several chapters<sup>13</sup> on women going on sea-warfare, nursing the wounded, transporting the injured to hospitals, or otherwise rendering service to the soldiers. Shaibānīy also allows young women to volunteer in military expeditions if their near relatives had no objection: "A free woman may lawfully go on military expeditions along with near relatives, in order to nurse the wounded; but she should not go without the permission of her near relatives, be she of advanced age or young."<sup>14</sup> (والحرة تجوز لها ان تخرج الى ( الغزو مع المحرم فتداوى الجرحى و تقوم على المرضى و لاتخرج بغير اذن المحرم عجوزا ثانت او شابة).

1. Sarakhsīy, السير الكبير, IV, 206; Bukhārīy, 56: 67; Ibn-Hishām, 688; 'Umar-ibn-Muḥammad, نصاب الاحتساب, ch. احتساب على النساء, fol. 11a, b (MS. Istanbul); Sarakhsīy, الوجيز, fol. 150a (MS. Fātil, Istanbul).

2. Bukhārīy, 56: 67; Sarakhsīy, السير الكبير, IV, 200.

3. Sarakhsīy, المبسوط, X, 70.

4. Bukhārīy, 56: 67, 68; 64: 22.

5. Ibn-Hishām, p. 768, during the expedition of Khaibar.

6. Ibn-Hishām, p. 573; Burhānuddīn-al-Marghīnānīy, المحيط, III, ch. من يجوز له الخروج الى الجهاد من غير كراهية (MS. Yanījāmi', Istanbul); Sarakhsīy, السير الكبير, III, 207.

7. Tabarīy, Hist., p. 2317.

8. Sarakhsīy, الوجيز, fol. 50a (MS. Istanbul).

9. Fatawī 'Ālamgīriyāh, in loco.

10. Bukhārīy, 56: 65, 67.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibn-Hishām, p. 708.

13. 56: 63-67.

14. Sarakhsīy, السير الكبير, III, 206.

The aunt of the Prophet killed with her own hands a suspect Jew when he was roaming around the wall of a small fortress where she was sent for safety.<sup>1</sup> The wife and daughters of the great *Khālīd-ibn-al-Walīd* made a name for horsemanship. In the battle of *Qādisiyyah* a band of lady-volunteers, armed with thick sticks, rendered valuable service in actual fighting<sup>2</sup> and once saved the situation by marching in ranks, giving the impression of the arrival of reinforcements.<sup>3</sup> In this battle one tribe alone had seven hundred husbandless (widow or otherwise) women,<sup>4</sup> from which the number of the whole female contingent may be approximated. In the battle of *Jamal*, 'Ā'ishah commanded the army to oppose the forces of 'Alīy, the Fourth Caliph.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### *Treatment of the Dead*

WE have described above, that mutilation of enemy dead is strongly forbidden by Muslim law. Respect is always to be paid to the dead. So the Prophet used to stand up even if a non-Muslim's body was being borne to burial.<sup>5</sup> Dead bodies of the fallen enemy,<sup>6</sup> as those of Muslims, are to be buried.<sup>7</sup> If the enemy request the handing over of the body of some dead person of their side, it may not be refused. So the Prophet did, and even went so far as to refuse to accept money offered by the enemy in lieu of the handing over of the dead body, during the battle of *Khandaq*.<sup>8</sup> *Abū-Hanīfah* is, however, of the opinion that if money is offered in this connection by the enemy, it may be accepted. For, he argues, the property of the enemy may be captured by the Muslims, and if they offer it willingly, its acceptance cannot be forbidden.<sup>9</sup> The practice of the Prophet to hand over the dead body freely seems, therefore, to represent piety rather than strict law : *taqwā* and not *fatwā*.

1. *Hist. of Tabariy*, p. 1479-80.

2. *Idem*, p. 2362-63.

3. *Idem*, p. 2387.

4. *Idem*, p. 2363.

5. *Bukhāriy*, 23 : 50, recording sayings and doings of the Prophet.

6. *Abū-Ya'la*, *الاحكام السلطانية*, fol. 30a (MS. Istanbul). Also practice of the Prophet recorded in *Badr*, cf. *Ibn-Hishām*, etc., *in loco*.

7. *Tabariy, Hist.*, p. 2317.

8. *Hist. of Tabariy*, p. 1476 ; *Ibn-Hanbal*, I, 271.

9. *Shaiḥānīy*, *Aṣl*, ch. *ما زاد محمد في آخر كتاب السير*

## CHAPTER XXIV

*Non-Hostile Intercourse with Belligerents*

DURING war occasions often arise when the belligerents are compelled or persuaded to enter into temporary non-hostile intercourse with each other. Although hostility continues *de jure*, active operations cease *de facto* on the whole or part of the front. It depends entirely upon the mutual arrangement of the opposing parties.

1. *Parley.*

The first example of such intercourse is the exchange of messages. Thus when one party desires a parley with the adversary, it makes some intelligible sign—nowadays white flags are in general use—to that effect, requesting that its message-bearer be allowed to approach the opposite commander and deliver what he is entrusted and authorised to deliver. Such emissaries are generally accompanied by interpreters.

From time immemorial the persons of message-bearers of enemy have been recognised and held inviolable. Islam sanctions this reasonable custom.<sup>1</sup> Enemy message-bearers may not be made victims of molestation or any other personal injury or insult, even during return journey.<sup>2</sup> Yet it is not necessary that one should always agree to receive an emissary of the enemy ; and in such a case one must notify refusal.

A message-bearer is given due respect, yet if military necessities require, he may be blindfolded ; and he is bound in honour not to take advantage of his position for the purpose of obtaining military information, whether or not physical means are used to hinder him therefrom. Usually he may not be detained, but in special cases he may even be kept in honourable detention for a while until the urgencies of the situation pass.<sup>3</sup> He may even be taken to some other place if need be, but he must be compensated for the expenses of the extra journey ; and he must be left in or led to a safe place only.<sup>4</sup>

Anything approaching treachery on the part of the message-bearer may be dealt with severely, and this would deprive him of his personal inviolability. For rights of message-bearers, as those of others, correlate obligations. ( لا يكلف الله نفسا الا وسعها لها ما كسبت وعليها ما اكتسبت ).

1. Sarakhsiy, الميسور, X, 92.

2. Cf. *supra*, part II, *Diplomacy*.

3. Sarakhsiy, السير الكبير, I, 320-22.

4. *Ahkām as-Salāṭīn w'al-Mulūk*, ch. IV, (MS. 'Arif-Hikmat, Madinah).

## 2. *Exchange of Prisoners.*

During war sometimes exchange of prisoners and other captures, interchange of communications, and other such things take place. As they are of mutual interest, they are tolerated and even sought after. Specially is the release of prisoners—on payment of ransom or otherwise as described in a previous Chapter—of prominent importance. Now-a-days special officers are appointed for this purpose. They are sometimes allowed to enter enemy territory, and sometimes a place on the border is chosen. They as also the vessels and other vehicles of conveyance used for that effect, enjoy inviolability in going to and returning from the place where exchange is effected. Obviously such conveyance parties, cartels as they are called, are bound, on point of losing immunity, not to take any active part in hostilities nor even to do things not connected with the purpose for which they are employed, such as transporting of food-stuff, etc., unless expressly allowed by the enemy. For a description of actual cases see Mas'ūdī's التنبیه والاشراف , pp. 189-90.

## 3. *Permission for Travel, Transportation of Goods and Licences to Trade.*

Classical Muslim writers on law make little difference between "quarter given to a besieged and severely beaten enemy" and "permission to travel or trade in the Muslim territory." Further, the non-Muslim of a State allied or otherwise at peace and the non-Muslim of a belligerent are often styled with the same name. And it is almost impossible to detach the rules of the one from the other except in cases when the authors choose to distinguish by qualifying adjectives. Everything they mention in the general chapter on Giving Quarter (أمان). And such foreigners are called *Musta'min*.

We have already seen, in the beginning of this Part of our thesis, that it rests wholly and solely with the Muslim government whether and to what extent to permit its subjects and those under its jurisdiction to trade with a belligerent State. And Muslim jurists seem to side with those who opine that everything is permitted unless prohibited.<sup>1</sup> There is no reason to exclude trade from this all-embracing condition.

Enemy subjects might be, and were,<sup>2</sup> granted permission to travel within such part of the Islamic territory, for such a time, and under such conditions as described in the permit papers and passes. We have also seen that in olden times it was customary to suppose as a matter of course that if a merchant was granted permission, it implied permission to his servants and wife and children, without express mention. Unlike the

1. Cf. *Supra*, part I, ch. VI, §. 10.

2. For instance, Abū-Yūsuf, p. 78.

quarter given to a beaten and besieged enemy, where nothing is granted as a right unless expressly provided for, permits to trade or travel render immune both life and property. And automatically they confer the right to sue in Muslim courts for matters and transactions connected with the permit which occur during the stay in the Muslim territory during the period prescribed in the permit. *Ash-Shaibānī* is emphatic that : " It is a principle that the ruler of the Muslims is bound to protect quartered foreigners as long as they are in our territory, and to do justice to them against those who do (them) wrong."<sup>1</sup> It is to be taken for granted that such foreigners are pre-eminently liable to be sued by the subjects of the Muslim state. The foreigners will be under Muslim penal law regarding their criminal acts,<sup>2</sup> and under civil law for their transactions. And even when they return home, unless their country is conquered by the Muslim state, or they are taken prisoners, debts and trusts due to them are supposed to remain active ; and their heirs, if they themselves die, may claim them.<sup>3</sup> I wonder, if they subsequently become Muslim subjects, would these rights revive ? It has also been mentioned above that foreigners cannot be sued in the Muslim court for acts or transactions entered into before their entering the Muslim territory, even though the interests of Muslim subjects are jeopardised.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4. *Contraband of Trade.*

State interests sometimes require prohibition of the export of certain kinds of goods to foreign countries, not only in time of war but even in time of peace. This, which is technically called *contraband of trade*, is an old thing in Islamic jurisprudence, to be traced even to the time of the Prophet.<sup>5</sup> The description of later jurists is obviously very elaborate. They say, for instance, that whatever is utilised for military purposes, cannot be allowed to be exported from Muslim territory, and base their argument not only on the practice of the Prophet, but also upon Qur'ānic verses like the following :

(a) And let not your hatred of a folk who stopped your going to the Inviolable Place of Worship seduce you to transgress ; but help ye one another unto righteousness and pious duty. And *help not one another unto sin and transgression.* (5 : 2)

(b) O Prophet ! strive against the disbelievers and the hypocrites ! *Be harsh with them.* (9 : 73)

1. *Sarakhsīy*, السير الكبير , IV, 108.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Aṣl of Shaibānīy*, (MS. Aya Sofia), ch. "باب ما يترك المستمن إذا دخل أرض الحرب فيدعه في"

"دار الإسلام أو يموت في دار الإسلام"

4. الجامع الصغير of *Shaibānīy*, pp. 40-41 (MS. Aya Sofia, No. 1385).

5. Cf. *infra*.

One such writer says :

It is not permissible to a trader to export to an enemy country from which the belligerents may receive help against fighting the Muslims, such as weapons, horses, non-Muslim slaves and all that is helpful in war.<sup>1</sup>

And he excludes as clearly the other things :

And there is no harm in the export of cloths, household goods,<sup>2</sup> foodstuff, and the like. For they do not come under the meaning of (military) help.<sup>3</sup>

And he even records practice of the kind :

And such has been the practice from all times that they (i.e., the traders) are used to enter the enemy territory for commercial purposes. And nobody has cast blame or reproach upon them.<sup>4</sup>

It seems certain that the preparation of the list of contraband things depends entirely upon a government which may even change and modify it from time to time. For this we have a decisive precedent of the time of the Prophet when Thumāmah-ibn-Uthāl, a chieftain of Yamāmah, embraced Islam and informed the Meccans : " Not a grain of Yamāmah will reach you unless and until the Messenger of God permit that."<sup>5</sup> When the Meccans were reduced to great straits on that account, they besought the Prophet to lift the ban on their foodstuff and cloths (ميرة), which was graciously conceded.<sup>6</sup>

Naturally, not only are Muslim subjects forbidden to export contraband to non-Muslim countries, but also all persons who are in Muslim territories. So Kāsānīy adds :

And so also the belligerent, who enters Muslim territory (by permission), will not be allowed to purchase weapon ; and if he has purchased, he will not be allowed to export them to the belligerent country.<sup>7</sup>

Although foreign subjects are allowed to bring with them whatever they like of wargear and are free to take it back with them when they return, yet they cannot change one kind of implement with another. If they change, for example, their sword for bows and arrows—as the old writers say—they cannot be allowed to take these newly acquired things with them. Even if they change sword for sword, spear for spear, and others for the same kind, it will be ascertained whether the new things

1. Kāsānīy, VII, 102.

2. Household goods, the actual word used is متاع, which (according to شرح السير الكبير IV, 74) means things which are used while they subsist, e.g., bedding, pots, etc., unlike food.

3. Kāsānīy, *ibid*.

4. *Ibid*.

5. Ibn-Hishām, p. 997.

6. *Ibid. et seq.*

7. Kāsānīy, VII, 102 ; cf. Mabsūṭ of Sarakhsīy, X, 91, Kharaāj of Abū-Yūsuf, p. 118.



are not better in quality. If they are, then they come under contraband. Otherwise, when equal or worse in quality, no restriction may be imposed. And his own imports, even of the finest quality, can neither be confiscated nor forced to be exchanged with other things, for this would be a violation of pledge.<sup>1</sup>

In this last category, however, one exception is made. So the Muslim jurists<sup>2</sup> say that a slave, professing Islam, cannot be allowed to be owned by foreigners and exported to belligerent territory, even when he was owned by the resident alien and imported by him along with him; the master will be compelled to leave the slave professing Islam in the Islamic territory through sale or some other way. This lest he may be forced to apostatise. And history shows that these fears are not groundless.<sup>3</sup>

We may conclude this Chapter with a State document of the time of the Prophet, in which trade with the enemy was expressly permitted :

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

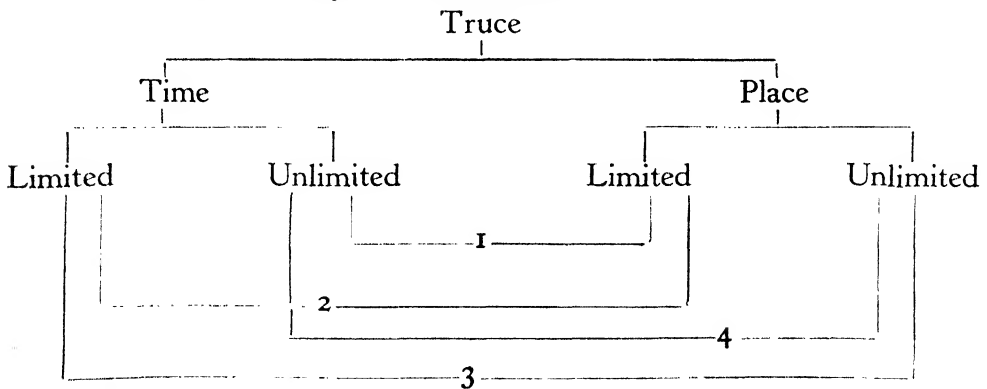
This is the writ of protection from God and Muḥammad, the Prophet and Messenger of God, in favour of John son of Rubin and the people of Ailah.

Their boats and their traders on land and sea shall have the protection of God and of Muḥammad, the Prophet. This includes also the people of Syria, of Yaman, of countries beyond the seas (اهل البحر) who are with them (i.e., the people of Ailah).<sup>4</sup>

It is to be noted that Ailah (modern 'Aqabah, on the Red Sea) was subdued by the Prophet during the expedition of Tabūk, in the year 9 H., when he had set out against the Byzantines. This could not prevent him from permitting his vassal to trade with the enemy.

#### (5) *Truce and Armistice.*

A truce after war may be of four kinds :



1. Kāsāniy, *ibid.*

2. *Mabṣūṭ* of Sarakhsiy, X, 89.

3. Cf. *supra*, part III, ch. xv/2, b, penultimate paragraph and footnote thereto.

4. Ibn-Hishām, p. 902; Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 37; Abū-'Ubaid, *كتاب الاموال*, §. 513; etc.

The first of these is the one in which time and place of truce are fixed and limited. This generally occurs during war on a battlefield, so that the parties may carry on parleys, bury the dead, or take precaution against common danger, such as flood, etc.

The second may be for a fixed place yet unlimited in time. I have not come across a case of this kind in early Islamic history. Modern demilitarisation and neutralisation, in which Turkey has sometimes been a victim, may perhaps be referred to in this connection.

The third, general yet for a fixed period, is sometimes an armistice to conclude a treaty of peace. During such truce, all belligerent acts are forbidden. It is also possible that this general peace for a fixed time should be a complete peace and not merely an opportunity for negotiation. A most important instance of this latter kind is the treaty of Hudaibiyah between the Prophet and the Meccans, which brought peace for a fixed period of ten years, at the end of which each party would be at liberty to attack without further notice. We may also cite the case of the Caliph Mu'āwiyah. He had concluded a peace for a definite period with the Byzantines, and had marched with his troops towards their border before the expiry of the term, so that he might attack immediately after the treaty of peace lapsed. But one old soldier chid him, and said that he had heard the Prophet saying :

Whoever has concluded a pact with a nation, he should neither tie a knot nor open it on (that bond) until the time expires.<sup>1</sup>

The Caliph ordered his troops to demobilise and return home. But it may be doubted whether this act was anything but one of grace and piety.

The fourth and the last kind, unlimited in time as well as in place, is usually at the end of war, when one has vanquished or both are exhausted. We shall revert to this in the next Chapter.

*Authority to make truce.*—The authority to make truce for a limited period in a limited area rests in the commander-in-charge, as we deduce from practice. The other three kinds may only be concluded by the central government or its authorised officials.<sup>2</sup>

*Effects of truce.*—In a word, both the parties thereto are bound to observe the conditions agreed upon by each other : " And the Muslims abide by their conditions."<sup>3</sup> During the operation of such a truce, the parties may do whatever they like except the carrying on of hostilities against each other, and actions which amount to infringement of treaty and breach of faith.

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(To be continued).

1. Abū-'Ubaid, الاموال §. 447; Tirmidhiy, Vol. 2, ch. " Treachery " ( غدر ).

2. Cf. Tabariy, اختلاف الفقهاء, fol. 7, §. 14; Suhaliy, الروض الانف, II, 229.

3. Saying of the Prophet, cited by Sarakhsiy, شرح السير الكبير, I, 185, ( والمسلمون عند شروطهم ).

# ARAB NAVIGATION

(Continued).

## THE Umayyad's Period

WHEN the regime of the first four Caliphs ended, and the Umayyads made Damascus their capital, they paid greater attention to nautical activities. This was due to the fact that the Romans attacked the Syrian coast in 49 A.H., and Mu'āwiyah had therefore to take proper precautions to check them. The Arabs had until then a ship-building factory in Egypt only. A similar factory was needed in Syria also. Accordingly experts and artisans were appointed and arrangements were made to build ships on the Syrian coast. 'Akka was made the chief centre.<sup>1</sup> After this, Amīr Mu'āwiyah tried to checkmate the assaults of the Romans. Marching forward, he occupied the islands of the Mediterranean Sea and garrisoned them. He then attacked Sicily, and at his orders Janada bin Abī Umayya Azdī (died 80 A.H.) occupied Rhodes in 52 A.H., and established an Arab colony there. In 54 A.H. Janada subjugated an island named Irwad near Constantinople, and then invaded Crete.<sup>2</sup>

'Abdul Malik, son of Marwān, founded a very big ship-building factory in Tūnis.<sup>3</sup> In his reign Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf was appointed in 75 A.H. Governor of the eastern provinces, which extended from 'Irāq to Turkeṣtān and Sind. Ḥajjāj's rule which lasted for forty years, was noted for highly prosperous Arab trade in the eastern seas. The merchant ships of the Arabs visited the distant island of Ceylon. Some of these ships were plundered by Indian pirates, so Ḥajjāj retaliated by attacking Sind by land and sea, and it was once for all conquered.<sup>4</sup>

Prior to Ḥajjāj's days, ships which ploughed in the Persian Gulf and the river Indus had their decks bound with cords, but the decks of ships plying in the Mediterranean Sea were fastened with iron nails. Ḥajjāj built ships after the latter model and used tar instead of oil on decks to prevent leakage. He used also levelled boats instead of tapering ones.<sup>5</sup>

The ship-building factory worked in 'Akka till 'Abdul Malik's period. Hishām transferred it from 'Akka to Ṣūr. Wāqidī says that the ships

1. Balādhurī, pp. 117, 118.

2. Ibid. p. 226.

3. Muqaddama of Ibn-Khaldun, p. 210.

4. Balādhurī, p. 435.

5. Al-A'alaq-un-Nafisa by Ibn-Rustah, pp. 195 and 196.

remained in 'Akka from Mu'āwiyah to Yazīd's days, but with the rise of the family of Merwān they were carried to Šūr, where they remained till Mutawakkil's reign, 247 A.H.<sup>1</sup>

## NAVAL EXPEDITION TO INDIA

IT is generally believed that though India was frequently invaded by foreigners, yet no one except the Europeans attacked it by sea-routes. This is not a fact. The Arabs led expeditions to India both by land and sea. The raid of Thana, Bahroach and Thatta in 'Othmān's days was naval. Again during the invasion of Sind in 93 A.H. though Muhammad bin Qāsim and a battalion of his forces came to Sind through *Shīrāz via Makrān*, another contingent of his army carrying provisions and war implements came by sea, and after subjugating Port Thatta (Daibal) proceeded forward.<sup>2</sup> Later, military help was also available by sea. When Junaid bin 'Abdul Raḥmān al-Murrī was appointed Governor of Sind in 107 A.H., he fought a battle with Raja Jai Seyah at sea, and occupied Mandal and Bahroach. Another contingent of his army under Ḥabīb bin Murrah took possession of Ujjain (Uzain) by attacking Mālwa (Malbah). Junaid probably conquered Gujrāt also, for Balādhurī says, "And Junaid conquered Bailaman and Gujrat." (P. 442).

During the Umayyad period many canals were constructed for irrigation and navigation. *Istākharī*<sup>3</sup> says that in Bilāl bin Abī Burdah's time there were in the precincts of Baṣra one million and twenty thousand canals, which small boats plied on.

These were the last achievements of the Umayyad rulers. After their downfall, the sceptre of the Kingdom was held by the 'Abbāsids, who made their capital in 'Iraq instead of Syria. This brought them into proximity with the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea.

## THE 'ABBĀSID PERIOD

THE Tigris, the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf lying close to the capital city of the 'Abbāsīd rulers facilitated sea-borne trade and communications in the east. When Maṣṣūr founded Baghdād in 152 A.H. on the coast of the Tigris, each palace of the city was converted into a waterway. The site of the capital was selected chiefly with a view to having trade relations with every part of the world through the Tigris and the Euphrates. Accordingly, Ibn Wādiḥ-Ya'qūbī (277 A.H.), who is an old historian of the glorious days of the 'Abbāsīd rule, writes: "Maṣṣūr chose this

1. *Futūḥ-ul-Buldān*, Balādhurī, p. 117, 118, Leyden.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 436.

3. Leyden edition, p. 80.

place because it is practically speaking an island between the Tigris and the Euphrates. The Tigris on its east and the Euphrates on the west, are wharfs of the world. Anything coming from Wāsiṭ, Baṣra, Obulla, Ahwāz, Īrān, 'Omān, Yamāma, Baḥrain and their vicinity, must pass along the Tigris and such ships will lay anchor in it. Similarly, ships coming from Moṣul, Rabī'a, Ādherbā'ijān and Armenia must also pass along the Tigris, and vessels from Muḍar, Rakka, Syria and Syrian ports, Egypt and North Africa will necessarily come here by way of the Euphrates."<sup>1</sup>

In view of the commercial and naval importance of the city, the locality of the merchants was accessible by a canal leading from the Euphrates. The cargo-laden ships came to the Euphrates from the sea; from the Euphrates they went to Karkhaya canal, and from it to the city through an artificial canal and from the city to the locality of merchants and unloaded the merchandise there. Besides these, there were other canals, also designed for this purpose, for example, the sea canal, leading out of the Euphrates, was a wide one. Here big ships laden with flour and other merchandise came from Rakka, Syria and Egypt. Merchants had their store-houses on its banks, and it was always deep enough for the easy passage of ships.<sup>2</sup> Near Baghdād there was a canal in Ṣarṣar, on which boats plied.<sup>3</sup> Vessels came to the Tigris from the 'Isa canal *via* the Euphrates.<sup>4</sup>

In the 'Abbāsīd period, the commercial activities of the Arabs were greatly increased and this was due to the fact that they were relieved of the civil and military services which they had to perform under the Umayyads. From 133 A.H. the Persians were appointed to civil posts and the Arabs were employed in the army only. After 218 A.H. in Mu'taṣim's reign, military posts were bestowed upon the Turks. The Arabs had therefore no other honourable means of livelihood except trade. Despite these odds, their naval activities in this short period were not insignificant.

They occupied Sind as successors of the Umayyad and communications between Sind and Baṣra were maintained as usual. In 159 A.H., in the reign of the 'Abbāsīd Khalifa Mahdī, the Arabs made a naval raid on Gujrat under the command of 'Abdul Mulk, son of Shihābal-Masma'ī. In 160 A.H. this army reached Bārbud, a coastal town of Gujrāt.<sup>5</sup> Bārbud was originally Bhārbhūt (بهار بھوت) which may still be seen in ruins near Bahroach.

The Caliphs of Baghdād had connection with Sind till a century afterwards, but they made no new naval conquest, and the Arabs gradually

1. *Kitābul Buldān*, Ya'qūbī, pp. 238, 246, Leyden.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

3. *Istakhārī*, p. 85.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibn-athīr*, Events of 160 A.H., and *Ibn-Khaldūn*, Vol. III, p. 208.

dwindled into mere traders in these regions. Their ships sailed from the ports of 'Irāq and Arabia to the Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean, China Sea, Red Sea and the Abyssinian Sea.

In the Mediterranean Sea, the strategical position of Tunis, which had been a naval centre since the Umayyad period, was kept up as usual by the 'Abbāsids, for it served as an important base to check the Roman inroads. The fleet of latter invaded the islands of the Mediterranean and the harbours of Italy and France from this place. In 212 A.H. when the Aghlabides were ruling in North Africa under the suzerainty of the Abbāsids, Qādī Asad bin Furāt made a successful raid on Sicily with the battleships of Tunis, and subsequently the Arabs ruled this island till 464 A.H. During this period Sicily and the coasts of North Africa were great centres of maritime activity by the Arabs, who very often frequented the regions lying between the two. Ships voyaged in great numbers from these two African and European coasts to Alexandria, but the Arabs were mere traders in the Indian Ocean, in Abyssinia and China.

## BAŞRA

ALTHOUGH a mention of the old port Obulla is found in the 'Abbāsīd period, yet ships sailing from Baghdād *via* Euphrates passed by Başra only, which therefore gained a conspicuous position. Ships coming from Baghdād and Wāsiṭ halted on the bank of the Ibn-'Omar canal when they reached Başra. Obulla grew into the chief port for ships coming from China<sup>1</sup> only. The importance of Başra may further be gauged by the statement of Ibn-Waḍiḥ Yaḳūbī (3rd century A.H.) who says: "It was a metropolis and an emporium of the cargoes and merchandise of the world."<sup>2</sup> Ibn-al-Faḳīh Hamadānī (290 A.H.) writes in his book *Kitāb-ul-Buldān* that the commercial activities of the people of Başra may be realized by the fact that they were seen on one side in Turkestan and Farghāna and on the other side in Sos in the west.<sup>3</sup>

The number of the countless canals in the vicinity of Başra constructed in the Umayyad period must have been increased in the days of the 'Abbāsīd rulers also. Istakhārī (340 A.H.) writes that he did not believe in the versions of the historians regarding the number of canals in Başra, for he observed at Tir Partab such canals where small boats were plying.<sup>4</sup>

## SĪRĀF

THIS port was founded seven stages from Başra on the coast of the

1. *Kitāb-ul-Buldān*, by Ya'qūbī, p. 360.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

3. *Kitāb-ul-Buldān* by Ibn-ul-Faḳīh Hamadānī, p. 191.

4. *Istakhārī*, p. 80, Leyden.

Persian Gulf in the 3rd century A.H. and gained much prominence. The Arab ships which sailed to India and China passed through it.

### ‘ADEN

THE inhabitation of Aden on the coast of Yemen was old, and increased greatly in the Abbasid period. Ya‘qūbī says in the middle of the third century A.H. “ Aden is the harbour of Ṣan‘ā. Ships coming from Abyssinia, Mandah, Jeddah, Sylhet (Assam)<sup>1</sup> and China anchor here.” (p. 319).

At the end of the 4th century A.H. Bashshārī Muqaddasī writes of the commercial prosperity of Aden thus : “ If a man comes here with one thousand dirhems (silver coins), he goes back with one thousand Ashrafi (gold coins), and one hundred is sure to be multiplied into five hundred.”<sup>2</sup>

### ṢUHĀR

THIS was the port and capital of ‘Omān. Bashshārī writes : “ No city is bigger than this on the China Sea. It is a populous and beautiful spot. Wealth and fruits are in abundance. It is better than Zubaidu-Ṣan‘a. There are wonderful markets all along the coast. Houses are high and built of Sal wood and bricks. There is a canal of fresh water. This is a threshold of China, treasure of the east and emporium of Yemen.”<sup>3</sup>

### SHIHR

IT was rich in fish, which were exported to ‘Omān and Aden, from where they were sent to Baṣra and the neighbourhood of Yemen.<sup>4</sup>

### QAIS OR KAISH

THIS island was situated on the ‘Omān Sea near Bahrain. It was a station of ships sailing to India (*vide* Qais in *Mu‘jam* of Yāqūt).

### BAHRAIN

THIS place was always inhabited by sailors. Its progress in the 9th

1. A city has been named “ Shilahat ” ( شِلَاهَات ). We learn from Sulaimān the trader, (p. 9) that it was situated near the Bay of Bengal. It is probably Sylhet.

2. P. 98 Leyden.

3. P. 92, Leyden.

4. P. 87.

century A.H. may be realized by the fact that there were always to be found here one thousand small and big boats and ships.<sup>1</sup>

## HURMUZ

THIS island was also a centre of naval trade in the Persian Gulf. Qais and Hurmuz vied with each other as rivals. Merchant ships of India, China and Yemen halted here.<sup>2</sup>

## JEDDA

THIS was a port of Mecca. Ships coming to Ḥejāz from Abyssinia, anchored here. This harbour had been in use since the Days of Ignorance but with the rise and progress of Islamic power in Africa, Abyssinia, Sind and Persia, it grew very important.

## JAR

JAR the port of Medina, was closed by Maṣṣūr, after which it could not gain its former position. It was outrun by Qulzum.

## QULZUM

THIS port was on the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea in the precincts of Senā. It was in a prosperous condition. Ya'qūbī writes : " It is a big town on the seashore. Here live merchants who export corn to Ḥejāz and Yemen from Egypt. Here is a harbour for ships. Here are wealthy merchants of different nationalities." (P. 360).<sup>3</sup>

## THE NAVIGABLE ROUTES OF THE EAST

SHIPS of the Arabs sailed to China from the Persian Gulf, passing through the Indian Ocean. Details may be learnt from the following accounts of Sulaimān, the itinerant trader of the 3rd century A.H.

1. *Kitāb-ul-Fawā'id fi Uṣūl-ul-Baḥr-wal-Qawā'id* by Ibn-Majīd, p. 9, Paris.

2. Ibn-Aṭṭār, Events of 611 A.H.

3. Ailah, which is now called 'Aqbah, was a Syrian port near Qulzum. According to Ya'qūbiy, Ailah had good population consisting of different nations. Here gathered all pilgrims of Egypt, Syria and North Africa—Ed., I. C.



“ The sea lying between India, China and Ceylon abounds in big fish, which are terrors to ships. When ships sail at night, they keep bells ringing, so that fish may keep out of the way. We caught here a fish called whale measuring twenty hands. The third sea is Hargind (Baḥr-e-Hind, i.e., Indian Ocean), where there are numerous islands. It is said that there are 1900 islands, which serve as boundaries between Hargind and Larwi. These islands are ruled by a woman. Ambergris and coconuts are found here in abundance. The distance between the islands is only two or three furlongs. All of them are populated and full of coconut trees. Transactions are carried on here by shells, which are hoarded in the queen's treasury. The inhabitants of this place are much skilled manufacturers. They weave cloths with skirts and sleeves. They are expert in ship-building, architecture and other crafts. The last island in Hargind is Sarandip (Ceylon). They call the islands ‘Dīp.’ They gather pearls on the coast of Sarandip (Ceylon). In its mountain, which bears the stamp of Adam's foot, there are mines of rubies, sapphires and topaz. There are two Rajahs in this island, which is a big one. It abounds in wood-aloes, gold and rubies. Conches, which they blow, are found in the sea there.

“ Ships sailing on this sea up to Sarandip, pass few but large islands. One of the islands is called Ramni, where there are several Rajahs. It extends to eight or nine hundred furlongs. There are mines there. Camphor of excellent quality is found in those islands. Here the chief food is coconut. They press and eat the oil. The dowry ( *ḥajr* ) of a woman is the skull of an enemy. A man can marry as many wives as he can procure skulls of his enemies. In the islands there are found elephants, and canes. The people of this place are cannibals. It is situated between two seas, Hargind and *Shalāḥat* (Sylhet ? Bay of Bengal). After these, there are several islands called Lendjebalous. Men and women of this place are nude. Women cover their bodies with leaves. When ships reach here, they come out on catamarans and exchange their ambergris and coconuts for iron, cloths and other requisites. After this there are two more islands, which have a sea between them. One of them is called Andaman, whose inhabitants are jet black and cannibals. There are other islands also, which are impassable, hence their names are not known to sailors.” (Pp. 3-11, Paris Edition).

A more graphic account of this route is given by Mas'ūdī<sup>1</sup> (303 A.H.). From the Persian Gulf to the China Sea the Arab sailors and mariners mention different rivers, i.e., parts of the sea. The first river they mention is Baḥr-e-Faras or *Khashbat-ul-Basra*. After this they name Larwi, on the shore of which were situated the old coastal towns of Gujrat and Konkan, namely Chemūr, Subarh, Thana and Khambayat, some of which survive still. After this, they mention Hargind Ocean, then Kalah, which had islands, then Sinf Sea (River Champa), and lastly China Sea, which they call Jinji (Chinji).

1. Vide *Murūj-al-Dhahab*, Vol. I, pp. 330-340, Paris Edition.

It appears from the above details that the first river mentioned is the Persian Gulf. Larwi is now known as the Arabian Sea, and Herkind is at present called the Indian Ocean. Kalah is perhaps the Bay of Bengal.

The itinerant trader Sulaiman describes the same route on another occasion in the following words : " Most of the ships of China are loaded in Sirāf. They bring cargoes from Sirāf and 'Omān on boats and load them on ships sailing for China, because there are shallows near the coasts and big ships cannot go there. Midway between Sirāf and Baṣra at a distance of one hundred and twenty furlongs from the naval routes, ships start by taking cargoes and fresh water at Sirāf (?), and halt at Musqaṭ, the port of 'Omān, lying 200 furlongs from Sirāf. Close to it there are sea-girdled hills of 'Omān, and the place is known as Durdoor. This is a narrow naval route between the two hills (Bāb-el-Mandab ?). Ships of small size ply in it. Big ships sailing for China cannot come here. Here are two mountains, one of which is called Qusair, and the other 'Owair. Their base is on the surface of the earth, and small peaks show above the water. As we go further, we reach Ṣuḥār, the harbour of 'Omān. They take fresh water out of a well in Musqaṭ... When the ship weighed anchor, it reached Kokam Mali (Kokan) ? in the Indian regions. It takes one month to reach Kokam Mali from Musqaṭ, if the wind is favourable... Chinese ships come to Kokam. They pay one thousand dirhems duty ; other ships pay from one to ten dinars. They take here fresh water. From here they enter Herkind (the Indian Ocean), and come to the place known as Lendje-balous. The inhabitants of this place do not understand Arabic nor any language spoken by the merchants. They remain naked and are white. They have no beard and moustache. They come on catamarans made of rough planks. They have sweet and white juice of coconuts, sugarcane and plantains... and exchange them for iron. Transactions are carried on by signs. They are very expert in swimming. Very often they snatch iron from merchants and give nothing in return. A little further there is Kalah Bar. The country and coast are called by them 'Bar.' This is 'Zabay' (Java). On the right side of India, there is a Raja. The people of this place wear *lungi* only. All high and low people wear the same. Here they take fresh water. It takes one month to reach Kalah Bar from Kokam and ten days after one reaches Batuma, where fresh water is available. Kadar is ten days further. Here also fresh water may be had. Here is a high mountain, where thieves and fugitives lurk. Ships then reach Sinf (Champa) within ten days. Here also one can have fresh water. Wood-aloes are also produced here. Here also is a Raja. The natives wear two *lungis* one of which they tie at their waist, and the other they wrap round their body. Then comes Sander Faulat (Singapore). This is an island in a sea reached in ten days. Fresh water is available here. Sailing from here ships stay at Jinji (Chinji), and then anchor near the Gate of China. Here several hills have arisen from beneath the sea. Ships pass between pairs of hills, and reach China from Sander Faulat in one month. They sail for seven days between the hills of the Straits of China. After this, they enter the

Chinese Gulf, and lay anchor in that city of China which is called Khanfua, (Khanpua). (Pp. 14-21).

"Khanfua is a harbour and centre of Arabian commerce. Here houses are built of wood. Wood is found here abundantly because sailing ships are wrecked here. Ships stay here for a long time. . . . There is a Muslim Judge appointed by the Emperor of China to decide the cases of the Muslims, and the merchants of 'Iraq submit to his decision." (pp. 13, 14).

In the above lines routes from Baṣra and Siraf to China through the islands of the Indian Ocean have been indicated. The Arabs kept up their maritime activities in these islands for centuries and had ultimately permanent colonies here. It was due to them that Islam was propagated here appreciably, and their influence was felt from the Maldives to Java and Sumatra, and from Sumatra to the Philippines. The barbarous condition of the natives of these islands may be learnt from the versions quoted above; but the Arab navigators and traders contributed much in ameliorating their culture and civilization. And a few centuries afterwards, Islamic kingdoms were established here. These islands became a centre particularly of the Haḍramaut Arabs, and we can find even to-day a considerable number of people from Haḍramaut.

I have given full accounts of Indian ports which were visited by the Arabs in my book *Relations of Arabia and India*, so I gloss them over to avoid unwieldiness. It may however be said here that the Arabs came to Kashbāt by way of the Persian coasts of the Persian Gulf, and then entered Taiz, a port of Baluchistan. They came then to Thath, the port of Sind; then to the harbours of Gujrat and Kathiawar, viz., Thana, Khambayat, Sanbara, Chemoor, Bahroach, Bharbhut, Gandhar, Ghogha then to Surat; after this to the province of Madras, e.g., Malabar Coromandel (Malabar) Cape Comorin (Kumar), Travancore (Kulum), Mangalore, Chalyat, Pindarani, Chandapur, Hanoor, Dephatan, Calicut, Madras and then reached the Bay of Bengal. Here their centre was Sylhet, which they called Shilāhat. They then went to Chittagong called by them Sadjam. From here they entered the Chinese Sea by way of Siam.

Their important centres were Gujrat and Sindh. It will be strange to learn that when Mas'ūdī arrived in India (303 A.H.), there were ten thousand Arabs and their mixed progeny in Chemoor, the port of Gujrat. They had inhabited Khambayat as well. They carried lac and indigo from Bahroach.<sup>2</sup> They sold mattresses of Madras in Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

## THE AFRICAN COASTS

THE other sea-route of the Arabs was this. They came to the Red Sea and from there they went to the Abyssinian coast of Africa, and visited

1. Istakharī, p. 36, Leyden.

2. Vide Ya'qūb's *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*.

3. Vide *Kitāb-ul-A'itabār* by 'Abdul Latif Baghdādī and my book *Arabia and India*.

Safala (Mozambique) and Zeila' in Abyssinia. This Zeila' was the port of Abyssinia, from where they came to Hejāz and Yemen.<sup>1</sup>

The Arabs reached Zanzibar by making a circuitous journey along Africa, and entered the harbours of South Africa, noted for its gold mines, by passing along the African coast. They terminated their voyage in the island of Qanblū, now known as Madagascar. Mas'ūdī (303 A.H.) has given descriptions of this route in the *Murūj-al-Dhahab*. These coasts are now known as Natal and Transval, etc.

Ships came here from Sirāf and 'Omān. The sailors belonged chiefly to the tribe of Azd. They went to Madagascar from 'Omān and Sirāf through Abyssinia, Zeila', 'Aidhab, Sawakin, Zanzibar and Berbera, and returned by the same routes. They brought ambergris from the Abyssinian coast and gold from Berbera. There was an Arab colony in Madagascar in the beginning of the 4th century A.H. These were the coasts where in the 10th century A.H. the Portuguese navigators and Vasco da Gama met the Arab sailors, who told them of the geographical position of India.

The Arabs of 'Omān had such great influence on these coasts that they became parts of the kingdom of 'Omān. Zanzibar was for a long time under the suzerainty of the Sultāns of 'Omān, till it was occupied by the European powers.

## THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

THE authority of the Abbāsids was acknowledged in the Mediterranean Sea from the Syrian coasts to Gibraltar. They always apprehended the danger of a Roman invasion, so they maintained the ship-building factory, founded by the Umayyads at Ṣūr on the Syrian coast; but Muta-wakkil-billāh transferred it to 'Akka in 247 A.H., and made a fresh naval arrangement of the coast.<sup>2</sup>

Bashshārī Muqaddasī writes: " 'Akka was at first not so well guarded as Ṣūr, but when Ibn-Ṭūlūn ? (Ahmad bin Ṭūlūn) came here, he wanted to make its defences formidable like those of Ṣūr, which as regards naval fortification had impressed him much, but no architect was prepared to build any structure in the water. At last his (Bashshārī's) grandfather, Abū-Bakr, was sent for from Jerusalem. He constructed a harbour by placing rocks on timber and fastening them together. He built a gate in the middle and long chains were laid there. When ships came here at night, they signalled their arrival by pulling chains."<sup>3</sup>

1. Istakhari, p. 36, Leyden.

2. Balādhūrī, p. 118, Leyden.

3. *Aḥsan-ul-Taqāsim* by Bashshārī, pp. 162, 163, Leyden.

Ibn-Ṭulūn was appointed the Governor of Egypt in the days of Mu'tazz the successor of Mutawakkil, and governed there from 254 A.H. to 270 A.H., so the above construction was probably completed in his period.

## THE FĀṬIMIDS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

THE Romans and the Arabs fought each other for supremacy in the Mediterranean, but with the increasing naval conquests of the Arabs, the Romans had to retreat. A very powerful Kingdom of the 'Obeid Fātimids was established in North Africa in 296 A.H., and it gradually became supreme in Sicily, Egypt and Syria. To maintain the stability of this empire, which was connected with different parts by sea-routes, nautical progress was essential. Accordingly, the old ship-building factory of Tunis was highly improved. In this factory battleships remained always furnished and equipped.

In 303 A.H. a big dock was constructed by digging out a hill on the coast of the Mediterranean, so that two hundred battleships might be kept in reserve there. These battleships were called 'Shīni' and were so big that one of them required 143 oars to move it. It had a gate and a lock that could be closed. There was a granary and separate provision of fresh water also.<sup>1</sup>

## SICILY

IN Sicily the biggest commercial and military port was Messina, where merchants came from the east and the west, and carried on transaction and exchange. Here was the dockyard for building men-of-war established by the Arab government of Sicily.<sup>2</sup> There was another magnificent harbour and ship-building factory at Palermo, which was a coastal city and the capital of Sicily. Iron and wood were supplied from the mines and forest of the same place. Thousands of labourers were engaged in building ships.<sup>3</sup>

## HARBOURS OF SPAIN

THE two famous harbours in the Arab days were Almeria (Mariya) and Pechina (Bijjana), which were called in Spain the Gateways of the East. Yāqūt writes of Mariya (Almeria) in his *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*: "Mariya (Almeria) is a big harbour of Spain in Vera district. Merchants sail from here and trading ships anchor here. There is a dock for ships and boats.

1. The Egyptian edition of Ibn-Athīr says that it was a place of two hundred ships, but according to the Paris edition it was the place of one hundred ships.

2. *Nuzhat-ul-Mushtāq*, Idrīsī, p. 26.

3. Ibn-Hauqal, p. 82.

The waves of the sea cut against the walls of the citadel. Silk and brocade of high quality are manufactured here. This industry prospered formerly in Cordova, but Mariyya (Almeria) has outrivalled Cordova. It was taken by the Europeans, who attacked it in 542 A.H. by land and sea; but it was re-conquered by the Muslims in 552 A.H. The battleships of the Muslims are arrayed here to fight against the Europeans. Mariyya Bellish (Velez Malaga) was another port in Spain, from where passengers sailed for Barbar."

The most famous port of North Africa and Morocco was Pechina (Bijjana), situated midway between Algeria and Morocco on the African coast of the Mediterranean. It was formerly an ordinary port. In 457 A.H. Nāṣir bin 'Alnās founded it, thinking it to be a convenient spot, and it grew to be a very important harbour. Ships sailed from here in different directions and passengers come here from all parts. (Vide *Mu'jam* by Yāqūt).

Another famous port of Morocco was Sabta (Ceuta) which was situated on the African coast opposite to Spain. Yāqūt says that it was the best harbour in the world.

The most renowned port of Africa was Mahdiya, built in 300-305 A.H. by the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty. Its dock was cut out of solid rock. It was a capacious dock, and could harbour thirty ships at once. On both sides of the port there lay big chains, which were opened when a ship came in. (Vide *Mu'ajam* by Yāqūt).

Abu-'Obaid Bakrī (died 487 A.H. = 1094 A.D.) has mentioned incidentally the following harbours in *Masālik-wa-Mamālik*, giving description of some of them: Marsa'l-Undulusiīn, Taini, Saniya, Kharratain, Al-Khazar, Dar, Dajjāj, Zaban, Madfūn, Rahib, Rūm, Zaituna, Sabiba, Shajra, 'Amarah, Qibta, Marifan, Masain, Mughila, Malvih, Manī'a, Musa Jabal Duhran." (Algeciras edition, 1911).

One of the chief causes of the frequent navigation of the Muslims in the Mediterranean was the holy pilgrimage also when thousands of pilgrims came annually to Alexandria from Spain and Morocco. The famous Spanish traveller Ibn-Jubair who came to Alexandria in 578 A.H., from Spain in a ship of Geneva, describes the stages of his voyage thus: He embarked a ship at Sabta (Ceuta) on the 28th Shawāl of 578 A.H., and reached Alexandria on the 29th Dhīq'dah of the same year, passing the islands of Iviza, Majorca, Minorca, Sardinia, Sicily and Crete. The journey took 29 days.<sup>1</sup>

There was a harbour called Tulmiya in Barqa, where ships anchored occasionally.<sup>2</sup>

Abī-Sharik was on the extreme coast of the Mediterranean Sea in Qairwān. There was a colony of 'Omar's family as well as of other Arabs and the Persians. Close to it, there was a port namely Aqlibia, from where passengers sailed for Sicily.<sup>3</sup>

1. Vide *Introduction of Travels of Ibn-Jubair* (Gibb), p. 35-38.

2. Ya'qūbī, p. 343.

3. Ibid., p. 348.

## PORTS OF EGYPT

BIG ships sailed in the Tunis Sea in the latter part of the 3rd century A.H.<sup>1</sup> Rashīd was at that time a prosperous colony. It had a harbour through which the river Nile flowed into the Mediterranean, and ships from the Mediterranean went by it to the Nile.<sup>2</sup>

Qauṣ was a big coastal town of Egypt in the days of the Mamlūks. Merchants coming in ships from the southern regions halted here. Merchants of Aden lived here. Immense wealth was to be found here on account of naval trade.<sup>3</sup>

Near Farama, there is an old colony Qastiya, on the coast of the Mediterranean. It also had a port<sup>4</sup> Damiyat, connected with the Nile and the Mediterranean, was a very big harbour, which was constantly visited by ships. There were two minarets, which had in the middle bulky iron chains to hold up ships coming to the coast without permission.<sup>5</sup>

## BATTLESHIPS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

THE most graphic account of Arab navigation and their battleships has been given by Ibn-Khaldūn. He writes:

"When the Arab empire was established, and grew predominant, men of different professions offered their services to them. They employed boatmen and sailors, who helped them to improve their nautical knowledge and activities. Experts in navigations were produced amongst them, and their enthusiasm for naval Jihad grew high. They built ships for carrying on trade and waging war, and furnished the battleships with soldiers and armaments. Forces were sent to the African coast on the opposite side of the Mediterranean Sea to fight. The spots selected for such fighting were situated on the shores of Syria, Africa, Morocco and Spain. The Caliph 'Abdul Malik ordered Ḥassān bin No'mān, the Governor of Africa to establish a factory of naval armaments in Tunis. Subsequently a raid to Sicily was organised from here in the days of Ziydātullāh, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Aghlab, and it was conquered. Qauṣara was also subjugated. . . . . After this, the battleships of Africa and Spain invaded successively the kingdoms of the Obeidians and Umayyads on the opposite coasts. In the days of 'Abdur Raḥmān bin Nāṣir, the fleet of Spain numbered about two hundred. The African fleet had almost the same number. The name of the Lord Admiral was Ibn-Ramaḥas. The central harbours of these ships were Bijjana and Mariya. Ships of every port were under a chief

1. Ya'qūbī, p. 338.

2. Ibid., p. 338.

3. Vide Mu'ja'n-ul-Buldān by Yāqūt, the word 'Qauṣ.'

4. Al-Anīs-ul-Mujīd, p. 99.

5. Ibid., pp. 100-101.

officer, who supervised ships, sailors and naval forces. In every ship there was a captain who watched its speed caused by air, its sailing effected by oars, and its anchoring. Whenever there was a war, all battleships were collected in a particular port and sent with necessary equipment under the command of an Amīr.

"In the days of their glory, the Muslims held complete sway of the Mediterranean, and the Christian fleet counted little in view of their supremacy. Consequently the Muslims made naval conquests everywhere, and became lords of most of the islands, viz., Majorca, Minorca, Iviza, Sardinia, Sicily, Qauṣara, Malta, Crete, Cyprus and other European lands.

"Abul Qāsim (a Shī'a) and his sons started more often than not from Mahdiya with their fleet and attacked the coastal towns of Geneva and returned successfully. 'Amīrī, the chief of Daniya, subjugated Sardinia by means of his fleet in 405 A.H., but it was retaken by the Christian. The Muslims were the lords of this sea, and their ships sailed here regularly. The Islamic forces went to the northern parts of the continent from Sicily through this sea, and attacked the countries of the European kings, as they did in the days of Banī Ḥassan, the rulers of Sicily. During this time all the Christian powers moved their fleets to the northern and eastern sides of the sea. . . . . The Islamic fleet pounced upon them just as a lion jumps over its prey. The whole of the sea was full of Muslim ships, which sailed constantly in the time of war and peace. There was not a single boat of the Christians in this sea. When the Obeidian power decayed, the Christians grew predominant and became supreme on the coasts of Egypt and Syria. The Islamic fleet were then no more."

But when Sultān Saladin uprooted the Obeidian dynasty and cleared Egypt and Syria of the Christian population, he improved the navy. Accordingly, 'Imād al-Kātib writes in *Al-Fataḥ-ul-Qissī* how Saladin opposed this naval force of his enemies on the Syrian coasts. He writes :

"The officers of Alexandria were ordered to send provisions on big ships and place brave archers on them. When they appeared on the Syrian coast, the Christians tried to besiege them from all sides, but the Islamic ships made for the coasts, and put up a gallant fight." (p. 284).

Ibn Khaldūn writes :

"After the downfall of the Obeidian dynasty, the Islamic fleet also grew insignificant in the vicinity. But the ships were maintained as usual in Africa and Morocco ; and their supremacy was not challenged here. Accordingly, the leaders of the Arab fleet were Banī Maimūn, the chief of the island of Qadas till the days of Lanatona. The leadership was then transferred from them to the Muwaḥḥid ruler, 'Abdul Mo'min. The fleet of Muwaḥḥids numbered one hundred on the Spanish and African coasts. In the 6th century A.H. when the empire of the Muwaḥḥids was at its height, and their authority was acknowledged both in Spain and Morocco, they greatly improved their battleships, which had no parallel. The chief officer of their fleet was Aḥmad, a native of Sicily. "



Istakhārī, who flourished in the middle of the 4th century A.H. and visited Spain and Sicily says :

“There is no sea more beautiful than the Mediterranean, which has a chain of populated sites on either side . . . . . Ships of the Romans and the Muslims sail here from one side to another. Very often the forces of the Muslims and the Romans fall in with each other, and one hundred or more ships, then collect together on each side and battle rages on the sea.” (p. 71).

It is obvious then that the Arabs navigated both regions. They went up to Western and Southern Africa after reaching Spain and Tanja, and on the other side they visited Sicily, Italy, and France after passing Asia Minor, Constantinople, and some islands. And it may be strange to hear now that just as the origin of Gibraltar is Jabl-aṭ-Ṭāriq, so the origin of the famous French port Marseilles is Marsā' 'Alī (مرسأ علی); meaning the port of 'Alī. This name is found in Idrisī's geography.<sup>1</sup>

After this concise account, details of which are not possible in this limited space, can any honest historian accede to the following statement made by Martin Hartmann in his article on 'China' in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* :

“Islam has as a rule been afraid of the sea ; from the very beginning it was impressed with a sense of the supremacy of the unbelievers on the ocean and made practically no efforts to dispute their domination. When we do find Muhammadans undertaking naval expeditions, they were almost always disastrous : all attacks on Byzantium, for example, from the sea failed.” (p. 844).

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1. Prof. E.E. Speight, member of the Editorial Board, is of the opinion that Marseilles is derived from Massalia through Latin Massilia. Massalia was the Greek name about 600 B.C. and was derived from an older Phœnician word meaning settlement. This statement is also quoted by the author of the article 'Marseilles' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, but on another occasion he calls it a hypothesis. (Vide *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Edition, p. 767. first column, line 32).—Ed., I. C.

## THE PARGANAH OFFICIALS UNDER AKBAR

**A**BUL FADL'S rhetoric in the *Ā'in* has created a certain amount of confusion in the minds of some scholars regarding the number of government officials in the *parganah* under Akbar and their functions. Hence it will be useful to study the problem in detail to get a clear notion of the government of the *parganah* under the Mughals.

For this purpose we must find out the details of *parganah* administration in the days of the Sultāns. Moreland has rightly identified the *parganah* with the earlier *qaṣbah* in its older meaning of an aggregate of villages.<sup>1</sup> Ibn-Baṭūṭah, however, mentions a *ṣadī* which he defines in these words : " These people give the name of *ṣadī* to the collection of a hundred villages.<sup>2</sup> He gives the name of one of these *ṣadīs* as Hindpat ; from other details given by the traveller, it is possible to identify it with the *parganah* of Indrapat (ancient Indraprastha) in the neighbourhood of Delhi. It seems that the word *ṣadī* was used only popularly and not officially, for it finds no mention in contemporary chronicles. For the purpose of this discussion, however, it is sufficient to identify Ibn-Baṭūṭah's *ṣadī* with the official *parganah*.

Now according to Ibn-Baṭūṭah, each *parganah* had a *chaudhari* to represent the Hindus and a *mutaṣarrif* to collect the revenue.<sup>3</sup> The *mutaṣarrif* was obviously the head of the revenue administration in the *parganah* ; Ibn-Baṭūṭah does not mention the subordinate staff without whose help the *mutaṣarrif* could not function. It is, however, possible to find the names of the subordinate officials from Baranī.<sup>4</sup> He adds to the *mutaṣarrif*, whom he also calls the '*āmil*, the *mushrif*, the *muḥaṣṣil*, the *sarhangs* and " the staff in the offices." Baranī, unfortunately, gives no details regarding the functions of these officials ; but it is not difficult to ascertain the nature of their work, for the terms used by Baranī can be easily interpreted. The *mutaṣarrif* or the '*āmil* was the collector of revenue and as such the head of the administration as well. The *mushrif* was the assessment officer, for the term is used in this sense under Sher Shāh as

1. *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 18, 19.

2. Ibn-Baṭūṭah, ed. Defremery and Sanguinetti, III, pp. 388, 389.

3. *Idem*, III, pp. 388, 389.

4. Baranī, pp. 288, 289, 431.

well. The word *mushrif* really means an inspector, though it later came to mean an accountant as well. Now the assessment officer's duty was to inspect the crops and thus assess the state demand, hence he was called a *mushrif*. The *muḥaṣṣil* was the officer who received payments of revenue, hence there can be little doubt that he was the treasurer and corresponded to the *khazānahdār* or *foṭahdār* of later days. The *gumāshṭahs* and *sarhangs* were petty officials, a *gumāshṭah* is an agent, a person commissioned to perform some duty ; a *sarhang* served peasants or *muqaddams* (headmen) with summonses.<sup>1</sup> Baranī also uses the word *kārkunān*—which can hardly have been used in a non-technical sense, for the chronicler is familiar with the administrative jargon of his day. We know that under Sher Shāh the term *kārkun* was used for the *parganah* accountant. As this discussion is limited to government officials, I will leave the *qānūngo* and the *chaudharī*. Thus the picture of the *parganah* administration in the days of Baranī is complete.

Let us now examine the *parganah* administration under Sher Shāh. For the sake of brevity I will put the relevant evidence in tabular form :—

Sarwani 5 B. M. or 161	Dā'ūdī B. M. or 197	Mushtāqī Elliot Text B.M. 1929	Mushtāqī B. M. 11633
1 <i>shiqqdār</i>	1 <i>shiqqdār</i>	1 <i>shiqqdār</i>	1 <i>shiqqdār</i>
1 <i>amīn</i>	1 <i>mushrif</i>	1 <i>munṣif</i>	1 <i>munṣif</i>
1 <i>foṭahdār</i>	1 <i>khazānchī</i>	1 <i>khazānahdār</i>	..
1 <i>kārkun</i>	1 <i>kārkun</i>	1 <i>kārkun</i>	..
( <i>Fārsīnawīs</i> )	( <i>Fārsīnawīs</i> )	( <i>Fārsīnawīs</i> )	..
1 <i>kārkun</i>	1 <i>kārkun</i>	1 <i>kārkun</i>	..
( <i>Hindwīnawīs</i> )	( <i>Hindwīnawīs</i> )	( <i>Hindwīnawīs</i> )	..
		<i>munṣif-i-khazānah</i>	
			1 <i>kārkun</i>

The following points emerge from this evidence :—

(i) The *shiqqdār* was the head of the *parganah* administration.

(ii) *Amīn*, *mushrif* and *munṣif* were synonyms in the administrative jargon of those days.

Now literally, *amīn* means honest or the keeper of a trust ; *mushrif* is an inspector ; he was the assessment officer for he inspected the crops ; *munṣif* is a judge ; he assessed the state demand on crops and, as it were, he was a judge or an umpire to adjudicate between the claims of the state and the liability of the cultivator.

From this it is obvious why the terms *munṣif* and *amīn* came into existence ; he was a trustee in the sense that it was his duty to see that the assessment should be fair, and a judge because he was responsible for seeing that neither the state nor the cultivator should be the loser in the assessment.

1. B.M.=British Museum, the references are Sarwani, fol. 69a ; Dā'ūdī, fol. 79a ; Mushtāqī (Elliot Text), fol. 50a, Mushtāqī (B.M. 11633), fol. 49a.

(iii) *Footahdār* comes from *foṭah*, a purse ; *khazānchī*, *khazānahdār* are common words for a treasurer.

(iv) *Kārkun*, literally a worker, was used for *clerk*, for the word *nawīsindah* is used as a synonym.

(v) *Munṣif-i-khazānah*, mentioned only by Mushtāqī (Elliot text), seems to be a mistake ; if there was an inspector of treasuries, he was probably connected with the *sarkār*.

(vi) Omissions in B. M. 11633 are probably a copyist's errors or due to his desire for brevity.

Thus it will be seen that the *parganah* had practically the same administration under Sher Shāh as it had in the days of Baranī. I put this information in tabular form :—

	Baranī	Sher Shāh
Head of the <i>Parganah</i>	<i>mutaṣarrif</i> or 'āmīl	<i>shiqqdār</i>
Assessment Officer	<i>mushrif</i>	<i>mushrif</i> , <i>amīn</i> or <i>munṣif</i>
Treasurer	<i>muḥaṣṣil</i>	<i>foṭahdār</i>
Clerks	<i>kārkuns</i>	<i>khazānchī</i> <i>khazānahdār</i> <i>kārkuns</i>

It is interesting to note that the word *shiqqdār* came to be used for *mutaṣarrif* or 'āmīl. The *shiqqdār* was, as the name shows, originally the head of the administration in the *shiqq*. With the fragmentation of the sultanate of Delhi the larger provinces emerged as kingdoms, the smaller provinces and *shiqqs* became the provinces of the new kingdoms under different appellations, and the *shiqqdār*, who was at the head of the administration of a *shiqq* (a part of the province), sank to be the *parganah* official.

With this background of the development of the *parganah* government let us now examine the *Ā'in* to determine the nature of the administration of the same unit under Akbar. The main officers mentioned by Abu'l-Faḍl are the 'amalguzār, the *bitikchi* and the *khazānahdār*. Besides these, he also uses the following words which have to be examined closely :

*Jarībkash*, *paimāyandah*, *thānahdār* or *tapahdar*, *khazānahdār*, *khazānchī*, 'āmīl, *munṣif*, *ḍābit*, *taḥsildār*, *ganjwar*, *foṭahdār*, *shiqqdār* and *kārkun*.

Let us take each term in turn and try to determine the nature of the office for which it is used.

The 'amalguzār was the head of the administration in the *parganah*. Dr. Saran thinks that he was in charge of the revenue administration of the *sarkār*.<sup>1</sup> My reading of the *Ā'in* convinces me that the 'amalguzār was a *parganah* official. Here are some of the reasons :—

(i) The duties assigned to him show that he was connected directly

1. *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 209.

with the peasants and the headmen of the villages.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) He was the supervisor of the surveying staff. It seems impossible that there should be a unit of the surveying staff for the entire *sarkār* in view of the fact that the method of assessment demanded frequent and extensive measurement of the land under cultivation.

(iii) He also supervised the working of the treasury—the working of this treasury as described in the *Ā'in* shows that it dealt directly with the cultivators and the village officials, which shows that it was the *parganah* treasury.

(iv) He was responsible for the *kotwāl's* duties if his charge happens to be without one. If this is taken to mean that *kotwāls* were not appointed in some places, then it adds to the force of my argument, for it is difficult to believe that the centre of a big area like a *sarkār* should be without a *kotwāl*. Small *parganahs* probably could be left without one.

(v) The *Ā'in-i-bitikchī* shows that the *bitikchī's* work lay entirely in the smaller unit of the *parganah*; he is described as indispensable to the *'amalguzār* and his duties show that the two had to work in close co-operation. If the *bitikchī* belonged to the *parganah*, is it conceivable that the *'amalguzār* should belong to a higher unit?

For these reasons I believe that the *'amalguzār* was the head of the *parganah* and corresponded to the *mutaṣarrif* of the Turkish Sultāns and the *shiqqdār* of the Afghans.

It is quite easy to identify the *khazānahdār* with the *muḥaṣṣil* and the *foṭahdār*; actually Abu'l Faḍl himself says that the officer was popularly called *foṭahdar* in Akbar's days. The Afghān chronicles use almost all the synonyms used by the author of the *Ā'in* for the treasurer. Nor should it be difficult to identify the *bitikchī* with *kārkun Fārsī-nawīs* of Sher Shāh's reign. The Hindi branch of the office was either abolished because by now the *patwārīs* and others had learnt Persian, or it came to occupy a subordinate position.<sup>2</sup>

Now let us turn to the other terms. The *jaribkash*, as the term implies measured the land. Was the *paimāyandah* a different officer? I am inclined to believe that the two are synonyms, because in the schedule of the daily allowances, which is given in the *Ā'in*, only the *Jaribkash* is shown and the *paimāyandah* finds no mention. There is a possibility of the *paimāyandah* being identified with the *ḍābit*, as this term has once been used in the *Ā'in-i-bitikchī* with *jaribkash*, but this I am inclined to dismiss for reasons to be advanced later.

The *thānahdār*s or *tapahdār*s were petty members of the survey staff, as is amply clear from the text. *Khazānadār*, *khazānchī ganjwar*, *foṭahdār*

1. e. g. "Whenever the *muqaddam* or the *patwari* brings money or comes to the *chabūtrah* to offer salutations with a *dam* (as an offering), he should not touch it." *Chabūtrah* came to be synonym of a public office. *Ā'in 'amalguzār*, text, p. 287.

2. The *Akbarnāmah* (text, iii, p. 381) says there were two *bitikchīs* called the *kārkun*, and the *khāṣṣanawīs* and it was proposed to abolish one of those posts. The proposal was carried out, for the *Ā'in* mentions only one *bitikchī*, who is referred to as the *kārkun*.

are obviously synonyms of *khazānahdār*. The *taḥṣildār* was a petty official responsible for the realization of the dues from smaller areas—probably these circles were fairly small in extent. The *bitikchī* is instructed to mention the name of the *taḥṣildār* along with the name of the village in the daily report of the realizations. Thus he along with the *muqaddam* and the *patwārī*, can be dismissed as not belonging to the staff of the *parganah* proper.

The *āmīl* has been identified by Dr. Saran with the *amīn* and also with the *amalguzār*.<sup>1</sup> He also quotes with approval the quotations :—“*amīn* is a common word for the *munṣif*” from an original authority.<sup>2</sup> Thus, according to Dr. Saran, *āmīl*, *amalguzār*, *amīn* and *munṣif* are all synonyms. From this view I beg to differ. I agree that *āmīl* and *amalguzār* are synonyms ; this is obvious not only etymologically but also from the *Ā'in*. To confirm this view and to investigate the meaning of the other terms the following from the *Ā'in* should be compared :—

*Ā'in-i-amalguzār*.—“Whatever is paid into the treasury, he shall himself examine and count and compare it with the day-ledger of the *kārkun*. This he shall verify by the signature of the *khazānchī* and placing it in bags under seal, he shall deposit it in a strong room and fasten the door thereof with several locks of different construction. He shall keep the key of one himself and leave the others with the *ganjwar*.”<sup>3</sup>

*Ā'in-i-bitikchī*.—“(The *bitikchī*) shall enter each day in the ledger the receipts and disbursements under each name and heading and authenticate it by the signature of the *khazānchī* and the seal of the *āmīl*.”<sup>4</sup>

*Ā'in-i-khazānahdār*.—“He shall keep the treasure in a strong room with the knowledge of the *shiqqdār* and the *kārkun*, and count it every evening and cause a *sarkhaṭ* thereof to be signed by the *amalguzār* and compare the day-ledger with the *kārkun*'s account and authenticate it by his signature. On the door of the treasury as sealed by the *āmīl*, he should place a lock of his own, and open it only with the cognizance of the *āmīl* and the *kārkun*. He shall not receive any monies from the cultivator save with the knowledge of the *āmīl* and the *kārkun*. . . . He shall consent to no disbursements save with the voucher of the *dīwān*. . . . If any expenditure should be necessary that admits of no delay, he may act under the written authority of the *kārkun* and the *shiqqdār*.<sup>5</sup>

(The translation has been slightly altered to bring in the technical terms in the original). The process mentioned in these three passages is identical and shows the responsibilities, in this connection, of the *amal-*

1. For *āmīl* and *amīn*, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, e.g., pp. 76, 77 ; for *amalguzār* and *āmīl*, *idem*, e.g., p. 284.

2. British Museum, addl. 6588, fol. 73b.

3. Blochmann and Jarrett, Tr. Vol. II, p. 46 ; text, Vol. I, p. 287.

4. *Idem*, Tr. Vol. II, pp. 49-50, text I, p. 289.

5. This is further supported by the fact that the *Ā'in* text Vol. I, p. 288 says that a *bitikchī* is essential for the *amalguzār*, and the *Akbarnāmah*, text, Vol. III, p. 381 calls the *bitikchī* the subordinate of the *āmīl*. The *Akbarnāmah* (e.g., III, p. 381) uses both *āmīl* and *amalguzār* for the same officer.

The word *amīn* has caused some difficulty, because it has been used loosely both in a technical and a non-technical sense. An *amīn* is a trustee, and is generally used for a commissioner entrusted with some inquiry or special duty. It is in this sense that the word has been used, in all probability, on page 287 of the text of the *Ā'in*; in the technical sense in which the word was used under *Sher Shāh* it meant an assessment officer. It was in this sense that it was a synonym of a *munṣif*.<sup>1</sup> The *Mughal* authorities generally use the word *amīn* in the sense of a commissioner; only seldom is it used by them for an assessment officer, though this does not seem to have affected the popular use of the term. The text of the *Ā'in* will show that the word *munṣif* was retained for the assessment officer; he fixed the state demand on the cultivator in view of the area cultivated and the average produce per unit. I am inclined to believe that the word *dābiṭ* came to be used as a synonym of *munṣif* with the introduction of the *dābiṭ* system. We have seen that *paimāyandah* and *jarībkaṣh*, synonyms in my opinion, have been used together.<sup>2</sup> Similarly *munṣif* and *dābiṭ* both are used side by side.<sup>3</sup> At the most the same man acted as *munṣif* for lands which were assessed by appraisement or which paid the state demand on the basis of sharing and a *dābiṭ* for the lands which were brought under the *dābiṭ* system as envisaged in the *Ā'in-i-dah-sālāh*.

This discussion has shown us Abu'l Fadl's preference for synonyms; instead of using the same word several times, he uses every available word to express the same idea. What is more, it is obvious that a large number of Shēr Shāh's terms were still freely used as synonyms. This creates a predilection in our mind to accept the view that the word *shiqqdār* has been used in the Afghan sense of the head of a *parganah*. This view is supported by the text of the *Ā'in*. In the passages quoted by me the following officers are responsible for

- (i) the location of the treasury :—

*Ā'in-i-ʿamalguzārī*                      'amalguzār<sup>3</sup>  
*Ā'in-i-khazānahdār* ..shiqqdār and kārkun

- (ii) acceptance of money :—

<i>Ā'in-i-'amalguzārī</i>	.. 'āmil, bitikchī, <i>khazānahdār</i>
<i>Ā'in-i-bitikchī</i>	.. <i>do</i>
<i>Ā'in-i--khazānahdār</i>	.. <i>do</i>

1. Mr. Qānūngo thinks a *munṣif* was a judge. He has been carried away by the modern use of the term. *Ā'in*, i, p. 286 text.

2. Ibid., p. 288 (text).

3. The *Ā'in* says: "He shall deposit it in a strong room" (the treasure), text I, p. 287.

## (iii) urgent disbursements :—

Ā'in-i-khazānahdār .. shiqqdār and *bitikchi*, also with less responsibility, khazānahdār

The following points arise from this evidence :

(i) In one case the main responsibility for the location of the treasury is on the 'amalguzār, in another on the shiqqdār, for the *kārkun* comes only in a secondary capacity. Two different officers could not be made primarily responsible for the same work ; if it were an instance of joint responsibility, the fact would be mentioned in both the cases.

(ii) Three officers most concerned with the working of the treasury are the 'amalguzār or 'āmīl, the *kārkun* and the khazānahdār ; hence the introduction of a fourth officer for two purposes only seems cumbersome and odd.

Hence I am inclined to believe that the word shiqqdār has been used as a synonym for 'amalguzār. This is in contradiction of Dr. Saran's view that the shiqqdār was the executive head of the *parganah* and different from the 'āmīl, who was merely a revenue officer. If the shiqqdār was the executive head of the *parganah* and possessed supervisory powers how is that the 'amalguzār the *bitikchī* and khazānahdār have separate Ā'ins each, whereas the shiqqdār finds only a passing mention. I have already shown that the 'amalguzār and the 'āmīl are the same. If the *parganah* had a separate executive officer, why was the 'amalguzār asked to assume the responsibilities of a *kotwāl* where the latter did not exist ? Therefore, the 'amalguzār, the 'āmīl and the shiqqdār are merely synonyms.

Thus the *parganah* officers under the Mughals were the following :—

Head of the administration	.. 'amalguzar, 'āmīl or <u>shiqqdār</u>
Assessment officer	.. <i>munşif</i> or <i>dābīṭ</i> , assisted by a survey staff.
Accountant and Registrar	.. <i>bitikchī</i> or <i>kārkun</i> .
Treasurer	.. <u>khazānahdār</u> or <i>foṭahdar</i> .

The following comparative table will show the continuity of the old Turkish tradition :—

Assessment officer	.. <i>mushrif</i>	<i>mushrif munşif</i> or <i>amīn</i>	<i>munşif</i> or <i>dābīṭ</i>
Accountant and Registrar	.. <i>kārkun</i>	<i>kārkun</i>	<i>bitikchī</i> or <i>kārkun</i>
Treasurer	.. <i>muḥaṣṣil</i>	<i>foṭahdār</i> <u><i>khazānahdār</i></u>	<u><i>khazānahdār</i></u> or <i>foṭahdār</i> .



# CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

(Continued).

## ق

قابض (as a Šūfī term): (God) “giving depressing or painful emotion.  
Contrast باسط .

قابل (with 'izāfat): “Susceptible” (of). *Passim*.

قبض (as a Šūfī term): “The suffering of depressing or painful emotions.”

قصبه (qaṣaba): A “district.” (Ch. M., p. 124).

خواف. . . قصبه ایست بزرگ از اعیال نیشاپور متصل بدو پنج از اعیال هرات و مشتمل  
است بردو بیست قریه و سه شهر (یا قوت) .

Khavāf is a large district of the dependencies of Nishāpūr, contiguous to Fūshanj, (a dependency of Herāt), and contains two hundred villages and three towns. (From Yāqūt).

قصه (qiṣṣa)

قصه گفتن (with بر): “To speak” (to or with). (M., II, 334).

چون دوایت می فزاید درد پس قصه بر طالب بگو بر خوان عبس

When your remedy only increases the pain, speak to the (real seeker, (and you yourself) read (the chapter) “*He frowned*.”

[The meaning of the second hemistich is that you should not frown at the real seeker of the truth and turn your back on him.

See the Q., ch. 80].

قطب (quṭb): “The chief town or village of a district.” (Ch. M., p. 126).

و هی ناحیه بسمرقند و بها قریه یقال لها سج ( کذا ) و هذه القرية قطب رودک و هی علی  
فرسخین من سمرقند .

And it (Rūdak) is a district of Samarqand, and in it is a village called سح (sic), and this village is the capital of Rūdak and is two leagues from Samarqand.

[Rūdak is the birthplace of Rūdakī. The above description from the انساب (genealogies) of Sam'ānī is in Arabic].

قطع (qaṭ')

Of a long shape," (as a book). (Ch. M., p. 238).

این مختصر بر دو جلد نهاده شد بر قطع مطول تا پیوسته در موزه توان داشت و بدین سبب این مختصر را خنی علانی نام نهاده شد.

This abridgment was arranged in two volumes of a long shape, so that it could always be held in the boats; and for this reason it was called "Khuffiye 'Alā'ī."

["Khuff" means "boot," and 'Alā'-u'd-Daula was one of the titles of the Khvārazm Shāh Alsiz, at whose order this abridgment of a medical work was made].

قلاب (qullāb)

• "Brackets." (Ch. M., p. 255).

و چون واضح بود که در عبارت چهار مقاله سقطی از نسخ است لهذا ما از روی دو کتاب مذکور جمله ساقط را عل اقرب الاحتمالات در بین دو قلاب درج نمودیم.

Since it was evident that in the text of the *Chahār Maqāla* something had been omitted by the copyist, I have supplied in brackets from the two works above-mentioned the most probable reading of the omitted passage.

قلاووز (qilāvūz)

(. قلاووز (properly قلاووز (See Steingass under

قلم (qalam)

"The Universal Spirit." (A. M., pp. 67-8).

آدم کبیر See under

(For a thing) "to be preordained." (Ch. M., p. 138, and Sh. N., I, 481).

Ch. M.:—

الغال حق آنچه بدل گزشته بود بر آن قلم رفته بود.

*The omen was verified, (for) that of which I had been thinking turned out to have been preordained.*

Sh. N.:

الر زو مرا رنج خواهد فرود قلم رفت واین بودنی کار بود

If I am to suffer much trouble from him, it has been preordained and is a thing which was to be.

قوس (qaus)

قوس قدرت : "The rainbow." (lit., "the bow of God's power").

قیز

قیز (qyez): Described by Steingass as "a wife of the infidels" is, of course, the Turkish for "girl."

قیمه

قیمه (qīma), given as Persian by Steingass, is the Turkish qyyma, "minced meat."

ل

لار

لار برآداستن (with به): "To prepare" (for). Sh. N., II, 518).

در لار را کرد شاه استوار براه بیابان برآداست لار

The Prince secured the door of the treasury and then prepared for the road to the desert.

لار داشتن : "To be of importance." (M., II, 172).

کار آن دارد که پیش از تن بدست بگذرد از اینها که نوحادث شدست

That which was before the body is of importance; put away these things (of the material world) which have lately come into existence.

لار کردن (with بر): "To strike;" lit., "to act" (upon). (Sh. N., I, 431).

سیاوش باسپ دادر بر نشست  
پس آنکه بچوگان برو درآورد چنان شده با ماه دبدار لرد

Siyāvash mounted another horse; he threw up the ball a little.

Then struck it with the polo-stick, so that it paid a visit to the moon.

لار گرفتن (with به): "To be employed" (with), "to engage" (in or with). (Sh. N., I, 450).

وزان پس بخوردن گرفتند لار می و خوان و خوالبگر و میگسار

And after that they engaged in feasting, and were employed with wine, the tray, the cook and the cup-bearer.

—(with از ).

سه روز اندرین گلشن زرد نگار      بیاشیم و از باده گیریم کار

Let us remain three days in this gold-adorned abode of pleasure and engage in (drinking) wine.

“To make useless.” (M., T. Trans., II, 121).

نیست دون انقلتین و حوض خرد      که تواند قطره اش از کار برد

He is not less than the two jars, or a small reservoir, that a drop should be able to make him useless.

[“Qullatain”: a receptacle containing 1200 pints of water, which, according to the Shāfi’i sect cannot be polluted. [T. Com. reads از راه برد (p. 506) for از کار برد ].

as کار آگه or خبر جوی in Sh. N., IV, 2017): A “spy,” an “informer.”

بیامد چو نزدیک قیصر رسید      یکی کار جویش بره بر بدید

The messenger went on, and when not far from the Qaiṣar an informer saw him on the road.

A “husbandman.” (Sh. N., IV, 1800).

در مه‌های گنجی بران کشتزار      بریزند پیش خداوند کار

Let them pour out before the husbandman coin from the treasury for that sown field.

A “husbandman.” (Sh. N., IV, 1800).

اگر کشتندی بود کوفته	وزان	دنج	کارنده	آشوفته
و اگر اسپ در کشتزاری شود	...	...	...	...
دم اسپ و گوشش بیاید برید	...	...	...	...

If a sown-field be trodden down, and the husbandman be disturbed by that trouble ;

And if a horse get into a sown-field,.....the horse’s ears and tail must be cut off.

کار و کیا : "Control of affairs." (M., II, 226).

چون سفیهان راست این کار و کیا لازم آمد یقتلون الانبیا

When the stupid have this control of affairs, "*They kill the prophets*" necessarily follows.

[Q., III, 20].

نامکار

نامکاری کردن (with بر) : "To gain success" (against). (Sh. N., IV, 1912).

مرا اندرین کار یاری کنید برین بی وفا نامکاری کنید

Give me your help in this affair ; gain success against this faithless man.

تاویدن (with با of person) : "To trouble with questions, to examine." (M., II, 486).

گفت اشتر چند داری چند تاو گفت نه این و نه آن مارا مگو

He said, "How many camels have you and how many oxen?" He answered, "I have neither of the two--do not trouble me with questions."

نثیه : An "inscription." (Ch. M., p. 223).

See under سرلوحه (Ch. M., p. 228).

دند

دند کردن : "To long for." (M., II., 101).

هر که این نیمه ببیند رد کند هر که آن نیمه ببیند دند کند

Whoever sees the former half rejects him ; whoever sees the latter longs for him.

[The half believer is likened to an ox one side of which is black, the other white].

کیرا کردن (in "imāla," کیری "Kire") : "To be worth while." (Ch. M., p. 129). (From some lines by Mīnūchihri).

لویا کنید و ببینید این شریف ایام ما تا شد هرگز شادرا شاعری کردن کیری

Say (to those former poets), "Come and see these noble times of ours, that verse-making may always be worth your while."

[The idiom is explained in a note on p. 129 of the Ch. M. The word rhymes here with (Hirī, Herat)].

کرار (kirār) (pl. of کره) : "Times of repetition." (M., I., 300, Turkish Commentary, as کردار the adverb).

کرار : "Repeatedly." (M., I., 300, T. Com.).

هیب حقست این از خلق نیست      هیت این مرد صاحب دلیو نیست

This awe-inspiringness is God, it is not from the creature : it is not of this man who is wearing the dervish's robe.

Turkish Com :

بوهیت حقتک هیبدر خلقدن د لدر زیرا خلقتک هیبنی      درار مرار دوزمستم دبدی .

"This awe-inspiringness," said he, "is of God, it is not from the creature, because I have witnessed the awe-inspiringness of people repeatedly and time after time."

[Supposed words of the Grecian envoy, who sees the Khalif 'Umar lying asleep, and is struck with awe at something in him which he tokens of the Divine favour].

کردار (kardār)

کردار : "Mode, fashion." (Used with preceding بنده).

بکردار : "In the mode or fashion of." (*Passim* in the Sh. N. and other works).

بدین کردار : "In this mode or fashion." (L. A., II, p. 41).

ز بار همت او پشت نوی      بدین کردار پشت چرخ چنبر

From the weight of his lofty mind the back of the sky has in this mode become curved.

[From a Qaṣīda by Labībī al-Adībī].

کژ : "Perverse." (Cf. کژدل). (M., III, 47).

پس دعاها رد شود از بوی آن      آن دل کژ می نماید در زبان

So those prayers may be rejected through the odour of them : the perverse heart is shown in the tongue.

کثر سخن : "False and careless of speech." (M., II, 343).

گر خورد سوگند هم باور مکن بشکند سوگند مرد کثر سخن

If he take an oath, still do not believe him ; the man of false and careless speech will (also) break an oath.

لژگوی : "Insincere of speech." (Sh. N., IV, 1792).

میامیز با مردم کژگوی که او را نباشد سخن جز بروی

Do not associate with a man of insincere speech, since his speech is only for effect.

[Lit., "he has speech only to the face"].

بدن بکزی : "To falsify." (Sh. N., III, 1496).

تو پیمان که کردی بکزی مبر نباید نه خوانمت بی دادگر

Do not falsify the engagement you made (with me): let me not have to call you unjust.

کش

کش (kash) : "Elated." (Sh. N., IV, 1885).

برزمی که کردی چنین کش مشو هنر مند بودی منی فش مشو

Do not be too much elated at the battle you have fought ; you have displayed valour and still do not be boastful.

کشادن

کشادن (now pronounced کشادن) : "To drive on." (Trans.). (M., II).

تا شبانگه می کشید و می کشاد تا ز صفرای شدن بروی فتاد

Till evening (the horseman) drew and drove him on, until he was taken with vomiting from bile.

—"To manage, to get." (M., II, 102).

مرد زندان را نباید لقمه و ر بصد حيله کشاید طعمه  
در زمان پیش آید آن دوزخ گلو حجتش این که خدا گفتا لئو

The man imprisoned can rarely obtain a morsel ; but if with great ingenuity he manages to get a little food,

That man, whose throat is like hell, at once advances, (adducing as) his argument that God has said, "Eat ye."

[Q., VII, 29].

آچق مشرب<sup>1</sup> Probably has the sense of the Turkish کشاده مشرب.

1. Jovial, sincere. (See Richardson's Dictionary).—Ed.

——“Forward, bold, shameless.”

کشی (“Elation”)

کردن : “To be elated.” (Sh. N., IV, 1834).

به پیروزی اندر تو کشی مکن اگر تو نوی هست گیتی کن

Do not be elated in victory ; if you are young, the world is old.

[i.e., the world is experienced in effecting changes ; you do not know what it has in store].

کشیدن

کشیدن (پا) پای. See (پا) پای.

در کشیدن (اندر) : “To retire, withdraw.” (Sh. N., IV, 1859).

چو بشنید خسرو که شاه جهان همی کشتن او سکال نهان  
شب نیره از طیسفون در کشید توگفتی که کشت از جهان ناپدید

When *Khusrāu* (*Parvīz*) heard that the King of the world (*Hurmuzd*) was secretly thinking of compassing his death,

He withdrew in the darkness of night from Ctesiphon—it was as though he had become invisible to the world.

——“To pass,” (as time). (v. intrans.). (Sh. N., IV, 1907).

چو نیم ز تیره شب اندر کشید ز باره یکی بهره تند ناپدید

When a half of the dark night had passed, a portion of the wall disappeared.

کفو (kuf) : An “equal,” a “pair,” a “like thing.” (M., III, 461).

مسجد اهل قبا کان بد جاد آئید کفو او نبذ راهش نداد

The mosque of the people of Qubā which was (only) an inorganic object—he did not admit that which was not its like to association with it.

کل (kull)

کل شدن : “To cost, to amount to ” (in value). (Cf. تمام شدن). (Sh. D., in Tisdall’s *P. Grammar*, p. 47).

کل زیاد که البته قیمتا بقدر همت هشت هزار نومان کل میشد در لژها بود

A great quantity of roses which must have amounted to seven or eight thousand *tūmāns* in value were in the boxes (of the theatre).



## کلید (kalid)

کلید غلط : A "wrong key." Vullers and Steingass mistake the following explanation of Bh.:

کلیدی که از قفل دیگر باشد و در قفل دیگر اندازند

"A key which belongs to one lock and is introduced into another."

گره زناخن تدبیر کی کشاده شود که از کلید غلط بستگی زیاده شود

"How can the knot be loosed by the nail of policy for by (the application of) a wrong key the tightness is (only) increased."

[Quoted from Sa'du'd-Dīn Rāqim, Vazīr-e Herāt].

## کم (kam)

کم کردن (with of the person): "To decrease" (intrans.). (M., II, 331).

این و صد چندین و چندین گرم و سرد از توای سرد آن توهم کم نکرد

These (miracles), and a hundred as many, and all these various events (which have occurred through me) have not decreased the suspicion in you, cold-hearted man.

## کمان

کمان را بزه کردن : (ba-zih), means "to string a bow," not "to draw it." (Sh. N., III, 521).

دو شیر ژیان پیش آن بیشه دید کمان را بزه کرد و اندر کشید

He saw two ferocious lions on the outskirts of the forest; he strung his bow and drew it.

کمان زیر پی سپردن (sapardun): "To destroy (one's) value or importance." (Sh. N., I, 460).

بدل گفت ار اید ونکه با من براه سیاوش بیاید بنزدیک شاه  
بدین شیر مردی و چندین خرد کمان مرا زیر پی بسپرد

He said to himself, "If now, Siyāvash go with me to the King,

With all his valour and so much wisdom he will destroy my value and importance."

[For the reading کمان of the text we have the support of the idiom کمان بر طاق بلند گذاشتن "to pretend to perfection;" but it is possible

that the correct reading may be گان “opinion, surmise,” but this should refer to opinions and surmises expressed to the King, گان being itself merely subjective].

کمر (kamar)

کمر بخشیدن : Lit., “To give a belt,” means “to employ in one’s service,” but it has also the sense of میان دادن “to assist,” and “to give strength to.” (M., II, 66, 67).

کر کمر بخشیم که دا برکم      گر دهی کلکی علمها بشکم

If you give me a belt, I will tear up mountains; if you give me a plume, I will break standards.

[“Kalkī,” a plume worn in battle].

کم (kam)

کم سخن : “Quiet, inoffensive.” (Sh. N., I, 461).

نخستین ز تور اندر آمد بدی      نه برخاست از و فره ایزدی  
شنیدی که بالیرج کم سخن      باغاز کینه چه افگند بن

First evil was brought in by Tūr, from whom departed the Divine Light.

You have heard how hostile he became early to (his) inoffensive (brother) Iraj.

کمینگاه

کمینگاه بستن : “To close or obstruct an ambushade.” (M., II, 564).

صد هزاران مرغ پرها شان شکست      و آن کمینگاه عوارض را نبست

The (wings and) feathers of countless birds have been broken, and not (one) has obstructed that ambushade of visitations.

[i.e., countless persons have been defeated in the vain attempt to turn aside the decrees of God].

کناج

کناج (kanāj) : Probably a contraction of کنگاج q. v.

کنار

کنادگرفتن (kinār with دا) : “To embrace.” (Sh. N., IV, 1794).

گرفتند مر یکدگر را کنار      پر از درد و مژگان چو ابرها

They embraced one another, full of grief, and with eye-lashes like clouds in spring.

کند

کند (kund) : “ Discouraged, depressed.” (Sh. N., II, 522).

به نیروی یزدان و دهم شاه      ترسم من از جنگ توران سپاه  
تو با شاه بر شو به بالائی تند      ز پیران و لشکر مشو هیچ کند

Under the might of God and the Prince's crown, I fear not battle with the army of Tūrān.

Go with the Prince to the top of a steep hill, and be in no wise discouraged at Pīrān and the army.

کندن

کندن : “ To cut off ;” (e.g., the head). (Sh. N., II, 536).

I interceded for him, O King, otherwise the other would have cut off his head lamentably.

کنگاج

کنگاج (kangāj, kingāj) : “ Counsel, consultation.”

کنگاج رفتن (with با) : For “counsel to be held” (with). (Nizārī-ye Kuhistānī, quoted by Vullers).

درین معامله کنگاج رفت با اصحاب بجمع گفتند القصه سوی خانه گرائی .

In this affair counsel was held with friends ; all said together, in short, “ Go to the house.”

کنگاج کردن (with با) : “ To hold counsel” (with), “ to consult.” (quoted by Vullers). Whatever counsel I hold with him.

کود

کود : “ Lost, confounded, in a desperate condition.” (Sh. N., IV, 1796).

سر انجام ز اندیشه نابکار      شوی در جهان تود و بیچاره وار

In the end, through your wicked thoughts and suspicions, you will become lost and helpless in the world.

—“ Bewildered, perplexed, perturbed.” (M., II, 525).

گفت تازانوست آب ای کورموش      از چه حیران گشتی وردتی زهوش

(The camel) said, “ O bewildered mouse, the water is (only) up to the knees ; why have you become perturbed and lost your senses ?”

—“ Confused, obscure, unintelligible.” (e.g., as writing). (M., II, 515).

چون نویسی بر سربنوشته خط      فهم ناید خواندش گردد غلط

کان سیاهی بر سیاهی افتاد      هر دو خط شد کور و معنی نداد

When you write characters on the top of a writing, they are not understood, the reading of them will be subject to error ;

For that black has fallen upon black, and both writings have become obscure and devoid of meaning.

کود و کبود : “ Unfortunate, wretched.” (M., II, 451).

تاجران انبیا کردند سود تاجران رنگ و بو کور و کبود

The merchants of the prophets have gained profit ; the merchants of the world are unfortunate and wretched.

[Those who deal with the prophets are the saintly and pious].

کوه

کوه دلال : “ *Puerorum perductor.*” (See *دنگشی* and *دنگش*, and the Turkish explanation under the latter).

کوه سر : “ The top of a mountain or hill.” (Sh. N., IV, 1932-3).

نیا طوس و گسهم و بندوی و شاه	بیلا گذشتند ازان رزمگاه
...	...
...	...
ازان کوه لشکر همی دید شاه	چپ و راست و قلب و جناح سپاه
...	...
...	...
چو خسرو چنان دید بر پائی خاست	ازان کوه سر سر بر آورد راست

Niyāṭūs, Gustéhm, Bandūy and the King retired to a mount from the battle-field.

From that hill the King could see the army—left and right, centre, and wings.

When *Khusrau* (Parvīz, the King), saw (the fight between the two champions), he rose to his feet, and raised his head high on the hill-top.

کوه سار is explained by the Sh. N. Glos. as an abbreviation of *کوه سر* (a mountainous country), which in the above it is not].

که (ki) : “ So that, for that.” (Beck’s P. G., p. 463, line 1, first که).

عاقلان گنجینه دانش و بیش که برهنمونی تعلیم هل ادلکم علی تجارة تنجیکم من عذاب الیم  
بمعاملات دارین پی برده اند بر نفع و ضرر معاوضاتشان نیت وقوف تمام حاصل کرده بسرشته هیچ  
نحو بدست نیاورده که در روز بازار دستخیز که محل ظهور ریح و خسران معاملات و هنگام فائده  
و نقصان تجارت است بنقص فایز بخت تجارتهم و ماکنوا مهتدین مغبون نباشند بغیر از آنکه متاع  
نفس و اموال را در معرض بیع ان الله اشتری من المومنین بان لهم الجنة در آوردند.

The wise (guardians) of the treasury of knowledge and insight who,

guided by the teaching, “*Has (God) shown you<sup>1</sup> a commerce that will save you from a grievous pain,*” have become cognizant of transactions affecting the two worlds—when their purpose of gaining complete acquaintance with the profit or loss of their exchanges has been achieved, have pursued no other course for that in the day of the Resurrection market, which is the place where the profit or loss of transactions appears, and which is the time of advantage or disadvantage in commerce, they may not be frustrated by the detriment implied in the Text, “*Their commerce has not profited, and they have not been in the right way*”—(have pursued no other course, I say) then to offer their lives and property in the market, “*Verily God buys of believers, to give them Paradise in return.*”

—“In order that” (Jāmī, I. A., section عزلت p. 57).

قدر تو ناهند که افزون شود عیب تو سنجند که موزون شوند

They depreciate your value in order that their own may be enhanced ; they weigh your faults in order that they may seem correct (in conduct).

کِهتر (kihtar comp. of “kih”)

A “subject, subordinate, inferior.” (Sh. N., IV, 1775).

چنین گفت موبد که من کِهترم ز فرمان شاه جهان نگذرم

The Mūbid said (to the Qaiṣar), “I am your subject, I shall not transgress the King’s command.”

کِ (kai) : “Why ?” (Bh., quoted by Vullers). استفهام لم که بمعنی چراست  
“The interrogative لم (lima) which means ‘why’.”

کِسه (kīsa)

See under کِهتر (khurjīn).

کِسه پردازی : “A being on the watch to secure.” (L.A., I, p. 140).

اجل بعد تو فارغ ز کِسه پردازی فلک بدور تو ساکن ز عمر فرسائی

In your reign death is free from watching to secure (victims) ; in your time the sky rests from wearing out life.

[From a Qaṣida by Bahā’u’d-Dīn Muḥammad of Bahdad].

کِسه بردوختن (with از of the thing) : “To get possession (of a thing). (Vullers from Bh.).

ز گنجش زمین کِسه بردوخته سمن سیم و خیری زر اندوخته

1. Its correct reading is هَلْ أَدُلُّكُمْ (see verse 61-10). It should therefore be translated into “Shall I (God) show you.....” — Ed., I.C.

The whole earth had got possession of his treasure : the jasmine had heaped up silver, and the yellow wall flower, gold.

[From the "*Sikandar Nāma*" of Nizāmī].

کیسه دوختن (with بر of the thing) : "To expect" (profit) (from a thing). (Vullers from Bh.).

زیان دیده کیسه بر سود دوخت که خود را بدلالی خود فروخت

An unsuccessful man expected profit, for he sold himself, as broken.

[From *Zuhūrī*. Evidently a satire on a self-praiser].

—(or کیسه بردوختن) : "To expect eagerly." (Vullers from B. Q.).

### کین

کین آختن : "To engage in hostility." (Sh. N., IV, 2015).

دَکَر اسب شبدیز کز تاختن نماندی بهنگام کین آختن

Again, the (famous) black horse *Shabdīz*, which in the time of engaging in hostility did not lag behind in the charge.

کین خواستن : "To exact vengeance" (for). (with اضافت of the person avenged). (Sh. N., I, 365).

و لر چون ستاره شوی بر سپهر ببری زدوی زمین پاک مهر  
بخواهد هم از تو پدر کین من چو بیند که خشتست بالین من

And if like the star you mount upon the sky, and cut off the pure sun from the earth,—

Even then will my father exact vengeance for me from you, when he sees that the bricks (of the tomb) are my pillow.

[*Suhrāb's* words to *Rustam* when mortally wounded by him].

کین کشیدن (with از برای) : "To exact vengeance" (for). (M., III, 31).

اولیا اطفال حقند ای پسر در حضور و غیبت ایشان باخبر  
غائبی مندیش آن نقصان نشان کو کشد کین از برای جانسان

The saints are the children of God, my son : in presence or in absence. He is acquainted with their condition.

Do not account their absence a detriment to them, for He will exact vengeance for their lives and souls.

[The Turkish commentator takes the predominant sense of غیبت here to be "slander," and gives the same sense to غائبی whereas the Story introducing this moral and the word حضور plainly point to the sense "absence." He is apparently misled by the common idea of the slandering of the prophets and saints. ایشان is written for زایشان on account of the metre. Or possibly there may be [فك اضافت].

### کینه

کینه باز آوردن (with اضافت of the person avenged): "To exact vengeance" (for). (Sh. N., II, 488).

که تا کینه شاه باز آورم      سر دشمنان زیر ناز آورم  
کله خود و شمشیر جام منست      بیازو خم خام دام منست

For until I have exacted vengeance for the Prince, and brought the enemy under the sword,

My tears shall be the helmet, my cup the sword, my hunting-smare the folds of the lasso on my arm.

[Rustam is having vengeance against Afrāsiyāb for the death of Siyāvash. "The sword;" lit., "the shears"].

### گام

#### گام

گام بردن: "To move, go, step." (M., II, 415).

گرگ از آهو چو زاید کودکی      هست در گریش و آهوئی شکمی  
تو گیاه و استخوان پیشش بریز      تا کد امین شوند او گام تیز

When a wolf bears young from an antelope—(if) there is any doubt as to whether the young's nature is that of wolf or antelope—

Scatter hay and bones before it, (and see) to which side it quickly moves.

گام برگرفتن: "To go, to advance." (H. P., p. 75).

هر سحر گه باز روی تمام      تا در شهر بر گرفتی گام  
دیدي آن پیکر نو آئین را      گور فرهاد و قصر شیرین را

At every dawn, with utter yearning, he would advance to the city gate,

And would see that wondrous portrait (on the gate) : tomb of Farhād and palace of Shīrīn.

[“ Tomb of Farhād ” is an allusion to the danger of a projected enterprise.

“ Palace of Shīrīn ” alluded to the portrait and the beauty and grandeur of the princess of the castle].

### گاو

گاو پیسه (gāv-e-pīsa) : “ The world, time,” as offering the two colours of day and night ; lit., “ the piebald ox.”

Vullers, Steingass and the Glossary to the Shāh Nāma have گاو پیسه (gāv-bīsha), which could signify only “ ox-wood,” and, of course, cannot have the sense of “ world, time.” Macan has گاو پیسه (i.e., gāv-e-pīsa). (Sh. N., I, 461).

گاو پیسه در چرم بودن (i.e., گاو پیسه بچرم اندر بودن) : “ To have still the power, opportunity or time to deliberate and act ;” lit., for “ the piebald ox to be (still) in (its) skin.” (Sh. N., I, 461).

سپهدار توران ازان بد ترست کنون گاو پیسه بچرم اندرست

The Leader of Tūrān is still worse, (but) you have still the time to deliberate and act.

[Afrāsiyāb sends his brother, Garsīvaz, to bring Siyāvash and his wife, Farangis, (the daughter of Afrāsiyāb), to Tūrān. Garsīvaz, who is inimical to Siyāvash, tries to deceive him as to Afrāsiyāb’s intentions].

گزارش : The “ interpretation ” (of a dream). (with اضافت or accus., and به of the thing predicted). (Sh. N., IV, 1789, rubric). (Cf. too گزارش).

خواب دیدن نو شیروان و گزارش بوزر جمهر آن را به پیدایش محمد .

The dream of Nūshīrvān, and Buzurjmihr’s interpretation of it as predicting the birth of Muḥammad.

### گذاشتن

گذاشتن : “ To pass, traverse, travel.” (Sh. N., IV, 1745).

چو بگذاشتی تا سر آورد گاه نشستی چو فرزانه بر دست شاه

When it has passed to the end of the battle-field, it is established as a vazīr by the King.



[“ It ” is the person in chess ; “ the battle-field ” is the chess-board, and a “ vazīr ” is a queen].

باز گذاشتن (with به of the person): “ To commit to the charge ” (of). (Ch. M., p. 22).

کار های خویش بآل سلجوق باز گذاشتیم پس بر ما بیرون آمدند .

We have committed our affairs to the charge of the House of Saljūq ; then they have rebelled against us.

[Words of the Khalif Al-Mustarshid-bi'llāh, directed especially against the Sultān Sanjar. باز گذاشتیم is a translation of the Arabic فوضنا].

گذر (guzar)

گذر دادن : “ To let (one) pass.” (Sh. N., II, 530).

بدو گفت کیو آنچه خواهی بخواه گذر ده ده تنک اندر آمد سپاه

Gīv said (to the toll-gatherer), “ Demand what you wish, (but) let us pass (over the river), for the army has come quite close.

[Afrāsiyāb is pursuing the young Prince Kai-Khusrau who is accompanied by the hero Gīv].

گذردرفتن (with از): “ To pass ” (by), “ to approach ;” “ to enter ” (into). (Sh. N., IV, 1786).

هر آن کس که داند سخن برآزاف	بود بر سر انجمن مرد لاف
بگاهی که تنها بود در نهفت	پشیمان بود زان سخنها ده افت
هم اندر زمان چون کشاید سخن	به پیش آرد آن لافهای لسن
هنرمند گر مردم بی هنر	لس از آفرینش نکیرد گذر

Whoever talks vainly and foolishly (and) is a boaster in the company of people,

(And) then, when alone in private, is repentant of the words he has spoken,

(But) directly he speaks (again), brings out his old bragging, no person, whether learned or ignorant, will enter into praise of him.

گذر یافتن (with از): “ To pass ” (beyond), “ to exceed.” (Sh. N., IV, 1853).

ز چیزی که بخشش کند دادگر چنان دان ده لوشش نیابد گذر

Know that one cannot by one's efforts exceed the thing which the just one apportioned.

[Lit., "that efforts cannot exceed"].

——(with بر) "to find place" (in), "to reach." (Sh. N., I, 430).

همی از تو جویند شاهان هنر      نه یابد بهر در بر تو نذر

Kings seek and derive their merit from you, since in every matter it finds its place in you.

[Siyāvash is speaking to Afrāsiyāb].

گِران

گِران (girān): "Loud." (M., II, 91).

چون سماع آمد زاول تا لران      مطرب آغازید یک ضرب گران

When the religious music had passed from beginning to end, the musician commenced a loud measure.

——"Unpleasant, disagreeable, tiresome." (Redhouse).

کُرانی لرغتن: "To suffer depression." (Sh. N., II, 531).

اگر من شوم غرقه در مادرت      درانی نباید که نیرد سرت

If I, or (even) your mother, be drowned, you must not let your head suffer depression.

کُراینده (with اضافت): "Inclined, favourable." (to). (Sh. N., IV, 1769).

چنین داد پاسخ که یزدان پا ک      پرستنده را سر برآرد ز خاک  
فلک را کُراینده او نند      جهان را همه بنده او نند

He thus gave answer, "The pure God raises the head of his worshipper from the earth;

He makes the sky favourable to him, and all the world his slave."

گِرد (gard)

دل از گرد شستن      See under دل

گِرد (gird)

گِرد: A "city." (Steingass). In this sense it is no doubt from the Pahlavi "kart," "made;" Cf., e.g. دارا بگرد. This too explains names such as یزدگرد.

گرد آمدن : “ To have intercourse, having intercourse, intercourse.” (Ch. M., p. 178).

و این خانه را از سقف تا بپای زمین صورت کردند صورتهای الفیه از انواع درد آمدن مردان با زنان همه برهنه .

And this room they had painted from roof to floor with pictures from the book called *Alfiya* showing the different modes of intercourse between men and women, all naked.

### گردش

گردش تیغ : “ Sword-play, sword-exercise, the use of the sword.” (Sh. N., III, 1465).

سدیگر که چوکان و تیر و کمان همان گردش تیغ با بدگان

The third (Mūbid to teach him) polo and archery, and also the use of the sword against the enemy.

[Treating of Bahrām Gūr's education with Mundhir in Hīra].

### گردیدن

برگردیدن : “ To turn,” (as the head). (neuter). (M., II, 350).

هر که برگردد سرش از چرخها همچو خود گردنده بیند خانه را

Every one whose head turns through whirling round, sees the room turning round like himself.

——“ To turn round.” (neuter). (M., I, 463).

چونکه برگردی تو سرگردان شوی خانه را گردان بینی آن تویی

When you turn round, you become dizzy ; you see the room as turning, (but) it is you.

### گرفتن

گرفتن (with به) : “ To subject ” (to). (Sh. N., IV, 1805).

پرسش گرفت اختر دخترش که تا چون بود در زمان اخترش

He subjected his daughter's star to interrogation, to know how her star might be at the time.

[Hurmuzd is told by Mihrān Satād, then a very old man, of the fortune foretold about his mother, the daughter of the *Khāqān* of Turkistan].

—(with به or در) : “ To take to task ” (for). (M., II, 514).

حق تعالی گفت درگوش شعیب      درجواب او فصیح از راه غیب  
که بگفتی چند لردم من گناه      و ز کرم نگرفت در جرم اله

In answer to him God, most High through way inscrutable, spoke lucidly to Shu'aib's ear,

(Enjoining him to say), “ You have said, ‘ How many sins have I committed ! and (yet) God in (His) kindness has not taken me to task for my offences.”

[An example with به is in the rubric of the same section, p. 513].

(Sh. No. IV, 1743). (در) : “ To make ;” (as, a supplication, خواهش اندرگرفتن).

چو از مادر آگاهی آمد بگو      بر انگیخت آن باره تیز رو  
بیامد و را تنگ در بر گرفت      پر از خون مژه خواهش اندر گرفت

When intelligence of his mother reached Gau, he spurred up his rapid steed.

Arriving, he embraced her closely ; with tears on his lashes, he made a supplication.

[Talhand, the favourite son of Gau's mother, dies on the defeat of his army by Gau, as the King dies in chess when checkmated without being touched.

In connection with this old Indian story is detailed the origin of chess].

—(with به) : “ To offer excuses ” (to), “ to ask pardon ” (of). (Sh. N., IV, 1907 and 1908).

1907 :

چو نیمی ز تیره شب اندر کشید      ز باره یکی بهره شد ناپدید  
همه شار سان ماند زان در شگفت      بیزدان سقف پوزش اندر گرفت

When half of the dark night had elapsed, a portion of the wall disappeared.

The whole city remained in amazement ; the bishop asked pardon of God.

[A Christian city had refused hospitality to Khusrâu Parvîz and his troops, and a portion of the city-wall disappeared or fell down in reproof from the effects of a miraculous wind].

1908 :

ز گفتار او ماند خسرو شگفت چو شرم آمدش پوزش اندر گرفت

At his words Khusrau Parvīz remained in amazement, and being ashamed, he offered excuses (for his attempted deception).

فرو (with بر) : "To fix, establish" (upon or against). See under فرو گرفتن.

گرم : "Impressive, earnest." Cf. گرم گو and گرم سخن in Steingass, and گفتار گرم in Sh. N., III, 1409.

دگر آنکه دارد وی آواز نرم خردمندی و شرم و گفتار گرم

(Blessed) again is he who has a soft voice, wisdom, modesty and earnest speech.

گره (giriḥ)

(گره کردن : "To knot:").

دوی گره کردن : "To frown. (lit., to knot the face)". (S. N., p. 50).

مرد دزدی دوی ترش کرد و گره : The tailor looked sour and frowned.

گزاف

از گزاف : "At random." (M. II, 345-6).

قصده هر درویش می کن از گزاف چون نشان یابی بجده می کن طواف  
چون ترا آن چشم باطن بین نبود گنج می پندارد اندر هر وجود

Make, at random, for every (one of) darvīsh (semblance); and when you find a sign, devote yourself earnestly to him.

Since you have not eyes which can read the hidden, think there is a treasure in every person.

[“A sign;” i.e., a sign of there being treasures of spirituality and divine knowledge].

—“Foolishly and wantonly.” (M., II, 81).

این سزای آنکه یابد آب صاف همچو خر در جو بمیرد از گزاف

This is the merited punishment of him who finds pure water, and like an ass foolishly and wantonly stales in the stream.

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued).

# CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

## DECCAN

### *Hyderabad Academy*

THE meritorious yet unostentatious work of the Hyderabad Academy developed this year in a further direction of considerable usefulness.

So a Literary Week was organised from the 6th to 13th November last, in which seven of the members of the Academy read papers in popular languages on the subject of their special study and research, for the benefit of the public. The opening ceremony was performed by the Patron of the Academy, H.H. the Prince of Berar, the Heir-Apparent to the throne of Hyderabad.

In his opening speech the Prince of Berar laid stress on the importance of learning, congratulated the Academy on the fame it had been able to win in Europe and America, and emphasised the need of publication of researches done by the learned members of the young Academy.

The first of the series of lectures was on *Contribution of Arabs to Sciences during the Middle Ages*, by M. 'Abdur Raḥmān Khān, retired Principal of the Osmania University College. The author traced the history of physics, chemistry, astronomy, architecture, geology, mathematics and other sciences, and came to the conclusion that modern Europe was indebted, in certain aspects of these branches of learning, to the East.

The second paper was by Mr. 'Abdul Qadīr Ṣiddīqī, retired Head of the Faculty of Muslim Theology in the Osmania University on *Abrogation in the Qur'ān*. Superficial readers of the Qur'ān come sometimes across contradictory passages, and of course the chronologically posterior verses were held to abrogate the anterior ones. The 13 centuries of the Qur'ānic exegesis have tended to diminish the number of such apparently clashing passages, until at last Shāh Waliullāh of Delhi brought the number from several hundreds to only five. The author explained that even these five passages should not be considered as abrogated.

The third paper was on *The Soul of Hinduism* by Pandit G. Dhareśwar, retired Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Osmania University.

The fourth one was on the *Evolution of the Universe* by Dr. Raḍiuddīn Ṣiddīqī of the Mathematics Department of the Osmania University.

The fifth paper was on the *Codification of the Muslim Law* by Abū-Hanīfah by Dr. M. Ḥamīdullāh, of the Law Faculty of the Osmania University. The author briefly traced the origin and growth of the Muslim law from the time of the Prophet, and gave an account of the early attempts

made to develop and systematise it by the Caliph 'Umar and others. Then he dwelt at length on the working of the Law Academy, consisting of forty members, founded and presided by Abū-Hanīfah (d. 150 A.H.), which codified the whole body of Muslim law. The author vividly described the deliberations and actual discussions of the members of the Academy, the system they adopted and the principles they followed. As is known, this Islamic "corpus juris" contained laws ecclesiastical as well as private and public (*viz.*, worship rituals, civil, criminal, constitutional, international and even social laws, *e.g.*, inheritance). Finally, the author discussed the question of whether and how far foreign influences were traceable in Muslim law and more particularly in the work of Abū-Hanīfah, and cut a new path in the way of approach to the problem and posed twelve fundamental questions to be answered before giving any particular credit to the Roman law as having influenced Muslim law.

The sixth paper was on the *System of Education in the Time of the Qutub-shāhī kings of Golkunda*, by Mīr Aḥmad 'Alī Khān, Vice-Principal of the Training College, Osmania University, who described not only the main features of the system but also gave graphic details of the princes of the royal house taking active part in the service of knowledge.

The seventh and the last paper was on the *Qur'ān and Character-building*, by Dr. Mīr Waliuddīn of the Philosophy Department of the Osmania University. He said that the firm and detailed belief in the doctrine that there was no God but God had revolutionised human thought on theology, and said that that was the basis of all Muslim morality as enunciated by the Qur'ān. Through this belief alone could man successfully oppose all the random gusts of worldly desires which were incompatible with good morality.

At the close of the Session, H.R.H. the Princess of Berar was pleased to send a message of appreciation and hearty congratulations on the great success of the Hyderabad Academy, of which she was a co-patron.

### *Qur'ān Institute*

The Tahrik-e-Qur'ān Society of Hyderabad, well-known even on the continent, has taken a new step forward by opening a training centre for the Ḥāfiẓes (those who learn the whole Qur'ān by heart) whose number exceeds thousands in Hyderabad alone. This centre, under the name of Jāmi'ah Qur'āniyah, has been housed outside the city, in a grand mosque at Hayātnagar, the mosque which was visited and described by Bernier and other foreign travellers in vivid terms. In the compound of the historic mosque there are about 150 rooms, admirably suited for the lodging of students. The course, which extends over a period of three months, consists of the art of recitation of the Qur'ān (*tajwid*), life of the Prophet and Qur'ānic morality, method of teaching Qur'ān to people not knowing Arabic, and a syllabus necessary for those who have to perform the duty of Imāms.

### *Qur'ān in Telugu*

Some years ago, a Telugu translation of the Qur'ān was published by a non-Muslim, which was done through an English translation. It left much to be desired. Mr. Qāsim Khān, a graduate of the Andhra University, has taken the work in hand for a more faithful translation, and the first fascicule, consisting of the first two parts of the Qur'ān, have just been published in the series of the Telugu Academy of Hyderabad, of which the author is the Secretary.

### *Osmania Students and the Life of the Prophet*

The happy and healthy traditions were continued this year also in the hostels of the Osmania University, to hold essay competitions in connection with the celebration of the Prophet's Birthday. The "Professor Subba Rao Prize" essay, whose competition is reserved exclusively to non-Muslim students, was on "Common Features of the Teachings of Muḥammad and of other Religions." We congratulate Prof. Subba Rao and the Prophet's Birthday Committee for the lead they are giving India how constructively provide means of understanding peoples of other religions, a thing so sorely needed in a country where communal tensions have become a normal feature and a rule instead of an exception.

### *Interest-free Loans.*

Prof. John Maynard Keynes of Cambridge, is of opinion that all economic ills, including unemployment are directly traceable to usury. Prof. Massignon of the University of Paris is sure that the clash between capitalism and communism will inevitably open a bright future for the religion which prohibits interest and usury. When even Western governments are so slow in eradicating this evil, what can be expected from petty and backward Muslim states which are toiling under the inferiority complex *vis-à-vis* the West due to not the least political factors. If any ray of hope twinkles in this dark atmosphere, it is in Hyderabad where co-operative societies for lending money without interest are organised by purely private enterprise and working for over 50 years. A historical survey of them was recently made by Dr. Ḥamīdullāh in a paper read in the Economic Conference, Hyderabad.

Among the younger societies, we have just come across the 18th annual report of the Society of the Employees of the Settlement Department. It shows that over 37,000 rupees were lent this year without any interest whatsoever, on co-operative basis, repayable in instalments extended over two years. Over 12,000 rupees were received this year through instalment of shares, and the capital of the society was at the end of the year under review (ending in July 1941) 86,000 rupees.



*Publications of the Dā'iratul Ma'ārif.*

The Dā'iratul Ma'ārif of the Osmania University is continuing its work of the preservation of the antique lore of the Arabs. During the last few months, the following works were published :

- (١) كتاب المنتظم لابن الجوزى المجلد ٤ الى ١٠ .
- (٢) كتاب الافعال لابن القطاع (التوفى ٥١٥) المجلد الاول .
- (٣) اعراب ثلاثين سورة من القرآن لابن الخالويه (التوفى ٣٤٠) .
- (٤) كتاب الاعتبار لابن حازم (في الناسخ و المنسوخ ) الطبعة الثانية .
- (٥) الاشباه والنظائر في النحول للسيوطى الطبعة الثانية المجلد الاول .
- (٦) التاريخ الكبير للإمام البخارى صاحب الصحيح (في الرجال) النصف الاول للجزء الرابع .
- (٧) كتاب الكنى للإمام البخارى (في الرجال) .
- (٨) انباط المياه الخفيه للحاسب الكرخى .
- (٩) رسائل نصير الدين الطوسى المجلد الثانى محتوى على : ( ١ ) كتاب مانا لاولس (في الرياضيات ، ب - الرسالة الشافية (في الخطوط المتوازية) ، ج - كتاب فى المطالع (في الهيئة) ، د - كتاب الطلوع والغروب .

The following works are actually in press, at the time of our going to the press :

- (١) التاريخ الكبير للبخارى النصف الثانى للجزء الرابع .
- (٢) الافعال لابن القطاع المجلد الثانى .
- (٣) الاشباه والنظائر للسيوطى المجلد الثانى الى الرابع .

*Al-Ihyā' al-Ma'ārif an-Nu'māniya*, it has temporarily stopped all publications, owing to war, yet the manuscripts are being prepared for publication. So the following are already made ready :—

- (١) كتاب الحجج للإمام محمد الشيبانى .
- (٢) المختصر للطحاوى -
- (٣) مناقب الامام ابى حنيفة و صاحبيه للذهبي .
- (٤) مناقب ابى حنيفة للصيمرى .
- (٥) كتاب الآثار للإمام محمد الشيبانى .
- (٦) شرح العتائى على الزيادات .
- (٧) شرح السرخسى على زيادات الزيادات .
- (٨) اصول الفقه للسرخسى .

The following MSS. are under collation and preparation :—

(١) تقويم الاول للدبوسى، (٢) شرح الصدر الشهيد على كتاب ادب القاضى للخصاف، (٣) المقدمة الغزنويه لمحمد بن محمد الغزنوى .

Photographed or transcribed copies of several other classical works on Hanafī jurisprudence have already been acquired by the Society, which will be taken in hand in due course.

M. H.

## NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE Aligarh Historical Research Institute, founded by the late Hon'ble Sir Shāh Sulaimān, has recently loomed large by its various publications. Some two years ago, the above Research Institute was founded to "fulfil a general desire among the scholars of the Aligarh University for the preparation of a critical History of India, free from political or communal bias." Its main object is to conduct research on the political, institutional, and cultural history of mediæval India, having no intention of creating "a sensation by debunking some well-known national hero, or by white-washing some notorious reprobate." Amongst its various programmes are the publication of original materials and their translation into English, as well as the deciphering, printing and interpreting of Muslim inscriptions. It will, no doubt, give full consideration to political history, but will not lay stress mostly on campaigns, wars of succession, and affairs of the court. It will give more attention to such topics as have been glossed over by historians, such as the art of war, law and justice, the development of Shari'at, customs and manners, medical science, art, literature and calligraphy in mediæval India. And it is gratifying to note here that an excellent monograph on 'The Administration of Justice in Mediæval India' by Mr. M. B. Ahmad, I.C.S., has just been published by the above Institute. The book contains about 300 pages, besides Indices, and it is based on original documents, some of which were not yet known to students of Indian history. The main features of the Mughal administration of justice, as elucidated by the author, are the following. The provinces were divided into districts, each of which had a Qāḍī (judge) appointed by the Emperor. The Qāḍī could try only those cases which were specified in his letter of appointment. In disputes concerning property there lay an appeal to a Supreme Court, over which the Executive Head of the Province presided in person. But there was a complete separation of executive and judicial functions in order to secure the independence of law courts. There was a chain of appeals from the lowest court to the highest, and even kings and queens were not above the law. The courts possessed the power of reviewing their decisions where they

found them to be erroneous. In civil cases issues were framed by the judges in order to direct the attention of the parties to the points in controversy before they were called upon to adduce evidence in support of their allegation. The principle of *res judicata* was recognised and a claim already decided could not be the subject matter of a fresh suit. The rule of estoppel was also recognised and a party was sometimes debarred from proving a case on account of his previous conduct.

These elucidations by the learned author have led some of the readers of his books to believe that in the Muslim period the administration of justice and rules of evidence of procedure were very similar to the system prevailing in British India today, and that the Anglo-Indian system is essentially the old wine in new bottles. (Vide the *Journal* of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute, Vol. I, No. 1).

Besides the above book, the Institute is on the eve of publishing *Futūḥāt Fīrōz Shāhī*, and *Masālik-ul-Abṣār fī Mamālik-ul-Amṣār*. Both these books will include translations also. The latter text has been rendered into English by Dr. Otto Spies. Khān Bahādur Zafar Ḥasan, C.I.E. (Archæological Department) has kindly promised to edit for the Institute twenty-two invaluable Firmāns in his possession.

The Institute publishes a quarterly journal also. In its first issue, the articles which deserve mention are the following : (1) Antecedents of the Bahmanī Kingdom, in which Prof. Hārūn Khān Sherwānī, Osmania University, has tried to show that the independence of the Deccan was proclaimed by Naṣīruddīn Ismā'il Shāh, and not by Alāuddīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty. During the short reign of Naṣīruddīn Ismā'il Shāh the foundation of the institutions of the kingdom of the Deccan was laid, but there was incessant fighting in the year of Naṣīruddīn's kingship, and no administrative progress was possible till a later period. (2) The System of Assignment under the Sultāns of Delhi. This article is a chapter of a forthcoming book *The Administration of the Sultānate of Delhi* by Dr. I.H. Quraishī, St. Stephen's College, Delhi. The present article discusses the different forms of the system of assignment in pre-Mughal period. (3) The *Agrarian System of the Tughlaqs* describes at present the fiscal measures of Ghiyāthuddīn Tughlaq only, who fixed the revenue of the kingdom according to the actual yield and produce of crops. The method adopted for this was one of appraisal and valuation of the probable yield from the standing crops, after which the cultivators were allowed to pay either in cash or kind. And every step was taken to guard against overestimation on the part of the persons interested in the increase of revenue. Ghiyāthuddīn thus saved the ryots from the consequences of accidents to the crops and an apportionment which took no account either of the actual yield or area cultivated and the yield from the crops.

The compilation of the history of India is receiving extraordinary attention these days in the U.P. The Shiblī Academy, A'zamgarh, as reported previously, has also worked out a plan to write in Urdu the

history of the Muslim rule in India in about 22 volumes. The first two volumes have been completed, and will be released from the press in the near future. The first volume commences with the advent of the Arabs in Sind and continues till the extinction of their rule, which covers about 325 years. It deals exhaustively with the society, culture, art, architecture, learning, literature, as well as with the administrative, military and economic organisation of Arab rule in Sind. The second volume covers the period from the expeditionary raids of the Ghaznavides till the subjugation of the Indian rulers by Shihābuddīn Ghōrī and his lieutenants. Complementary volumes on the history of Islamic civilisation in India are also in process of preparation.

The Indian Historical Congress, under the secretaryship of Dr. Sir Shafā'at Aḥmad Khān, has also aimed at writing the history of India elaborately. Meanwhile Bhāratīya Itihās Parishad, Benares, has also thought to bring out an authoritative history of India written by Indian scholars. The history compiled by Bhāratīya Itihās Parishad will consist of twenty volumes and will be published in English and Hindi. Editions in other Indian languages are also to be brought out.

Dr. Sir Shafā'at Aḥmad Khān realised that two such schemes, if carried on side by side, were bound to overlap to some extent, and it was with a view to avoid this overlapping and consequent waste of resources and energy that he wrote to the president of Bhāratīya Itihās Parishad to suggest merging the two parallel enterprises into one scheme to which scholars belonging to both bodies could contribute. He wanted to include non-Indian scholars also amongst the writers of the projected history of India. But the Parishad did not agree to the latter proposal, because it does not want a history which will be a pæan on the glories of British rule. So both the bodies have agreed to go ahead with their separate schemes. The Aligarh Historical Research Institute has, however, consented to collaborate with the Parishad, especially in bringing out the volumes relating to the Muslim period.

The United Provinces Historical Society is also doing its best to enrich Indian historical literature. The July number of its journal contains some useful articles on the various aspects of Muslim rule in India. In an article on Kingship and Nobility in Humāyūn's Time, Dr. S. K. Banerjee, Reader, Lucknow University, says that the Mughal kingship in Humāyūn's time was a Central Asian conception. Bābur's rule for four years in India was too brief to develop the institution on independent lines. The ruler was the visible symbol of independence, but the actual power he wielded depended upon his personality and force of character. Humāyūn seemed to be vacillating between two opposite ideals, one, his father's or Central Asian, namely, to be the comrade and companion of his nobles, and the other, Indian or Pahlavi, according to which he was absolute and far superior to them. Under the caption of Ideals of Mughal Sovereigns, Dr. Banarsi Prasad, M.A., Ph.D. (Allahabad University), discusses in the same journal the conception of Mughal kingship still more

elaborately. Making an individual study of the ideals by which Bābur, Humāyūn, Akbar, Jehāngīr, Shah Jehān and 'Ālamgīr were governed, he concludes : " That the political ideals of the great Mughals were not static but dynamic, need hardly be stated ; that they were the outcome of changing conditions is clear ; that they were essentially secular but only incidentally religious cannot be gainsaid. The one noteworthy feature of their ideals was imperialism ; but unlike the modern imperialism it had not for its objective the exploitation of others. The Mughal sovereigns were dictators and despots, but they were true to their profession and they did what they said. The march of events in the world is proving that authority and sovereignty is indivisible and that it must ultimately be moulded by one individual. And here lies the proliferation of the despotism of the great Mughals."

Other articles dealing with the Muslim period in the above journal are the Delay in Humāyūn's Accession, the Military Organisation of the Sultānate of Delhi, an unpublished Persian work on the Nawābs of Oudh. The last article refers to the *Tārīkh-i-Mohtasham* which is a contemporary history of Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān, Ghāziuddīn Haider and Naṣīruddīn Haider. The writer of the article says that " compared with several contemporary English and indigenous records, Mohtasham Khān's contribution to the history of Oudh proves to be the best and the most authentic record on the period yet discovered." The manuscript of *Tārīkh-e-Mohtasham* is preserved in Khudā Bakhsh Khān's Oriental Public Library, Patna.

It was reported in the last issue of *Islamic Culture* that *Qānūn-i-Mas'ūdī* by Al-Bērūnī is being edited under the auspices of the Muslim University, Aligarh, but the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, has stolen a march on the Muslim University by publishing it last July. The book has been edited by Zeki Validi Togan, a Turkish Oriental Scholar, who wandered at large in search of al-Bērūnī's invaluable works and salvaged them from different quarters of Asia and Europe. After labouring hard for several years, he prepared the book *Qānūn-i-Mas'ūdī* but found no publisher in Europe, so he approached the Director-General of Archaeology in India, who in appreciation of the merit of the work decided to publish the text in advance of the English translation. This monograph is an epitome of such portions of the work as deal mainly with the physical geography and mineralogy of India. It is arranged in four chapters. In the first chapter al-Bērūnī describes the condition of the earth in general and the geographical division of countries in particular in relation to their latitude and longitude, illustrated by a tabular statement. The second chapter is devoted to the genesis of primeval man, and of the glacial theory which was apparently conceived by al-Bērūnī for the first time as early as the 11th century, on the evidence existing on the hill-tops of Yemen (Arabia) and their neighbourhood of fossils and fossilised bones, generally associated with aquatic animals. In the third chapter mention is made of precious and semi-precious stones and other minerals such as gold, silver, copper, and iron, together with their location and mode of acquisition.

The fourth and last chapter deals with the vegetable world namely herbs, plants, fruits, drugs and kinds of bark together with their properties, use and location. It also treats at length of the animal kingdom, both aquatic and terrestrial, with their characteristic nature and modes of life.

The Majlis-i-Islāmiyāt of the Muslim University, Aligarh has, however, published many treatises, which were contributed to its annual meetings by various learned scholars of India. The following are some of them (1) How Islamic Rule is established. In this treatise the author discusses such problems as the physical evolution of a government, principles of sovereignty, revolutions caused by Islam in sovereignty and government, Divine rule, the Caliphate, and Islamic political theories and movements. (2) Paradise Lost (فردوس گم گشته) deals with the natural and sociological laws of Islam, the Caliphate according to Divine law and according to the principles formed by the Holy Prophet; and Islam as a community of organisation; (3) *Imān* (faith), is a thought-provoking booklet in which it has been proved that the organisation of a community or a class depends on the fundamental principles of thought and actions, which must have their basis on true *Imān*. And true *Imān* is free from material pursuits and prejudices of a country and a nation. It is nothing but incentive to good action, and a check to evil deeds, and it welcomes each and all individuals within its fold without any barrier of national feeling. (4) Science and Islam make a comparative study of the material progress of science and the spiritual achievements of religion particularly Islam. (5) *Tamaddun-i-Islām* describes the glories of Islamic civilization and its superiority to other civilizations of the world.

The Oriental Department of the Allahabad University has made an appreciable contribution to the Persian literature of India by editing the *Tāzkira-e-Bēnāzīr*, which is a biography of Persian poets who flourished in Iran and India during the first seventy-two years of the 12th century of the Hijra era. The author of this biography is Mīr 'Abdul Wahāb, whose pen-name was Iftikhār. His ancestors hailed from Bukhara, but he was born at Ahmednagar, and was a pupil of Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād of Bilgrām who had him employed in the service of Nawāb Nizām-ud-Daulah Nāsir Jung. He died in 1190 A.H. and was buried near the tomb of Burhānuddīn Gharīb at Daulatabad. The author of *Tāzkira-e-Bēnāzīr* describes certain poets who are not mentioned in any of the contemporary *Tāzkiras* hitherto published. The book is written in beautiful and simple style.

In June it was reported from London that Russian Archæologists have opened the tomb of Tamerlane the Great. By removing an enormous slab beneath the tomb they found a huge light grey marble sarcophagus containing the remains of Tamerlane's famous grandson Ulugh Bēg, the greatest astronomer Asia has ever had. But the *Ma'ārif*, A'zamgarh, is reluctant to believe in the truth of the discovery, for, it says, Ulugh Bēg was not buried in Tamerlane's tomb. The person who was buried by the side of Tamerlane was his friend Mīr Sayyed.

In the U. P. an important lead was given by the Nawab of Chhatari (now President of the Executive Council of the Hyderabad State), by appointing a committee called Majlis-e Nizām-i-Islāmi. This committee is to devise ways and means for the reorientation of the economic, social, religious and political life of the Muslim youths of India according to strict tenets and traditions of Islam. It has been constituted under the chairmanship of Sayyed Sulaimān Nadavi, who has some distinguished Muslim leaders as his collaborators. It is at present inviting suggestions and opinions from different quarters of India, and it is believed that the report submitted by it will serve as a landmark in the history of the Muslim youths of India. The work of the committee has aroused great interest amongst some sections of our youngmen, and a student of the Muslim University of Aligarh wrote to the chairman of the Committee a thoughtful letter which has been published in *Ma'ārif* (July 1941). In this letter he asks the learned chairman to explain exhaustively the theoretical and practical political philosophy of the eminent Muslim thinkers of the past according to modern methods and ideas. He wants thorough study of such problems as : What were the contributions of Muslim political philosophers to Islamic society ? What are the fundamental principles on which the social, economic and political structures of Muslim society should be built ? Are the present problems of the world ultra-modern or comprehensible in the light of the teachings of Muslim divines and saints ? Are the present forms of democracy, dictatorship and monarchy queer and strange ideas for the Muslims ? What are the alternatives presented by Islam to socialism and communism ? How can Islam check the growing ideas of atheism ? Should Muslim society and polity be governed in all cases by Islamic laws and principles ?, etc., etc.

The Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, is somewhat shorn of its former glory and prominence. This is due to the attitude of the U. P. Government, which it is said, proposes to amalgamate it with other literary institutions of the Province. Of late, it has published but a few books, some of which have not been up to its former high standard. Its Urdu Quarterly journal is however, being brought out regularly. Some of its recent articles are (1) The influence of Islamic learning on European literature, (2) The first historical work of the Islamic world, which is *Kitāb-ul-Mulūk, wa Akhbār-ul-Mādiyīn* كتاب الملوك واخبار الماضين. It is a history of old Yemen compiled between 40 A.H. and 43 A.H., (3) *Yādgār-i-Shu'arā'*. This is an Urdu version of the notices and biography of Urdu poets described in Dr. Sprenger's Catalogue of the Library of Kings of Oudh.

In Bihar, *Ma'āshir*, the newly started Urdu journal is maintaining its high standard of articles. Articles recently contributed to this journal are, A Glance at the Art of Criticism in Urdu Literature, A Critical Study of Burgson, and one on Shāh Kamāl 'Alī Kamāl, who is an ancient Urdu poet.

A Professor of the English Department of the Patna University has written a book *Urdu Shā'irī* (Urdu Poetry), which shows undoubted labour and merit on the part of the author. But a good number of his criticisms

levelled against Urdu poets and poetry have not been liked by the modern Urdu scholars who have written trenchant criticism on them. The book is, however, no mean contribution to Urdu literature.

Mr. Hasan Askari, Lecturer in the History Department of the Patna University, has contributed an article on *Muzaffar-Nāma* and its Author to the *Journal* of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute. The *Muzaffar Nāma*, according to the writer, is the most detailed and by far the best contemporary history of the Nāzims of Bengal, from the rise of 'Alī Vardī Khān Mahābat Jung to the deposition and arrest of Nawāb Muzaffar Jung, Nā'ib Nāzim of Bengal in 1772 A.D. The author of the book, Mīrzā Karam 'Alī Khān, was related to 'Alī Vardī Khān and employed in the service of Nawāb Muzaffar Jung. The book has not been printed yet, nor has it attracted the attention of scholars that it deserves.

S. S.



## NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

ABDU'R-RAZZĀQ: *MAṬLA' I SA'-DAIN*, edited by Principal Muḥammad Shafi', Oriental College, Lahore.

IT was Elliot and Dowson who first introduced 'Abdu'r-Razzāq to the English-knowing world by their translation many years ago of parts of *Maṭla'* in their *History of India as told by her own Historians*. Incidentally it may be mentioned that in spite of this the average student of history knew 'Abdu'r-Razzāq only as one who described the city and the institutions of Vijayanagar when he represented his master the king of Herat as ambassador. As is well known, Elliot and Dowson's treatment of Persian histories is at times faulty in spite of the learned commentaries by Prof. Hodiwala, and therefore it is necessary that the main Persian authorities of our history should be published *in extenso* and annotated.

The volume under review is an earnest attempt at such a work. 'Abdu'r-Razzāq is one of our chief authorities for the middle of the ninth century, not only for the history of Central India but also of the Deccan, especially as he was witness of happenings in the Deccan for many years from 845-1345.

It is a pity that the volume under review deals with the period ending in 833 - 1430 and leaves out all that he has to say about Vijayanagar and our own great Wazīr, Maḥmūd Gāwān. It describes the happenings beyond the north-western border of India, with Herat as the centre, during the reign of the Timurid Sultān Shāh Rukh, and as such is highly interest-

ing, as the author discourses not only on the campaigns which the king led but also on the court life, the royal hunts, society at Herat, crime and justice, and other aspects of the social and political conditions of that region.

Principal Shafi' has taken great pains to make the work useful and presentable. His treatment, footnotes, collation and references leave absolutely nothing to be desired. Of course a list of errata is natural with lithographed works, but that list is surprisingly small. It is hoped that the learned editor will complete the whole of the work very soon.

H. K. S.

JOURNAL OF THE ALIGARH HISTORICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
[Vol. I. No. 1. (April 1941)].

THIS is a new and welcome addition to the learned Journals of India. It opens with a well-written article on Antecedents of the Bahmanī Kingdom. Then follows an article on the Court Diaries during the Mughal Period. The translation of all the five Persian passages leaves much to be desired in points of accuracy and clearness. To translate *يوم الاثنين* and *يوم الاربعاء* as "the fourth day" and the "third day," is to say the least—what should we say? And what is more, the writer bases his conclusions on these wrong translations, rather than

on the original Persian passages. A new source of the history of Bengal has been discussed in the article on *Muzaffar Nāma* and its Author. We hope that this valuable work will soon be published. No attempt at transliteration seems to have been made throughout the *Journal*. But we learn from the Editor that a sub-committee has already been appointed to suggest a scientific method of transliteration. Might we suggest that the *Journal* should use the system adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society, which is now in use almost all over the English-speaking world? We wish the *Journal* a successful career. And the long list of distinguished names who have agreed to serve it augur well for its future.

M. J. R.

*KHUTŪT-E-GHĀLIB*, edited by Munshi Mahesh Parshad, published by the Hindu-stani Academy, United Provinces, Allahabad.

MIRZĀ Asadullāh Khān Ghālib, was a famous Urdu poet of Delhi, who is equally famous as the founder of modern Urdu prose. As a matter of fact he was not originally a prose writer and did not compile any book in Urdu prose, but his Urdu letters written to his friends, pupils, and relatives were so highly appreciated that he and his friends and admirers were ultimately compelled to publish them in book form.

The two early collections of Ghālib's letters, *Urdu-e-Mu'alla* and *Ūd-e-Hindī* did not contain all the letters written by Mirzā Ghālib. Moreover, both these collections were full of misprints; consequently all these misprints and other mistakes crept into all later editions. Munshi Mahesh Parshad of the Hindu University, Benares, has been for the last ten years engaged in correcting these mistakes by comparing them with original letters. He has already contributed to some journals a few articles relating to this subject and most of these contributions were the result of original research.

The present book, being the first volume of Ghālib's letters compiled by him, is also a good proof of Mr. Mahesh Parshad's untiring efforts in this connection. Dr. A. S. Siddiqī of the Allahabad University, another scholar of repute interested in Ghālib's letters, has gone through the whole work and written an introduction for this volume. In his introduction Dr. Siddiqī has dealt in detail with the different collections of the poet's letters published during his lifetime as well as after his death. But it is disappointing to note that a few selections of Ghālib's letters, like *Rūh-e-Ghālib* and others, are not mentioned in this survey.

In this first volume of *Khutūt-e-Ghālib* there is no mention of the real scope of this extensive work, and the reader, even after a perusal of the whole book, remains in complete ignorance about the number of further volumes. Although the letters are arranged chronologically according to the names of the addressees, still there is no mention whatsoever of their number, nor are the names arranged alphabetically. Leaving aside these few omissions the work itself is praiseworthy and deserves a full recognition of the compiler's untiring and painstaking efforts.

S. M. Q. Z.

*MOTHER-RIGHT IN INDIA* by Baron 'Omar Rolf Ehrenfels, Ph.D., published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, price Rs. 8.

IN this monograph Baron 'Omar Rolf Ehrenfels has undertaken to investigate the question of the Matriarchal principles of social conduct obtaining in different parts of India, especially in the north-east and south-east of the continent. The author has given a keen analysis of the manifestations of this system found in different parts of the country, in the light of cultural and historical ethnology.

This is a hard-headed scientific study of the social and anthropological phenomena of child-marriage, hypergamy,

polyandry, puberty-rites, and totemism, etc., with copious examples of each to offer useful suggestion to the trained scientific reader. The treatment of mother-right with regard to relationship as well as to property, is especially illuminating. The author has also traced mother-right instances within the Hindu Brahmin religion. The indigenous, non-Aryan village-mothers, earth-goddesses and similar features, as well as the female deities within the Hindu pantheon, have to be reckoned under this heading. In most cases a Hinduized goddess is merely the Aryanized form of a former pre-Aryan deity.

According to the author of the monograph, there is a continual struggle going on even now in Indian society between the pre-Aryan matriarchal principles of conduct and Aryan patriarchal tendencies. He says: "It may be pointed out that the singular height of ancient Indian matriarchal civilization and womanhood, followed by the most extreme patriarchal invasion, beginning with the early Aryans already, will have to be considered as one of the main causes for the stressed tension, sharp contrast and marked disharmony of Indian life and conceptions, especially in all spheres concerning the female sex. The solution of this tension in a unifying readjustment may therefore well be said to be one of the most urgent and, at the same time, most promising tasks, to be solved by Indian culture and civilization in the future."

Y. H.

*IBN-KHALDŪN, HIS LIFE AND WORKS*, by M. A. Enan, published by Sh. Muḥammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, price Rs. 3-8-0.

THIS study is presented to cultured youth on the six hundredth anniversary of this great historian-philosopher.

The author of this work is already familiar to the learned world as a scholar whose researches have discovered much unbroken ground, and

have enriched the treasures of Arabic literature. The present work is another fruit of his labours in the domain of Islamic biography.

Here the author tries his hand at one of the topics most discussed by Western scholars. The works and theories of Ibn-Khaldūn have always been a subject of study more in the West than in the East, but the life of this great historian, philosopher and sociologist is not as thoroughly investigated as in the present work. Here the learned author has very lucidly explained the events in which Ibn-Khaldūn took part while he lived in North Africa, Andalusia and Egypt. These explanations are not mere records of events, but a logical discussion of the circumstances which reveal hidden characteristics of this founder of sociology.

It is remarkable indeed that the characters of Ibn-Khaldūn are impartially delineated. An exposition of his works is also given in clear and concise manner. But while exposing his famous theory, *al-'Aṣabiyya* as a state-forming factor—another equally important factor, namely religion, is not satisfactorily treated. To mention cursorily that "religious doctrine has its effect on strengthening the state but such doctrine cannot also be upheld without '*Aṣabiyya*'" (p. 131) is liable to give the impression that according to Ibn-Khaldūn, *al-'Aṣabiyya* alone is a state-forming element. As a matter of fact this is not the case with Ibn-Khaldūn's theory. The greatest unifying factor during hours of conquest, according to Ibn-Khaldūn, is religion, as it removes petty jealousies and brings about a powerful sense of unity between tribes. An army united by religious conviction, in his opinion, is simply irresistible. To him it is religion that establishes the solidarity of a nation (see *Prolegomena*, p. 137).

As we have no original work before us it is not possible to appreciate this translation properly. However, with all due respect to the translator I should say that the translation of *al-'Aṣabiyya* as *vitality of state* is not accurate (p. 127). The word has been translated into English in different ways. Some take it to be communal spirit, others hold that it corresponds to the modern idea of nation-

ality. But I think Dr. Nicholson is accurate in saying that "in its widest acceptance it is equivalent to the modern term—patriotism (*L.H.A.*, p.440). Further it is desirable that in translation of such works, the international system of transliteration used by the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* should be adopted.

Leaving aside these lesser matters, this little book is one of the best models of modern research. The learned author has also tried to find solutions of questions such as whether Ibn-Khaldūn was the founder of sociology, or did he only develop a study dealt with before, and whether the Italian thinker Machiavelli ever knew anything of Ibn-Khaldūn or of any Muslim writer on

monarchical politics. A decision on these questions would be most helpful material for scholars who are engaged in such researches. Further, this work also deals with the modern criticism of Ibn-Khaldūn's works and contains a bibliographic review of his historical work. For all this valuable information the learned author has sought help of rare manuscripts and one of them is the autobiography of Ibn-Khaldūn itself.

The enterprising publisher, however, deserves congratulation for introducing to the English-speaking public this comely volume containing an exhaustive review of the life and work of Ibn-Khaldūn.

M. A. M.





*[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]*

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THE LATE RT. HON'BLE SIR AKBAR HYDARI

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# SIR AKBAR HYDARI

## IN MEMORIAM

### I

SIR Akbar Hydari, on the recommendation of Sir Syed Ross Masood, made it possible for me to enter, in happy circumstances, the atmosphere of Islam, a new world for me, in which I have learnt to look back on history with the consciousness of men and minds and meanings, of world-influences and heroisms and illumination enriching my previous experience. This itself is a matter to be profoundly grateful for, especially when it was followed by years of friendship with Sir Akbar, who honoured me, on my retirement from the Osmania University, with several requests that I should remain as a personal assistant to him in his expanding responsibilities, a task unfortunately beyond my strength and resources. It is an honour, too, to be asked to write about him, and I believe, as a great Frenchman said, that we, in some manner, take part in good actions when we sincerely praise them.

India has produced types of mind not found elsewhere,—minds living in two worlds—India close about them, English a second medium by which often a larger world is conceived and experienced. Sir Akbar was an outstanding example of this remarkable adaptation. His devotion to his mother-tongue, in the practical forms it took by making it a medium of all grades of education, is likely to have a unifying effect on India much more far-reaching than even he foresaw.

His was a triune loyalty : to India and her ideals and appealing realities, to the Prince he served so long and so faithfully, and to England, of whose culture and characteristics he was a shrewd admirer.

Earnest in the faith and religious observances of his own community, he was sincere in his sympathy with those of other traditions, and his world of personal relations was a very wide one.

It is difficult to do justice to his affectionate devotion to his home, his family, and especially the helpmate of his life-time, without whose presence and wisdom he could never have fulfilled half the tasks he set himself.

Once he told me that he never came to any important decision without consulting her. Lady Hydari set a most worthy example in breaking the custom of seclusion, and very happy were the social gatherings at Dilkusha, where her guests included the most eminent people in India and from abroad. It may safely be said that few Indian ladies have played such a constructive part in the conduct of a State as Lady Hydari.

He was indefatigable in his attention to administrative detail, and as a result had little time,—I do not say energy—for reading and assessing the thought of the ages, including his own. This disability he confronted with a readiness to rely on the judgment of others with special knowledge or point of view. This made for variety in his public utterances, though he was not without a sane commonsense which enabled him to sift and correlate all accessions to his fund of knowledge.

He was true to the ritual of his religion, and equally true to rites which are an expression of something older than any surviving religion. It was necessary for him at times to sink from the throbbing surface of modern life into the calm of a timeless past. He would leave friends and foes, and go off alone, to the compelling urge of his invocations.

He was a man of great vitality, with a big heart and a far-ranging mind. As a result of this ancestral endowment he radiated sympathy with any endeavour of which he approved, and to win this approval was to find a generous and powerful ally. It was a great stimulus, often in discouraging circumstances, to hear him say: 'There is a warm place in my heart for you.' One thing which I shall not forget about him was that he never once failed to see and listen to any student whom I recommended to him.

He alone was he, and he stood out strikingly unique in any company.

He was the most ancient man I have ever met, excepting that sun-tanned prehistoric survival in the Egyptian room of the British Museum. To find his counterpart in outward form you have to go back to the very beginning of history, to a great rock-sculpture of about 2700 B.C. at Ivriz in Asia Minor, a figure<sup>1</sup> of one of the earliest Sumerian Kings, the founder of the city of Enoch. He was a rock himself, as I well learnt when in the heart-free frolic of a birthday party at his home he and I came together in a wrestling bout. His early morning exploits as a boxer in the sixties of his era livened staid hours in Hyderabad. This physical hardness, no less than his will to live and achieve, helped him to tide over recurring attacks of agonizing illness which would have crippled an ordinary constitution.

1. This astonishing figure, with still more astonishing conclusions, is to be found in a picture in L. A. Waddell's intriguing book, *the Makers of Civilization*.

I never saw him laugh. His face had ever a grave intentness, even to sternness. But in social intercourse he had a frequent and engaging smile, and there was a lilt in his voice that was like a cheery invitation.

He had vials of wrath to empty, and at any sign of offence they were emptied, and one felt very sorry for the disconcerted victim.

He had a goading thirst for human experience, and during his ascension to the heights he climbed from peak to peak of personality, with increasing command of resources which enabled him to enhance royally his rare advantages.

He led a life of ceaseless mental activity, supervising the conduct of many departments of State, watching the new phases and advance of the physical sciences, showing interest and delight in the arts, including music and poetry. His enjoyment of these was so keen and obvious, that more than once I made bold to tell him that he had missed his vocation. His mind was stored with the beauty of English poetry, which he read and recited with solemn dignity.

For a man of such rapid exercise of mind he was surprisingly slow in his public utterance, being content to use few but clear words, fewer thoughts but more pertinent and of wider appeal.

His ceaseless industry, and the material and spiritual achievements which that labour brought about, and shall yet bring about, are further witness to the old Hellenic saying that God selleth virtue and all other good things to man in return for hard work. And the great English conviction, culminating in the following verse and prose, was of few men truer than of Sir Akbar :

All I could never be,  
All men ignored in me,

This I was worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped.

Robert Browning.

All great men live in their purpose and effect more than it is possible for them to live in reality. If you must praise them worthily it is for what they conceived and felt, not merely for what they have done.

John Ruskin.

Now he who communed at their graves with many of the great ones of his faith lies himself in the stillness of death, and we should not disturb his rest by many words.

E. E. SPEIGHT.



## II

IN the unexpected death, on 8th January, 1942, of the Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, P.C., D.C.L. (Oxon.), LL.D., the *Islamic Culture* lost the most prominent of its founders, and the ablest and the most sympathetic of the ex-Presidents of its Management Board.

Sir Akbar Hydari possessed very catholic views, and he firmly believed that the difference of opinion between the East and the West, or the various communities of India, can easily be removed by an unbiased appraisal of the cultural contributions which different nations and religious movements have made to the happiness and the moral and intellectual progress of mankind. It was with such humanitarian feelings that Sir Akbar first mooted the idea of starting a journal from Hyderabad with the object of interpreting the cultural contribution of Islam to the world. Sir Akbar's proposal was later formally discussed by some high officials of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, notably Nawab Sir Nizamat Jung Bahadur, Nawab Sir Amin Jung Bahadur, the late Nawab Mas'ud Jung Bahadur, Nawab Sadr Yar Jung Bahadur and Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur. They all approved of the project and when it was officially submitted to His Exalted Highness, he graciously accorded his sanction to the publication of the journal under the authority of his government.

The first number of the *Islamic Culture* was issued in 1927, and if during the last fifteen years of its existence it has grown 'in worth and wit and sense,' the credit is largely due to Sir Akbar's fostering care and genuine interest.

The starting of the *Islamic Culture* represents only one facet of the many with which he embellished the intellectual life of Hyderabad, and his death is a terrible loss at a time when this premier State of India, as a result of Sir Akbar's efforts, was beginning to gain recognition in literary and cultural matters internationally.

Gifted with a peculiar charm of manner and keenly alive to the duties which as a high official, or a devoted citizen, or a true Muslim he had to perform, Sir Akbar has set up an example which may well be emulated by

the present and future generations. As Sir Akbar was deeply religious, I may quote the following verse from the Holy Qur'ān —

يَا أَيَّتُهَا النَّفْسُ الْمُطْمَئِنَّةُ . ارْجِعِي إِلَىٰ رَبِّكِ رَاضِيَةً مَّرْضِيَّةً . فَادْخُلِي فِي عِبَادِي . وَادْخُلِي جَنَّاتِي .

*“O thou soul, which art at rest,  
return unto thy Lord, well pleased with thy reward and  
well pleasing unto God : enter among my  
servants and enter my paradise.”*

G. YAZDANI.

# A SURVEY OF MUSLIM CONTRIBUTION TO SCIENCE AND CULTURE

(Continued)

## EARLY ARAB NOTIONS OF CHEMISTRY, BIOLOGY AND ALLIED SCIENCES

CHEMISTRY is generally supposed to be an accidental product of alchemy, but it would be a fairer appreciation of human intellect to say that early misconceptions of chemical phenomena by adventurous man tempted him, after his acquaintance with the glamour of gold and precious stones, to dabble in alchemy, just as his early attempts to understand the movements of the heavenly bodies misguided him to believe in astrology. Centuries of bitter experience and disappointments directed him into the right tracks, and the results of prolonged observations and experiments ultimately led him to build up the modern sciences of astronomy and chemistry. Before the advent of the Arabs on the intellectual scene, man knew the main properties of the metals he employed and the preparation of their simpler compounds as well as the manufacture of glass. The Arabs acquired all this knowledge with their characteristic quickness and added considerably to it. They developed the process of crystallisation and precipitation, distillation and sublimation and were thereby able to obtain a number of substances (old and new) in a state of comparative purity, like mercury, ammonia, alum, soda, basic lead carbonate, arsenic and antimony, etc. The bulk of this knowledge came to be associated with the name of Abū-Mūsā Jābir ibn Ḥayyān al-Ṭūsī al-Šufī,<sup>1</sup> who flourished mostly in Kūfa nearabouts 776 A.D. Some of his books (translated by Berthelot) bear fanciful names, e.g., *Book of the Kingdom*, *Book of the Balances*, *Book of Eastern Mercury*, etc. He put forward a sulphur-mercury theory of the six metals known in his day to explain their different properties depending, as it was alleged, on the difference in proportion of their two constituents. Nevertheless he deals with many useful practical applications of chemistry like "refinement of metals, preparation of steel, dyeing of cloth and leather, varnishes to water-proof cloth and protect iron, use of manganese-dioxide to colour glass and of iron-pyrites for writing in gold and distillation of vinegar to concentrate acetic acid."<sup>2</sup>

1. *Fihrist*, pp. 354-5.

2. G. Sarton's *Introduction to the History of Science*, Baltimore, 1927, Vol. I, p. 532.

In the absence of complete publication of Jābir's works much confusion prevails in discriminating between the writings of Jābir and Geber's Latin treatises of the 12th and later centuries. If the Jābir-Geber mystery is solved many other important discoveries in chemistry like the preparation of mineral acids (sulphuric, nitric, hydrochloric and aqua-regia) may ultimately be placed to Jābir's credit. It is quite possible that Geber is only a Latin form of Jābir. It may be noted that Jābir ibn Aflāḥ, a Spanish Arab astronomer (died ca. 1145) is also called Geber in Mediæval works on astronomy.

In the 9th century 'Uṭārid ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib (or Kātib), compiled a work *Manāfi' -al-Aḥjār*<sup>1</sup> dealing with the properties of certain minerals. A much better compilation entitled *Azhār-al-Afkār fī Jawāhir-al-Aḥjār* by Shahāb-al-Dīn al-Tifāshī (who died in Cairo in 1253) discusses the properties (medicinal and 'magical'), purity, price, place of origin, etc. of 24 precious stones.

Biology in its modern sense had to wait till the invention of microscopes of high power, but rudimentary notions concerning the habitat, behaviour and classification of animals and plants were eagerly acquired and recorded by the Arabs even from the Umayyad days. Their interest in the breeding of horses and camels was responsible for some early works of this kind. 'Abd-al-Malik ibn al-Quraib al-Aṣma'ī, a very pious Arab of Baṣrah (739-83), besides being a good student of Arabic poetry wrote *Kitāb al-Iḥḍāl*, *Kitāb al-Khail*, *Kitāb al-Wuḥūsh*, *Kitāb al-Shā'* and *Kitāb al-Khalq-al-Insān*, the last mentioned work revealing a considerable knowledge of human anatomy.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Nazzām (d. ca. 845) a leader of the Mu'tazalite school, that believed in the creation of the Qur'ān, propounded a theory of evolution, according to which Adam and all his descendants though created by God at one and the same time were in a state of Kumūn and appeared in succession at their appointed times in accordance with a pre-ordained plan.<sup>3</sup> His pupil, 'Uṭmān 'Amr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 868/9) of Baṣrah wrote a book on animals called *Kitāb-al-Ḥayawān*, but its treatment savoured more of theology and folklore than strict biology. Nevertheless it refers to the struggle of animals for existence and their adaptation to environment.<sup>4</sup> Al-Jawālīqī who flourished in the first half of the 12th century and 'Abd al-Mu'min who flourished in the second half of the 13th century in Egypt, also wrote books on horses. The greatest 'Zoologist' among the Arabs was al-Damirī (1405) of Egypt whose book on animal life, *Ḥayāt-al-Ḥayawān* has been translated into English by A.S.G. Jayakar (London 1906, 1908).<sup>5</sup>

1. *Fihrist*, p. 278.

2. G. Sarton, *Intro. to the Hist. of Science*, Baltimore, 1927, Vol. I, p. 534.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 559.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 597.

5. Hitti, *loc. cit.*, p. 382.

More scientific work was done by the Arabs in botany. Use of plants and their products in medicine primarily induced them to attend to this subject. Ibn-Jāmī', an Egyptian Jew, wrote on lemons and rhubarb and their uses. In dealing with Spanish Islam we shall refer to the herborization of Muslim scientists of Spain. Among Eastern Muslims we may mention ibn-al-Šūrī-al-Dimashqī's deliberate search for plants in the country surrounding Damascus and the mountains of Lebanon, where he studied them at different stages of their growth, in the first half of the 13th century.

Much valuable information may be gleaned from the writings of al-Bīrūnī and ibn-Sīnā on physical geography and rudiments of geology ; as for example al-Bīrūnī's correct explanation of rise of water in springs and his remark on the Indus Valley being at one time an extension of the sea. He was also the first to observe a fixed number of petals in flowers, 3, 4, 5, 6 or 18, never 7 or 9.<sup>1</sup> Al-Dīnawarī also wrote a book on plants. Ibn-Sīnā's views on the formation of mountains are interesting. His treatise on minerals was the main source of knowledge on this subject for generations.<sup>2</sup>

## MECHANICAL CONTRIVANCES AND MILITARY SCIENCE

THE Arabs and their immediate Muslim successors to the mastery of the civilized world do not seem to have added very much to the engineering sciences they learned from the Greeks, though in mechanics they certainly improved the theory and performance of the hydrostatic balance, the usefulness of the Alexandrian hydrometer and the efficiency of the Syrian water-wheels. Cheap slave labour with its ease and comfort, its human association and pompous display may possibly have prevented them from exploiting the forces of Nature and tapping hidden sources of mechanical and thermal energy which modern nations under harsher conditions of life find indispensable for their very existence. Locomotion by land or sea could be satisfactorily maintained by the friendly horse or camel and the familiar sailing vessel.

Before the rise of capitalism, trade, however extensive, was mostly the enterprise of individuals or families, and seems to have been undertaken as much for the adventure of meeting new peoples in new countries as for making large profits. Under such circumstances there is little wonder that applied mechanics and engineering remained practically where Greek intellect had left them. The Arabs, however, made better and more accurate devices for measuring time, clepsydras or water-clocks. The earliest reference to a clock is found in al-Jāhīz's *Kitāb-al-Ḥayawān* in the second half of the 9th century.<sup>3</sup>

1. Sarton, *loc. cit.*, p. 708.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 710-11.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 632.

Between 1146 and 1169 Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Rustam al-Khurāsānī al-Sā'ātī constructed the clock placed on the Bāb-al-Jayrūn of Damascus, hence Bāb-al-Sā'ah, by which name it was often called. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī remained in charge of the clock till his death in 1184 or 1185. It was seen and mentioned by ibn-Jubayr, Qazwīnī, ibn-Battūtah and others. Muḥammad ibn-'Alī's son, Fakhr-al-Dīn Ridwān ibn al-Sā'ātī repaired and improved this clock and in 1203 wrote a book explaining its use and construction. Ridwān was born in Damascus and entered the service of the Ayyūbid princes al-Fā'iz Ibrāhīm and Mu'aẓẓam 'Isā, sons of al-'Ādil Sayf-al-Dīn, Ruler of Egypt and Syria, from 1198 to 1218.

(It may be remarked here that al-'Ādil and his sons were great patrons of learning. Muḥadhdhib-al-Dīn abū-Muḥammad 'Abd-al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī al-Dimashqī, teacher of the famous writer ibn-Abī-Uṣaybi'ah and the great physician ibn-al-Nafīs 'Alā'-al-Dīn Abū-al-Ḥasan held important medical posts under these potentates. Ibn-al-Nafīs, it may be noted, is regarded by modern Egyptian physicians to have anticipated William Harvey in the correct explanation of the circulation of the blood).<sup>1</sup>

An important treatise on mechanical sciences, *Kitāb-al-Ma'rīfat al-Ḥiyal-al-Handasah* (dealing chiefly with Hydraulic appliances, now available in a German translation with commentaries by Eilhard Wiedemann) was composed by 'Abu-al-'Izz Ismā'il ibn Razzāz Badī'-al-Zamān al-Jazarī at Amid in Diyār Bakr for the Urtaqid ruler Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, probably in 1205 or 1206. A critical study of the original Arabic will doubtless throw much light on Arab technique of time-measurement.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to Military Science, Najm-al-Dīn al-Aḥḍab Ḥasan al-Rammāh, a Syrian, wrote shortly before 1300 a treatise called *al-Furūsiyah wal-Manāṣib al-Ḥarbiyah*, which describes the purification of nitre (possibly as an ingredient for manufacture of gunpowder) and contains pyrotechnic recipes. The earliest reference to the use of gunpowder is in al-'Umarī (d. 1348).<sup>3</sup>

## FALL OF BAGHDĀD AND MONGOL RESPONSE TO ISLAM

CHANGĪZ Khān's destruction of Samarqand, Bokhārā and Balkh, and in fact of the entire Khwārizm Shāhī empire in 1220 was followed by Hulāgū's invasion of the tottering 'Abbāsīd Khilāfat, already dismembered into petty semi-independent states in the East and West. Fanatics and Crusaders were harassing the Fertile Crescent at about the same time and the final crash came when the Tartar hordes under Hulāgū sacked Baghdād and levelled to the dust its palaces and public buildings, putting to the sword practically every member of al-Musta'ṣim's family and looting and

1. G. Sarton, *loc. cit.*, p. 1009.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 631 and 632.

3. Hitti, *loc. cit.*, p. 665.

burning the invaluable treasures of fine arts and learning that his illustrious predecessors had collected so laboriously for generations in the proud capital of their vast empire. The full significance of the havoc thus wrought can be better imagined than described.<sup>1</sup> A sober estimate would have us believe that only one book out of every thousand listed in ibn-al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* escaped destruction. The fall of Baghdād was not only a death-blow to Muslim culture, it was (in its ultimate effects) an immense setback to world civilization in general. Sa'dī's (1184-1283) lament over this terrible calamity in a poem of about 25 verses will for ever keep its memory alive in the hearts of students of Persian literature.

Had it not been for the heroic resistance of the Mamluk Sultāns of Egypt (Baybars and Qalā'ūn) culminating in their complete victory at 'Ayn Jālūt in 1260 and at Ḥimş in 1280, the whole Muslim world would have been trampled under the feet of the Tartar savages. (The Mamlūks later expelled the Crusaders also from every city they had formerly captured).<sup>2</sup> The culture and religion of Islam, however, eventually triumphed over the brute force of the Tartars, and we find a new centre of cultural and scientific activity growing at Marāghah (and later at Samarqand) under the patronage of these very Tartars (or of their Muslim descendants), but this renaissance was short-lived and was negligible compared to past achievements.

At Marāghah an observatory was built the very next year after the fall of Baghdād under the supervision of Naṣīr-al-Dīn Tūsī, and he and his colleagues again lighted the lamp of learning. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of Naṣīr-al-Dīn's contributions to mathematics.

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan Naṣīr-al-Dīn al-Tūsī, surnamed al-Muḥaqqiq, was born in 1201 and was kidnapped at an early age by the Ismā'īlī governor of Qūhistān. He was kept under watch at the Ismā'īlī stronghold of Alāmūt till the Mongols captured it. He entered Hulāgū's service and rose to the rank of wazīr through his talents and died in Baghdād in 1274. He may have known some Greek but certainly knew the Greek mathematicians and their classical works through Arabic translations, and edited a large collection of Arabic works on the standard Greek geometers and astronomers in his *Kitāb-al-Muṭawassitāt bain al-Handasah wal-Ha'ū'a*. His fame as a great mathematician rests primarily on his work on trigonometry. But his work in other branches of mathematics is also highly commendable. His discussions of Euclid's axioms and postulates are masterly and laid the foundations of non-Euclidean geometry. His treatise referring to Menelaus' theorem, entitled *Shakl-al-Qaṭ'ā'* (known to Mediæval Latin Europe under the name *Figura cata*) is divided into five books of which books 3 and 4 deal with plane and spherical trigonometry respectively, the earlier books dealing with transversals, etc. He did much original work in these subjects and deduced some elegant

1. Fakhri, p. 454.

2. Ibn-al-'Ibrī, p. 500.

theorems on roulettes also.<sup>1</sup>

At the Marāghah observatory a number of efficient and newly designed instruments were used for making observations on stars, etc. by Naṣīr-al-Dīn and his staff, hence the excellence of the astronomical tables prepared there—the *Zīj Ilkhānī*. Naṣīr-al-Dīn received his main training from his teacher Kamāl-al-Dīn ibn Yūnus, and before going over to Marāghah had probably written his *Tadhkirah fī 'Ilm-al-Hai'a*, a very condensed text-book of astronomy. His criticism of Ptolemy's *Almagest* regarding the theory of planetary motion paved the way for the introduction of the Copernican system.

Naṣīr-al-Dīn's most brilliant pupil, Quṭb-al-Dīn Shīrāzī (1236-1311) wrote *Nihāyat-al-Idrāk fī Dirāyat-al-Aflāk*, which is largely a development of the *Tadhkirah* in astronomical topics but also contains valuable discussions on geometrical optics, like the nature of vision and the formation of the rainbow. The primary bow is explained as due to two refractions and one internal reflection and the secondary to two refractions and two internal reflections of solar rays in minute spherical drops of water, suspended in the air—essentially the same as that given by Descartes in the 16th century. Of course the colours of the rainbow had to wait till Newton's experiments on the dispersion of light for their correct interpretation.

Quṭb-al-Dīn travelled extensively in the countries of Eastern Islam, and on entering the service of the Il Khān of Persia, Aḥmad, was sent by him on an embassy to Sayf-al-Dīn Qalā'ūn, Mamlūk Sultān of Egypt, to inform him of his (Aḥmad's) having embraced Islam and to conclude a treaty of peace.<sup>2</sup>

Kamāl-al-Dīn Fārsī (died ca. 1320) was a famous pupil of Quṭb and under his inspiration wrote *Tanqīh-al-Manāẓir* (a commentary on ibn-al-Haytham's classical work on optics, *Kitāb-al-Manāẓir*) which has recently been published with notes, by the Dā'irat-al-Ma'ārif, Hyderabad.

Muslim Mōngol interest in astronomy manifested itself again in the institution of an observatory at Samarqand under the patronage of Ulugh Bēg (1393-1440), a grandson of Tamerlane who published a catalogue of stars comparing his own observations of their magnitudes, etc., with those of Ptolemy and al-Sūfī, along with planetary tables. Ulugh Bēg was assassinated by his eldest son through jealousy for preference shown to the second. After his death astronomy ceased altogether to be a subject of inquiry at Samarqand.

## ARAB ENTERPRIZE IN IFRĪQIYAH, ŠIQLLIYAH AND ANDALUSIA, ETC.

ARAB conquest of North Africa began after 'Uqbah ibn Nāfi' built al-Qayrawān in 670, at the site of old Carthage. Harūn-al-Rashīd

1. G. Sarton, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, Part III., pp. 1001-7.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1017.



appointed Ibrāhīm ibn al-Aghlab governor of Tūnis in 800, and he ruled the country as an independent Amīr till 811, with Qayrawān as capital. It served as a base of operations against the Byzantine colonies round the Mediterranean, and Sicily was conquered in 902.<sup>1</sup> The Aghlabid dynasty lasted till 909 and by that time converted the Latin speaking Christians of North Africa into Arabic speaking Muslims by the usual methods of concessions and amelioration. Muslim rule in Sicily, with Balarm (Palermo) as capital was at its height during the reign of abū-al-Futūḥ Yūsuf ibn 'Abdallāh (1989-98) and lasted for 189 years until 1091, when it was completely supplanted by the Normans.

Even after their subjugation by the Normans, the Arabs of Sicily and Western Islam in general continued to be the leaders of culture and erudition in that island. Roger II and his grandson Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (ruler of Sicily and Germany, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire after 1220, and king of Jerusalem, 1225) favoured the Arabs and encouraged them to found a colony of their own at Girgenti (moved later to Lucera). It was at the court of Roger II that abu-'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Idrīsī (d. 1166) wrote his treatise on geography and cartography (*Kitāb Rujār*), entitled *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq*. It is a monumental work combining with the main information available from Ptolemy and Mas'ūdī's treatises much original matter collected by Idrīsī himself from reports of observers that were sent to various countries to acquire data. He presented to Roger II a celestial sphere and a disk-shaped map of the world, both made of silver.<sup>2</sup>

We shall discuss later the importance of this Norman patronage of Arab learning on European civilization. Another great name will now be introduced, that has made distant Morocco famous in the annals of mathematics and astronomy. Abū-'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Marrakushī (died 1262) did most of his work in Morocco. His book, *Jāmi' al-Mabādī wal-Ḡhāyāt*, is a very comprehensive work on astronomy (practical as well as theoretical), with description of instruments and chapters on trigonometry containing tables not only of sines (for every half degree of angle) but of versed sines (Arabic *Sahm*, singular) arc sines and arc cotangents. He makes free use of graphical methods also in the solution of problems. There is a catalogue of 240 stars for the year 622 A.H. (1225-26). Latitudes and longitudes of 135 places are also given, of which he himself observed 34. He gives the value of the precession of the equinoxes as 54" per annum.<sup>3</sup> In pure literature also we find a most popular contribution from North Africa; the poem of *al-Burdah* by Sharaf-al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Būṣīrī (1213-ca. 1296), inspired by his gratitude and devotion to the Prophet for a miraculous cure. It has been translated into Persian, Turkish, German, French, English and Italian,

1. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. VIII.

2. Hitti, *loc. cit.*, p. 609.

3. G. Sarton, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, part II, pp. 621-2.

with some 90 commentaries on it in various languages.<sup>1</sup>

Turning now to Spain, we may note that Arab intellectual activity in that country really begins with the advent of 'Abd-al-Rahmān (al-Dākhil) ibn al-Mu'awiyah, a grandson of Hishām, 10th Umayyad Khalif of Damascus in 755, after the civil wars among the Arab leaders that had settled in Spain. There was, of course, a surprising amount of preparatory work done in the earlier stages, since Tāriq ibn Ziyād routed Roderick at the mouth of the Barbate river, but it was chiefly the conquest of an alien country under an incessant urge to move forward. 'Abd-al-Rahmān II (al-Awsat) while supporting religion at his court, through Yahyā ibn Yahyā, a pupil of the famous Mālik ibn Anas, encouraged the fine arts also with the same zeal. He welcomed to his court Ziryāb one of the greatest singers and musicians of his time, when he fled from Baghdād, afraid of the jealousy of his teacher Ishāq ibn 'Alī al-Mawṣilī. Cordova under Ziryāb's lead became a second Baghdād in setting the fashion to the civilized world with refinements in dress, coiffure and general society life. From the Court, music and song spread into the whole country with Muwashshah and Zajal. It was thus that Spain and South-Western France became 'music-minded' under Arab influence, for all times. After Ziryāb, abu-al-Qāsim 'Abbās ibn Firnās (d. 888) introduced oriental music and displayed much scientific activity also. He is said to have made the first successful attempt at soaring flight (i.e., flight without the aid of artificial power), putting on a suit of feathers and wings; but after flying a long distance hurt himself in alighting, for want of a steadying tail. This account must not be taken as a 'flight of fancy' on the part of story-tellers. Modern interest in gliding and gliders will be well rewarded if the original Arabic literature on the subject of 'Abbās ibn Firnās' flight is searched for and carefully studied.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn Firnās is credited also with the building of a planetarium showing stars and even clouds and lightning.

Muslim Spain rose to its pinnacle of glory during the reign of 'Abd-al-Rahmān III, from 912-961, assuming the title of Amīr al Mu'minīn from 929 onwards. Cordova (Arabic Qurtubah) became the centre of learning and culture in Western Europe, for Muslims, Christians and Jews. After Baghdād and Constantinople it was the largest and most flourishing city in the world, and certainly the most advanced of all in its cleanliness, street-lighting and other municipal facilities. No wonder that the German nun Hrostsivtha called it 'the Jewel of the World.' 'Abd-al-Rahmān III, though harassed on all sides by foreign foes at the time of his accession to the throne, overcame all his enemies gradually and completely and left his country in a state of peace and prosperity. He had the co-operation of the Jews from the beginning. Spain was the only country at the time where they found a real home, after their pro-

1. Hitti, *loc. cit.*, p. 689.

2. Maqqarī, Vol. II, p. 254.

longed persecutions from their Christian rulers of Europe. They held the highest offices in state administration. Hasday ben Sharput was not only the royal physician but wazīr also. During 'Abd-al-Rahmān's time trade and agriculture developed so remarkably—thanks to his building up a powerful merchant navy and construction of canals—that the royal revenue amounted to 6,245,000 dīnārs annually.<sup>1</sup> Qurtubah with its beautiful gardens, orchards and palaces (al-Zahrā among others), its magnificent mosques, and well-stocked libraries had a population of half a million inhabitants. Every mosque had its school and education was so liberal that, in the words of Dozy, practically every man could read and write. The University of Cordova attracted men from all parts of the world. Some of the most distinguished teachers of the time lectured there on theology, literature, mathematics, astronomy, science, medicine and philosophy.

His successor Hakam II was an equally great patron of learning, besides being himself a scholar of the first rank—in fact the foremost scholar-king in Islām. His library contained no less than 400,000 volumes, several of which were embellished by his own marginal notes, and in the catalogues of their titles occupied 44 volumes.<sup>2</sup>

After al-Hakam, Umayyad power began to waver in Spain, but literature, science and the fine arts continued to be cultivated at all the courts of the petty monarchies into which the Empire degenerated. A daughter of the Umayyad prince, Muḥammad III al-Mustakfī (d. ca. 1025), the beautiful and highly accomplished al-Wallādah, attained to great renown in the republic of letters. Before her death in 1087 her home in Cordova was the rendezvous of poets and savants. As a matter of fact, according to al-Maqqarī, the women of Andalūsia at this time were so well-read that eloquence was a second instinct in them.<sup>3</sup>

When the banu-'Abbād rose to power in Seville (1023-91) al-Mu'tamid, who was himself a great poet, chose a friendless wanderer al-'Ammār for his wazīr, and a poor country girl al-l'timād for his favourite queen, primarily on account of their proficiency in the art of poetry.

Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin, Hūdid king of Saragossa from 1081 to 1085, was another great patron of learning. He was himself a good mathematician and wrote a treatise on that subject entitled *Istikmāl*, which was pronounced by Judah ibn 'Aqnīn (in the second half of the 12th century) to be of such a high standard that it should be studied along with Euclid, the *Almagest* and "the Middle Books." Unfortunately no copy of this royal book is now extant.<sup>4</sup>

Coming down from scholars of princely origin to democratic circles, we propose to begin with some writers of pure literature, such as the celebrated author of *'Iqd al-Farīd*, ibn 'abd-Rabbihi (860-940), the laureate

1. Hitti, *loc. cit.*, p. 525, ibn-Iḍḥārī, Vol. II; ibn-Khaldūn, Vol. IV.

2. Maqqarī, Vol. I, pp. 249-50, 256.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 536-639.

4. G. Sarton, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 759.

of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III, about the importance of whose work some reference has already been made in connection with our sources of knowledge of Arab citizen life. Among scores of learned men professing linguistics at the University of Cordova may be mentioned al-Qālī (901-67) who was educated at Baghdād but found it worth his while to settle in Spain. Foremost among his pupils was Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Zubaydī (928-89) of Seville, who was appointed tutor by al-Ḥakam to his son Hishām, and later wrote a classified list of grammarians and philologists right up to his own time.<sup>1</sup>

Very few people seem to be aware of the fact that the Hebrew grammar was developed in Spain on the model of the Arabic grammar. It retains to this day its Arabic character. Abū-Zakariyah Yaḥyā ibn Dā'ūd, a Jewish scholar, who flourished at Cordova and died in the 11th century accomplished this task, translating the technical terms from Arabic into Hebrew.

One of the most prolific of Muslim writers and the greatest scholar of Muslim Spain was 'Alī ibn Ḥazm (994-1064). He passed through many vicissitudes of fortune, serving as wazīr at the courts of the unfortunate representatives of the Umayyad family near its downfall, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān V al-Mustaẓhir and Hishām III al-Mu'tadd. He retired thence to a life of scholarly seclusion and is credited with having written 400 volumes on history and theology, logic, poetry, etc.<sup>2</sup> His *Tawq-al-Ḥamāmah* is an anthology of love-poems, composed probably in his younger days; but his best known work, very catholic and unique up to that time, *al-Faṣl fī-al-Milal w'al-Aḥwā' w'al-Niḥāl* deals with comparative religion.

On the downfall of Qurṭubah, a number of provincial cities (seats of petty kingdoms) like Seville, Toledo and Granada rose into power and became university towns, where scholars and scientists found encouragement and followers.

Abu-al-Walīd Aḥmad ibn Zaydūn (1003-71) has been considered by many to be the greatest poet of Spanish Islam. His letters were regarded as a model of grace and erudition. Falling violently in love with the beautiful princess al-Wallādah he got into trouble for a time, but later became grand wazīr and army commander of the 'Abbādī prince, al-Mutaḍid.

Lisān-al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb's name can adorn the list of Hispano-Muslim poets as well as historians. He also held the posts of minister and commander (hence called *Dhu-al-Wizāratayn*) at the court of the Naṣrid Sultān, Yūsuf abu'al-Ḥajjāj (1333-54) and his successor, but afraid of court intrigues fled to Fās, where his enemies strangled him. Though he has written many books on a wide range of subjects, his name is best remembered through his work on the history of Granada, *Iḥāṭah fī Tārīkh Gharnāṭah*.<sup>3</sup>

1. Ibn-Khallikān, Vol. II, pp. 338-40.

2. Ibid., p. 22.

3. Hitti, loc. cit., p. 567. Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-Tib*.

In historiography we can briefly mention only a few names, for want of space : Abū-Bakr ibn 'Umar ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, who was born at Cordova and died there in 977, is the author of *Tārīkh Iftitāh al-Andalus*, extending from the beginning of Arab conquest to the earlier part of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III's reign. Abū-Marwān Ḥayyān ibn Khalaf of Cordova (987-1076) wrote 50 books one of which *al-Matīn* alone comprised 60 volumes. His *al-Muqtabis fī Tārīkh al Andalus* has survived.

On the Muwahḥid period in Spain and Morocco 'Abd-al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī's history (written in 1224) is considered most valuable. The name of the Hispano-Arab Sūfī abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Muḥayy-al-Dīn ibn 'Arabī (al-Shaikh-al-Akbar), born in Murcia in 1165, and author of *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* and *Fuṣūṣ-al-Ḥikam*, etc., is still held in great respect. He died at Damascus in 1240.

Among the foremost biographers of Muslim Spain was abū-al-Walīd 'Abd-allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faraḍī (born in Cordova in 962 and murdered during the sack of the city in 1013), Qāḍī of Valencia and author of *Tārīkh 'Ulamā' Andalus*. The book was later supplemented by ibn-Bashkuwāl abū-al-Qāsim Khalaf ibn 'Abd-al-Malik in 1139 in a volume entitled *al-Ṣilah fī Tārīkh A'immat-al-Andalus*, which was in its turn continued by abū-'Abd-allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Abbār (1199-1260) of Valencia, and completed with *Takmilah Kitāb al-Ṣilah*. Ibn al-Abbār wrote also *al-Ḥullah al-Siyarā'*. Another biographer of note was abū-Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Yahyā al-Ḍabbī (died 1202), author of *Bughyat-al-Multamis fī Tārīkh Rijāl al-Andalus*.

Abu-al-Qāsim Ṣa'īd ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭulayṭulī (1029-70), himself a mathematician and astronomer, compiled a valuable book on the history of science called *ṭabaqāt-al-Umam*.

The most renowned of all historians of Western Islam was 'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn Khalid (1332-1406) author of *al-'Ibar wa-Diḥwān al-Mubtadā' w-al-Khabar fī Ayyām-al-'Arab w-al-'Ajam w-al-Barbar*, a monumental work on Muslim history of Arabia, Persia, and Northern Africa. Its Muqaddamah is a masterpiece of historical criticism on the effect of environment, on national development, etc., and an introduction to the philosophy of history. Ibn-Khalid was of Spanish-Arab extraction, born in Tunis, and held responsible posts at Fās and later at Granada. He returned subsequently to Africa and settling near Tilimsān, began work on his history. On his way to Cairo, after some years he was appointed Qāḍī by Barqūq (Mamlūk Sultān al-Zāhir). When al-Zāhir's successor al-Nāṣir led a campaign against Tamerlane, ibn-Khalid accompanied him.

The Muslims of Spain made good contribution to our knowledge of geography also. Al-Idrīsī whose work has already been described was born at Ceuta in 1100 of Hispano-Arab parents. Abū-'Ubaid 'Abd-Allān ibn 'Abd-al-Azīz al-Bakrī, who died at the close of the eleventh century, flourished at Cordova. His *Kitāb al-Masālik w-al-Mamālik* written in the form of an itinerary is the earliest important work of

Spanish Arabs on geography. The works of several travellers like ibn-Jubayr al-Māzini and ibn-Baṭṭūṭah are storehouses of interesting geographical knowledge. Ibn-Jubayr, abu-al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (born 1145) travelled from Granada to Mecca through Egypt, Syria and al-ʿIrāq, while these three countries were still partly under the grip of the Crusaders, and described his experiences in his book *Riḥlah*. Abu-al-Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Māzinī (1080-1170) also of Granada, has described his travels in Russia and the country bordering on the river Volga in his *Tuḥfat-al-Albāb*, where we are told of trade in fossil bones of the mammoth (ivory) carried on with *Khwarizm*. The greatest traveller of the early Muslim world was ibn-Baṭṭūṭah who was born in Ṭanjah (Tangier) in 1304. He made four pilgrimages to Mecca in the second quarter of the 14th century and proceeded on to Ceylon, Bengal, the Māldīb islands and even as far as China. The Arabs and the Muslim intelligentsia in general were aware of the sphericity of the earth from as early a time as that of al-Māmūn; abū-ʿUbaydah Muslim al-Balīnsī has clearly expressed this notion in his writings in the first half of the 10th century, and it is from accounts of such travels and such statements that Columbus drew his inspiration to discover America. The prevailing belief all over Christian Europe in those days was that the earth was flat.

Spain has produced a number of eminent Arab astronomers among whom we may mention abū-al-Qāsim Maslamah al-Majrīṭī (1007) of Cordova who revised and edited al-*Khwarizmī's* *Zīj*; abū-Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā al-Zarqālī (1028-1087) of Toledo, known to the Latin world as Arzachel, whose astronomical Tables of Toledo were very widely known and used, and whose determination of the obliquity of the ecliptic is correct to within one minute of arc, and the length of the Mediterranean Sea  $42^\circ$ , much nearer the truth than Ptolemy's exaggerated  $62^\circ$ ; Jābir ibn Aflāḥ (died ca. 1140), of Ishbīliah (Seville), who made important advances in spherical trigonometry, was the inventor of an armillary sphere for measuring the positions of the heavenly bodies and author of a book on astronomy in which the defects of the Ptolemaic system were pointed out and improvements on it attempted; abū-Ishāq Nūr-al-Dīn al-Bīṭrūjī (born in Morocco, died in Seville in 1204) was a pupil of the philosopher, ibn-Ṭufayl, and attempted in his book, *the Physical Theory of the Planets*, to remove the errors of the Ptolemaic system by putting up a better explanation of planetary motion, but without appreciable success, owing to the tyranny of Aristotelian ideas that heavenly bodies must move only in circles!

It may be further pointed out that it was due mainly to the destructive criticisms of al-Zarqālī, al-Bīṭrūjī (Latin Alpetragius), Naṣīr-al-Dīn Ṭūsī and others that the Ptolemaic system of astronomy broke down eventually and Copernicus came out boldly with his helio-centric theory. He refers to his indebtedness to al-Zarqālī and al-Battānī in his book *De Revolutionibus Orbium Clestium*.

In Botany we have abū-al-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī of Seville who made

extensive explorations in Spain, along the coast of North Africa, Arabia and the Red Sea, early in the first half of the 12th century. These he describes in his *Kitāb-al-Rihlah*, and gives a list of new plants that he discovered on the shores of the Red Sea.

The Cordovan physician, abū-Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī (died 1165) collected a large number of plants from Spain and Africa and made a first attempt at their classification giving their names in the Arabic, Latin and Berber languages. His work on simples, *al-Adwiyah-al-Mufradah*, was largely consulted and made use of by later workers in the same field.

'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Bayṭār of Malaga (died in 1248 at Damascus) is considered to be the greatest botanist and pharmacist of all the Muslims in the East and West. He roamed about Spain and in North Africa in search of plants and on being appointed chief herbalist at the court of the Ayyūbid Sultān, al-Malik al-Kāmil, at Cairo continued his search in Syria and Asia Minor. His *al-Mughnī fī al-Adwiyah al-Mufradah* (on materia medica) and *al-Jāmi' fī al-Adwiyah al-Mufradah* (a collection of simples with their properties, etc.) were dedicated to al-Kāmil's successor al-Šāliḥ. The latter work is considered to be the best of its kind in the Middle Ages. Parts of its Latin version were printed in 1758 at Cremona.<sup>1</sup>

Arab and Arabic speaking physicians of Spain were great scholars in other branches of science as well. A number of them had only an academic interest in medicine. To this class belonged ibn-Rushd, Mūsā ibn Maymūn (Latin Maimonides), ibn-Bājjah and ibn-Ṭufayl. They will be taken up while discussing philosophy. It may suffice here to remark that when the Black-Death ravaged Europe, Muslim physicians were quick to find out its infectious nature and ibn-al-Khaṭīb discussed the matter at some length in his *Muqni'at-al-Sā'il 'an Marad-al-Hā'il*, and strongly recommended segregation while the Christians stood helpless.<sup>2</sup>

Owing to religious scruples both Muslim physicians and their early Christian colleagues had at first a dislike for vivisection and mutilation of corpses. Their knowledge of anatomy was necessarily poor, hence their aversion to surgery. What little the Muslims knew was from the operations performed on dead bodies of apes. Their greatest surgeon was abū-al-Jarrāḥ Khalaf ibn 'Abbās al-Zahrāwī (died 1013), court-physician to al-Ḥakam II. All that was known at the time in this art is embodied in his concise book *al-Taṣrif li man 'Ajaza 'an al-Ta'ālīf*, like the crushing of stone in the bladder, blood-letting, cauterization, etc., and included a chapter on surgical instruments also. The surgical portion of this work was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona—prince of Latin translators from Arabic. Various editions of the work were published in later times; at Venice in 1497, at Basle in 1541 and at Oxford in 1778, and served as text-book.<sup>3</sup>

1. Hitti, *loc. cit.*, p. 576.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 576.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 577.

As an opportunist, 'Abd-al-Laṭīf al-Baġhdādī (1162-1231) made good study of human skeletons accidentally discovered in a large pit at al-Maks (Egypt) and made note of much important facts revealed thereby.<sup>1</sup> It was at Salerno and especially at Bologna that forensic studies grudgingly gave sanction to performing operations on the human corpse and contributed thus to acquisition of sound knowledge of anatomy and surgery.

Al-Zahrāwī's fame as a physician is even surpassed by the distinction attained by abū-Marwān 'Abd-al-Malik ibn abī-al-'Ala-ibn-Zuhr (Latin Avenzoar) in pure medicine. He was born at Seville sometime between 1091 and 1094 and was the most distinguished member of an illustrious family of Spanish physicians. For a long time he graced the court of the founder of the al-Muwahḥid dynasty, 'Abd-al-Mu'min, as wazīr and private physician. He was a friend of ibn-Rushd and at his request wrote *al-Taysīr fī al-Mudāwah w-al-Tadbīr*, a work of great merit.

Out of a long list of Hispano-Arabic philosophers we can mention only a few. Ibn-Jabīrūl (Sulaymān ibn Yahyā, ben Gabirol, born 1021) long known as the Jewish Plato, though not an Arab, wrote in Arabic his famous *Yanbu'-al-Ḥayāt*, rendered into Latin as *Fons Vita*, a work which had much influence on the scholasticism of the Middle Ages; (Franciscan Friars are believed to have based some of their ideas on its teachings). Ibn Maymūn, a Jew (born in Cordova in 1135), author of *al-Fuṣūl fī al-ṭibb* and *Ḍalālat-al-Ḥā'irīn*; Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn Bājjah (Latin Avempace, died 1138) author of *Tadbīr-al-Mustawāḥḥid*; abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd-al-Malik ibn Ṭufayl (died in Morocco in 1185) wazīr and court-physician to the al-Muwahḥid, ruler of Spain and Africa, abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf, and author of the intellectual romance *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*; and abū-al-Walīd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Rushd (the famous Averroes of Mediæval Europe, 1126-1198), author of *Tahāfut-al-Tahāfut* (the Incoherence of Incoherence, written in answer to al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut-al-Falāsifah*), *Jamī'*, *Tafsīr wa Kullīāt fī al-Ṭibb* are great names in the realm of philosophy. We are unable to give even a brief account of their philosophical works beyond saying that ibn-Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, first translated into English from original Arabic by Simon Ockley is now available in a revised form with a delightful introduction by A. S. Fulton (published by Chapman and Hall, London). It is a bold attempt to bring the main beliefs of revealed religion into alignment with rationalistic ideas.

Ibn Rushd's (b. 1126 in Cordova, d. 1198 in Marrākash) name, at one time considered second only to that of Aristotle in the West, has still a high place of honour in the continental schools of philosophy in Europe. As he was a keen observer of nature and natural phenomena, he was the first to discover the retina to be the real seat of perception of light and vision. He is credited also with the discovery of sun-spots.<sup>2</sup> For a casual

1. G. Sarton, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 599.

2. J. W. Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, 2 Vols., Bell, (Revised ed.).



observer to witness the phenomenon with the unaided eye, presumably at sunrise or sunset, it must have been an unusually large spot, and knowledge of the year of *ibn-Rushd's* observation may lead to some interesting relationship between sun-spot activity and allied phenomena. *Ibn-Rushd's* *Kulliyāt fī al-Ṭibb* (Latin *Colliget*) deals with medicine and allied subjects.

## TRANSMISSION OF ARAB LEARNING AND CULTURE TO CHRISTIAN EUROPE

A NUMBER of distinguished historians and scientific investigators (like John William Draper, Guizot, John Davenport, Stanley Lane-Poole, M. P. E. Berthelot and more recently E. J. Holmyard, Max Meyerhof, George Sarton and Philip K. Hitti) have fully acknowledged the part played by the Arabs and their Muslim collaborators from other nationalities in not only preserving the knowledge of ancient Greece, Persia and India but adding enormously to it. We take this opportunity of expressing our personal indebtedness to these authors, especially the last two (in addition, of course, to the standard Arabic sources), for the bulk of information incorporated in this brief sketch. Even a cursory acquaintance with Muslim history cannot fail to impress one with admiration for Arab enterprise and achievement in all fields of human activity. From the beginning of the 8th to the end of the 13th centuries the Arabs were eager to acquire knowledge and to share it with all others who would care to go to them for it. Their scientists and philosophers marched into foreign countries almost simultaneously with their generals and preachers. Even when they degenerated politically they continued to be the torch-bearers of learning for generations. It was thus the wild Daylamites, Saljūqs, Tartars and Berbers, once they came into contact with the civilization of Islam, settled down to peaceful pursuits and assimilation of Arab culture. The greatest calamity that the Muslim world suffered was from the Tartar horde under Changīz Khān and Hulāgū and yet, these aggressors were stopped by the Mamlūk Sultāns of Egypt who were recruited primarily from as rough and uncivilized a stock as the Tartars themselves.

Egypt and Syria will for ever proclaim the glory of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn (b. in Takrīt, 1138, d. March 1193), Rukn-al-Dīn Baybars (1260-77) and Sayf-al-Dīn Qalā'ūn (1279-90) not only for their overcoming the Crusaders, but for their encouragement of learning, fine arts and architecture, their schools, hospitals and canals.

It is interesting to see how Arab learning and culture spread through Europe. Sicily and Spain were the principal sources of propagation. From Sicily, its two "baptized Sultāns" Roger II and Frederick II, Hohenstaufen, especially the latter, carried Arab culture through Italy across the Alps, Lotharingia (Lorraine), Liège, Gorze and Cologne becoming centres of Arab learning. From Spain it penetrated beyond the Pyrenees into Western and South-Western France, slowly but surely.

When the Arabs came to a halt in their output of scientific work, roughly at the beginning of the 13th century, Christian Europe was learning medicine, mathematics, astronomy, physics and chemistry through its students returning home from the Universities of Cordova, Toledo, Seville and Granada. Marvellously industrious translators like Gerard of Cremona, Adelard of Bath, Robert of Chester, Michael Scot, Stephen of Saragossa, William of Lunis, Philip of Tripoli and a host of others, made Arab lore available to Latin-knowing people through their laborious translations. Some books were translated into Hebrew also and from Latin or Hebrew into the vernacular languages of Europe.

The study of medicine in Europe began at Salerno where Constantine the African, who was lucky in having an Arab for his teacher, organized the first medical school. Montpellier and Paris soon followed suit. Arabic, being the chief medium of scientific thought practically all over the world, was taught systematically in several European universities and schools, especially at Toledo, Narbonne, Naples, Bologna and Paris.

According to some authorities, scientific agriculture spread over France and her neighbouring countries from Arab Spain and over Italy from Arab Sicily. The system of irrigation introduced by the Muslim rulers of Spain and their love of horticulture soon made the country a veritable garden. A relic of this activity is preserved in a work called *Kitāb al-Falāḥat* by abū-Zakariya ibn Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAwwām Ishbīlī—though the actual flourishing orchards and flower-gardens of old have now vanished altogether. In this book no less than 585 plants are described, with instructions for the nursing, rearing and manuring of more than fifty fruit trees.<sup>1</sup> The Arabs introduced the cultivation of rice, sugarcane, cotton, orange and a number of other useful plants in Spain. Their textile industry was renowned all over the continent and so was the temper of their sword blades. By far the most important contribution to civilization for which Europe will be for ever indebted to them is the introduction of paper manufacture. They seem to have learnt this art from the Chinese in the 8th century and carried it over to Samarkand and Baghdād. From there it reached Morocco in the 11th century and then crossing the strait of Gibraltar flourished at Shāṭibah in Spain.<sup>2</sup> The oldest paper manuscript on record, that is preserved, is said to be that of ʿUbayd-allāh al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (died, 837), entitled *Gharīb-al-Ḥadīth*, dated Dhu-al-Qa'dah 252 A.H. (corresponding to 13th November or 12th December 866).<sup>3</sup>

For generations after the recovery of their provinces from the Arabs, Spanish Christians, both monarchs and their subjects continued to study Arabic and conduct most of their intellectual work in that language. A very remarkable example of this propensity is on record. On the Murābit

1. Urdu Translation by Sayyid Hāshim Nadavī, (Ma'arif Press, A'zamgarh).

2. Yāqūt, Vol. III, p. 235.

3. Hitti. *loc. cit.*, p. 347.

dīnār was impressed on the obverse side “ Amīr al-Muslimīn ” and on the reverse side “ Imām ” with the name of the bani-‘Abbasiah Khalīfah. In imitation of this, Alfonso, the 8th of Leon and Castile (1168-1214) adopted on the corresponding sides of his own dīnār in Arabic characters the analogous words “ Amīr al-Qatūlāqīn ” and “ Imām al-Bai‘ah-al-Masīhiyah.”<sup>1</sup>

Many technical terms in medicine, astronomy, chemistry and other sciences still continue to be Arabic. A number of non-technical words of several European languages also have been borrowed from that language, though modified and disguised but easily discernible to anyone possessing good etymological knowledge.

Foremost among the scientific terms are the names of the stars. It is a pity that most of them have been badly distorted or ruthlessly abbreviated, so as to lose much of their original significance. As examples we may cite Achernar for Akhīr-al-Nahr, Fomalhaut for Famm-al-Hūt, Vega for Nasr al-Wāqī', Altair for Nasr-al-Ṭāir, Deneb for Dhanab-al-Dujājah and Denebola for Dhanab-al-Asad, etc.

MOHD. A. R. KHAN.

1. Hitti., *loc. cit.*, p. 542

# RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OR THE PROPHETIC CONSCIOUSNESS

( *Some views about* شفق و وحی )

ALL the mystics of Islam and most of the thinkers have believed in the validity of religious experience. Religious experience has been examined from the psychological and metaphysical as well as the axiological point of view. The questions of the nature of it and the validity of it have been thoroughly examined. In this short paper I shall attempt to give a sketch of the points of view adopted by some of the chief thinkers and mystics.

According to Ghazzālī there are grades of consciousness corresponding to the grades of reality. Every grade of consciousness is an instrument of cognition. Leaving out the creatures lower than man, if we start with the human being at his birth, we find him starting life with an indeterminate, booming and buzzing confusion, and the differentiation and functioning of the separate and distinct senses proceed gradually and evolve step by step. The child starts with the lowest and the least instructive of all the senses, the sense of touch, which gives him an elementary idea of something there, hard or soft, hot or cold. The higher senses of sight and sound may be genetically considered as an evolution or refinement of the sense of touch, but after the development the difference between the higher senses and the lower senses of touch appears to be not a difference of degree but a difference of kind and quality. Evolution is in a way emergent and creative ; until the higher has emerged, the lower can neither cognise nor imagine nor adumbrate it. The senses unfold one after the other ; the one that develops later is higher than the one that preceded it. After that occurs the integration of sensations, developing into perceptions and apperceptions. Apperceptive unity manifests itself as reason, while thought working on the basis of the senses still transcends them and forms ultra-sensual or ultra-empirical concepts. Reason rises on the ladder of sensual experience, but discovering the inadequacy of the senses it can afford to kick away the ladder. From the *a posteriori* it rises to the *a priori*. In the evolution of consciousness the lower cannot comprehend the higher, but the higher embraces the lower and transforms

it. Intellectualistic philosophy stops at ratiocination or the discursive intellect, and for a Plato or a Hegel there is nothing higher than the dialectical reason, dealing with ground and consequence, premises and conclusion, or the triad of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. The chief quarrel between the rationalist and the ultra-rationalist lies here. Ghazzālī says that the senses are valid so far as they go and so is the logical reason, but as the senses are transcended in the logical reason, so is the logical reason transcended in superior states of consciousness. In his autobiography *المقذ من الضلال* he says—

بل الايمان بالنبوة ان يقر باثبات طور وراء العقل تنفتح فيه عين يدرك بها مدرجات خاصه والعقل معزول عنها كعزل السمع عن ادراك الالوان<sup>1</sup>.

To believe in the prophetic consciousness means to accept the thesis that there is a grade of consciousness superior to the logical reason, which opens an eye that cognises realities as inaccessible to reason as colours are inaccessible to the auditory sense. A conclusive demonstration of the existence and validity of this consciousness cannot be made to anyone who has not tasted it. As to the question whether the power could be attained by everyone, Ghazzālī says that potentially it is there in all human beings, but as with respect to reason men are born with great differences, and some seem to attain to a particular type of knowledge with little or no effort, so in the matter of this supra-rational consciousness there are divinely gifted geniuses who attain by inspiration and revelation what would be achieved with great difficulty by the less gifted, or may appear to be unattainable by the obtuse and the dull. He adds to this that to sharpen and refine the logical reason is not the way to transcend it, just as no amount of the sharpening of the eyesight would make a man more rational. In ordinary life practice follows knowledge, but in the matter of prophetic consciousness knowledge follows practice. Particular practices and modes of life open the way to it. If it be asked whether it opens up new vistas of reality or illumines the physical, the sensible, and the rational spheres also, his answer seems to be that doubts arising on the lower planes vanish in this higher light. This consciousness illumines reason as reason illumines the senses. Ghazzālī says that all that genuine religion presents, be it a matter of rational or blind faith, becomes direct intuition and perception, above the necessity of proof and beyond the grip of doubt. Religious consciousness is not faith but perception.

From Ghazzālī, I turn now to Rūmī. He connects this question with his metaphysics and a larger outlook on life. He says that all reality is life, in various grades of evolution. From the soul-atom or the atomic soul or the monad up to the immanent and transcendent God there is a continuous gradation. The nature of life is spiritual and the essence of the spirit is consciousness.

1. *Al-Munqidh-min-al-Ḍalāl*, (Cairo press), p. 31.

شاد از احسان و دربان از ضرر	جان چه باند باخبر از خیر و شر
هر که او آناه تر با جان تر است	چون سر و ماهیت جان مخبر است
هر که آگه تر بود جانش قوی ست	افتضای جان چو اے دل الهی ست
هر کرا این بیش الهی بود	روح را تاثیر آلاعی بود
از چه رو زان کو فزون دارد خبر	جان ما از جان حیوان بیشتر
کو رها گشته ز حس مشترک	پس فزون از جان ما جان ملک
عقل تر از عقل و جان تر هم زجان	بی جهت دان عقل علامه البیان

As there are grades of life and consciousness, so one might say there are grades of reason. Reason in the narrower sense is logical reason and discursive intellect, but reason in a wider sense is identical with consciousness. Even the atom is conscious and possesses reason in an initial stage; one might call it material or physical or inorganic reason. If there were no reason in matter, it would be subject to no laws and hence would not be intelligible, and in the further step of evolution life and reason and consciousness would not evolve or emerge if they were not already there in a rudimentary and potential stage. Rūmī has anticipated the monadology of Leibnitz and says that reality consists of soul-centres which are graded according to the clarity and the width of consciousness attained by them. He says that all life has evolved from the lowest stages, and so have I evolved from dark and helpless atomicity to human reason. I have progressed and passed the stages of physical reason, vegetable reason, animal reason and human reason.

But human reason is not the culminating point. Man is not a destination, he is a transition and the essence of life is self-transcendence and gradual realisation of divine consciousness. He says that matter moves in space and time but mind is essentially nonspatial while consciousness at a lower level and logical reason are spatio-temporal and pragmatic. Mind seems to be caught in the spatio-temporal net but even now in its reality it transcends it.

حاشا لله تو بیرونی زین جهان	هم بوقت زندگی هم بعد آن
غیر فهم و جان نه درناو خر است	آدمی را عقل و جان دیگر است
بار غیر عقل و جان آدمی	هست جانی در نبی و در ولی
روح وحی از عقل پنهان تر بود	زانکه او غیب است و او زان سر بود

As our body is related to our present limited consciousness so this consciousness is a sort of body or manifestation or instrument of a higher consciousness. The spatio-temporal world is a womb out of which we have to emerge in a new birth. Beyond our mind there is an overmind and a supermind which are realised in the mystic and the prophet. They cognise realities that are not subject to the categories of time and space and causation. Superior consciousness belongs to the realm of Divine

Will ( عالم امر ) and its spatio-temporal manifestations belong to the realm of creation ( عالم خلق ).

عالم خلق است با سوی و جهات بی جهت دان عالم امر و صفات

In short, the mystical or prophetic consciousness is a higher development of the potentialities of life. Revelation is not mere pouring-down into the soul of knowledge that comes from an external source. The prophet is perfectly sincere in maintaining that he himself is not the source of his revelations, because his conscious, rational self is not the source of them nor is it knowledge that has cropped up from the darkness of his subliminal self. This knowledge is not subliminal but supraliminal ; it is not the product of subconsciousness but of superconsciousness. The emergence of superconsciousness is felt by the recipient as a gift from outside himself ; although the human spirit, being potentially divine is endowed with unlimited possibilities of God-realisation, there can be nothing outside of it. The idea that revelation is received from outside is a crude popular idea, which conceives of God as a person or object living outside in the heavens and compelled to use fast messengers in order to deliver his messages to the elect. In the mythological conception the popular imagination and orthodox belief have spatialised and degraded the human as well as the Divine Spirit. The popular idea of inspiration and revelation ( وحی and الهام ) is based on spacial imageries. As soon as one is convinced by Kantian epistemology, Bergsonian metaphysics, or mystical experience that the category of space is subjective or pragmatic and that noumenal reality is not spatial, it becomes easy to understand that superior aspects of reality are superior grades of a spirit evolving from within. In this respect a quatrain of Sarmad is very illuminating---

آن را که سر حقیقتش باور نهد      خود پهن تر از سپهر پهن‌اورد شد  
ملاک‌گوید که بر شد احمد بفلك      سرمد‌گوید فلك به احمد در شد

With the realisation of reality, it is the spirit that expands and embraces the universe, without soaring physically towards the heavens. Love and knowledge of God are attained by the transcendence of present limitations and not by any messages transmitted from an external God in the heavens. People have been afraid of reducing revelation to the subjective whims of the limited and self-seeking ego : thus Christ said that the Kingdom of Heaven is within you, and so says the Holy Qur'ān (و فی انفسکم), it is all in your own souls if you could only see). One might say that the Kingdom of Hell is also within us, and between the Heaven and the Hell there is a thin partition. The Hell within us is the Freudian subconscious, which can simulate moral and angelic forms. The extreme difficulty of separating the subconscious from the super-conscious was felt by a large number of mystics, and the greatest of them

had become masters of indubitable criteria to judge the quality and validity of their own experiences and the experiences of those who sought their guidance. Rūmī says that a touchstone is required to distinguish the noble from the base metal and after a certain grade of purity is attained this touchstone is developed within the self. Rūmī agrees with Ghazzālī that revelation is a phenomenon of a super-rational state of consciousness --

روح و حی از عقل پنهان تر بود

To attain to prophetic consciousness not more logical reason but a deepening and heightening and purification of consciousness is required. The ego must be emptied of its dark passions and sensualistic urges, so that the spirit may become like a polished mirror for a better reflection of reality :

آئینه دل چون سود صافی و پاک      نقشها بینی برون از آب و خاک

When this state is attained, even the lower senses become illumined with a new light and the ear and the nose begin to have perception like the eye :

پس بدانی چونکه رسی از بدن      گوش و بینی چشم می ناند ندان

Rūmī says that the visualising of message-bringing angels is a dramatising and symbolising activity of the human spirit, and he hesitatingly illustrates it from the analogy of dreaming. In dreaming, a man's ideas and wishes and latent desires are symbolised in persons and places and situations. He dreams that somebody is with him in a particular situation. In reality there is no other person there, it is his own projected self. Similarly, the states of superconsciousness, the revelations of higher realities, on entering the sphere of the lower mind are symbolised, sensualised, and dramatised. The Angel Gabriel or the Holy Ghost ( روح القدس ) is a faculty of the human spirit ; but understanding it as such does not make it arbitrary and undivine ; it is the Divine latent in man that has been manifested :

بس محل وحی گردد گوش جان      وحی چه بود سخن از حس نهان  
از پی رویوش عامه در جهان      وحی دل لویند او را صوفیان

چیزی دیگر ماند اما افکش      ا تو روح القدس نوید فی مثر  
فی تو کوئی هم بگوش خوبستن      بی من و بی غیرای من هم تو من  
همچو آن وقتی که خواب اندر روی      تو ز پیش خود به پیش خود شوی  
بشنوی از خویش و پنداری فلان      باتو اندر خواب گفت است آن نهان



'Abdul 'Alī Bahṛul-'Ulūm, the commentator of Rūmī writes the following commentary on these verses : <sup>1</sup>

پس جبرئیل کہ مشہود رسل علیہم السلام است ، و وحی از جانب حق سبحانہ می رساند آن حقیقت جبرئیلہ است کہ قوتی از قوائی رسل بود ، متصور تندہ در عالم مثال بہ صورتی کہ مکنون بود در رسل مشہود می شود و مرسل می گردد و پیغام حق می رساند ، پس رسل متفیض از خود اند نہ از دیگری پس ہرچہ کہ رسل مشاہدہ می دند مخزون در خزانہ جناب ایشان بود ،

At the end of this commentary Behṛul 'Ulūm quotes Moḥiuddīn Ibn-i-'Arabī in support—

فای صاحب کشف شاهد صورتہ تلقی الیہ مالم یکن عنده من المعارف و تمنعہ مالم یکن مثل ذالک فی یدہ فتلك الصورة عينه و لا غیرہ فمن شجرة نفسه جنى ثمرة غرسه .

Whenever somebody has a supersensible perception of a being which imparts to him knowledge that he had never acquired consciously, this being is his own externalized form and not a being other than himself ; he has plucked a fruit from the tree of his own self.

There are the basement and the cellar of the self, and also the upper storeys of it where it touches the stars and then ascends beyond them. Sensibly or supersensibly perceived figures and events are results of the symbolising and dramatising activity of the self ; but in all genuine experiences, the appearances and the symbols are not illusions and hallucinations but appearances of a reality. Very similar phenomena occur in pathological cases too, so all the great Sūfīs emphatically warn the uninitiated not to confuse the pathological with the Divine. Dream dramatization and revelation symbolisation are clearly distinguished by those who have been rightly guided. The source, the validity, and the value consequences are self-evidently rooted in reality. A similar difference exists between magic and miracles. The power of rising to superior states of consciousness carries with it enhanced power over mind, body and matter. According to the mystic idealistic view, consciousness is identical with life and force. Even mind at a lower plane does act on the body and the environment, but with enhanced powers the causation at the lower plane is not abrogated but is acted upon by still higher and freer causes. Magic on the other hand is utilization of the supersensible for the degradation of the higher and the exaltation of the lower forces.

Shah Waliullāh<sup>2</sup> of Delhi has dealt at length with the problem of symbolization and has adopted a point of view which is different from that of Rūmī and Ibn-i-'Arabī. He says that it is not the mind that dramatizes, but there is a self-subsistent Realm of Symbols which he calls (عالم مثال).

1. Commentary on the *Maṭnawī* by 'Abdul 'Alī Bahṛul-'Ulūm, Nawalkishwar Press, p. 94.

2. *Hujjatullāh-il-Bālighah*, Himayat al-Islam Press, Lahore, p. 21.

It is a realm in which abstract ideas, ideals, and events, good and evil, assume shapes and seem to move in space. These shapes are not physical nor is the space and movement in this realm in any way analogous to our common spatio-temporal experiences. Prayer, charity, and all good actions and abstract ideas assume perceptible forms in this realm. The world, for instance, would appear as an ugly hag and a good action as a beautiful virgin. There are a number of statements in the Hadīth where ideas and events are described by the Prophet as having been seen by him in different shapes and forms, and events on the Day of Judgment are foretold as assuming not material but perceptible bodies. Shāh Ṣāhib says that the Angel Gabriel seen by Mary and the Angel Gabriel who brought Divine messages to the Prophet belong to this realm. The angels that appear to a dying man are also visualized in the realm. Shāh Ṣāhib holds that they are not subjective illusions or hallucinations nor are they products of the symbolising activity of the self; they belong to a non-material, self-subsistent realm. The nature of that realm is the symbolisation of ideas and realities and the personification of attributes.

So about the nature of things revealed one could have three different views: one, that the objects perceived are not self-subsistent, they only appear so to the perceiver; two, that the objects and shapes are self-subsistent, existing in a symbolized realm; and three, that they are merely used as similes and allegories. To the philosopher the last explanation appears to be satisfactory; the second explanation, which is that of a number of Ṣūfīs, is in agreement with the psychological view. On account of fundamentally different views of mind and reality, these conclusions diverge when they come to the question of validity. We find among Muslim thinkers and mystics representatives of all the three schools.

To me the view held by Rūmī and Ibn-i-ʿArābī appears to be far sounder than that of Shāh Waliullāh. They are at one in believing that certain religious experiences are valid and expressive of realities.

Ghazzālī and Rūmī believe in super-rational states of consciousness to which the saints and the prophets attain, and which point to a further ascent in the course of evolution. The man of revelation is not a unique being whose experiences are unrepeatable, special gifts of grace. The saint or the prophet is a pioneer, inviting others to follow him and transcend the present limitations of consciousness. According to Rūmī and Ibn-i-ʿArābī these superior states are sometimes symbolizations in a kind of subjective-objective experience. There is no realm of self-subsistent symbols. The symbol varies with the spiritual and the cultural condition of the perceiver. The ultimate reality is not the symbol but the spiritual state symbolized. These views are in perfect agreement with that view of the psychology of religion which is presented in William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*. James holds that the subjective symbolic setting does not necessarily affect the validity of the experience. I do not find the view of Shāh Waliullāh at all illuminating. Belief in a

Realm of Symbols would lend support to all kinds of mythologies. Mythology, after all, is nothing but believing in the self-subsistent forms symbolising ideas, notions and emotions. When liberty or chastity or fidelity are viewed as gods and goddesses living immortally in a ghostly Realm of Symbols, we get rather a justification of mythology than an explanation of religious experience. It appears to me that Shāh Waliullāh in attempting to establish the objectivity of the Realm of Symbols, has unwittingly supported the myth-creating imagination.

KHALĪFA 'ABDUL-HAKĪM.

# MUSLIM CONDUCT OF STATE

(Continued)

## CHAPTER XXV

### *End of War*

A WAR waged by the Muslim State may be brought to an end in one of the following ways :

1. Both the parties cease hostilities without any mutual agreement and without defining the length of the duration of peace. This owing either to the fact that both the parties are exhausted, or, even if one of the parties has won the battle but dares not continue or further plans for hostile activities in order to complete the subjugation of the vanquished State. The latter case generally happens when the weak party unexpectedly wins a heroic battle. Hostilities may at any time revive in such a "peace." As examples, we may refer to the battles of Badr, Uhud and *Khandaq* of the time of the Prophet, when the belligerents parted without attempting to define or settle their relations.

2. The non-Muslim enemy—generally meant to be their sovereign—embraces Islam. It is not always necessary that the unification of the Muslim State and this new Muslim State should also take place. The letters of the Prophet addressed to the chiefs of *Ghassān*,<sup>1</sup> *Bahrain*,<sup>2</sup> and 'Umān<sup>3</sup> expressly provide for their maintenance in power on the sole condition that they embrace Islam. Muslim traditions bear testimony to the fact that a Negus of Abyssinia embraced Islam.<sup>4</sup> If this is true, we find that not only was his territory not unified with the Arabian State of the Prophet, but also we may account partially for the famous order of the Prophet not to attack Abyssinia so long as the Abyssinians themselves did not take aggressive action.<sup>5</sup>

3. Defeat of the enemy and annexation of their territory. The conquest of Mecca, Khaibar and many other places by the Prophet are classical examples of this. In such cases negotiations and treaties are not

1. Qasṭallāniy, المواعظ اللدیه , I, 296, or my Corpus. : يبقى لك ملكك .

2. Ibn-Tūlūn, اعلام السالين عن كتب سيد المرسلين , no. 2 (4), or my Corpus. : يجعل الله لك ما تحت يدك .

3. Idem, no. 10 (1), Qasṭallāniy, I, 294, or my Corpus. : ان افرارنا بالاسلام وابتكما و ان ايما ان تقرا بالاسلام فان ملككما زائل و خلى نحل باحتكما

4. Hist. of Tabariy, pp. 1569-70, or my Corpus.

5. دعوا الحشة ما و دعوكم . Ibn-Hanbal, V, 371 ; Abū-Dāwūd, 36 : 8.

ordinarily needed. In Mecca the Prophet concluded no treaty. In Khaibar, however, terms on which the life and property of the enemy were spared were negotiated and accepted, and probably also taken down in a document.<sup>1</sup>

4. Acceptance by the enemy of the suzerainty of the Muslim State. The submission of the city-states of Najrān, Taimā', Fadak, Ailah and others in the time of the Prophet seem to be of this kind only. In some of them no war had preceded though pressure had been brought on them which had implied military action in case of resistance.<sup>2</sup>

5. Formally settling the differences in a treaty of peace, while both the parties retain their independence.

The contents of the treaty are generally governed by the result of war. Usually a provisional agreement (مراوضة) is first reached settling preliminary points. Immediately afterwards military activities are prohibited from including the right of inflicting loss of life and property on the enemy. Later other details of the final settlement are discussed and carried out. This we shall now treat.

### *Nature of the Treaty of Peace.*

Sometimes a treaty of peace provides for future friendship and even alliance and co-operation on conditions agreed upon in treaty. More often it simply provides for cessation of hostilities and correct neighbourly relations. Weaker parties often consent to make reparations and pay tribute. In the unratified provisional treaty with the Ghatafān, the Prophet agreed to hand over to them a third of the produce of the oases of Madīnah provided they deserted their allies besieging Madīnah, and made a separate and immediate peace with the Muslim State.<sup>3</sup>

Islamic polity being based on a community of co-religionists it is unthinkable to contract a treaty of perpetual alliance with non-Muslims. When the Prophet established a city-state at Madīnah immediately on his migration to that place, he consented, however, to a confederation with the Jews.<sup>4</sup> Further, he concluded pacts of mutual assistance with pagan tribes around Madīnah, especially with those in the direction of Yanbū', through which the Quraishite caravans passed en route to and from Syria and other northern countries.<sup>5</sup> In all these treaties of the early days of the Muslim state, there is no time limit. There are allusions in the Qur'ān<sup>6</sup> to many other treaties of friendship with non-Muslims without any defined

1. For details cf. my *Diplomatic Muslimane*, I, 50-51.

2. *Idem*, under names concerned, where references will also be found.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 676; Tabariy, p. 1474; Sarakhsīy, شرح السير الكبير, IV, 4-5.

4. Cf. *Constitution of the City-state of Madīnah*, §. 25, and §. 24-47 in general; *Islamic Review*, Woking, August-November, 1941.

5. For the treaties with Damrah, Ghifār, Ashja', etc., cf. Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, pp. 26-27, etc.

6. Cf. *Tafsīr* of Tabariy for the verses 9: 1-2.

duration. In the treaty of Hudaibiyah alone we come across the mention of the term of "ten years"<sup>1</sup> during which the treaty would operate.

During the later years of the life of the Prophet, the Qur'ān laid down :

"O ye who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians for friends. They are friends one to another. He among you who taketh them for friends is (one) of them. Lo! God guideth not wrong-doing folk... Your friend can only be God and His Messenger and those who believe, who establish worship and pay the *zakāt* (surplus property tax), and bow down (in prayer). And whoso taketh God and His Messenger and those who believe for friend (will see that) the party of God are the victorious. O ye who believe! Choose not for friends such of those who received the Scripture before you, and of the disbelievers, as make a jest and sport of your religion. But keep your duty to God if ye are true believers." (5 : 51, 55-57).

And went even so far as to prescribe :

"O ye who believe! Choose not your fathers nor your brethren for friends if they take pleasure in disbelief rather than faith. Whoso of you taketh them for friends, such are wrong-doers." (9 : 23).

Moreover, in conformity with a Qur'ānic command (9 : 1-2), the Prophet caused a declaration or proclamation to be made that all treaties for defined periods should remain operative during the contracted time, yet all those treaties concluded with pagans for mutual help without time-limit were thereby denounced with a notice of four months.

For all these reasons, Muslim jurists conclude that treaties of friendship should not be concluded with non-Muslims for perpetuity. Generally the jurists agree that ten years should be the maximum period, in view of the treaty of Hudaibiyah. Suhailī,<sup>2</sup> however, records that "the Jurists of Hījāz allow peace for a definite period, even exceeding ten years provided the supreme ruler, and not any lesser authority, agrees to it."

### *Effects of a Treaty of Peace.*

1. The subject over which hostilities had broken out is settled.
2. The rights of belligerency, i.e., killing, capturing, plundering, occupying, and other things described, are brought to an end.
3. Unless otherwise provided in the treaty, the *status quo* before the conclusion of the treaty will be maintained.
4. Prisoners of war are exchanged or otherwise released, for which there are generally express stipulations. Other booty is not exchanged unless expressly provided for.

1. For text, Ibn-Hishām, etc., or my *Corpus*; see also *infra*.

2. *الروض الاتف*, 11, 229.

5. As soon as a peace is concluded, the treaties, **suspended** during the war, and which require no renewal, automatically revive ; and treaties dealing with behaviour during the war, are suspended.

### *Elements of Treaty.*

Basing his argument on the Qur'ānic command : " When ye contract a debt for a fixed term, record it in writing,"<sup>1</sup> and on the practice of the Prophet, Shāibānī<sup>2</sup> and others say that a treaty must be in writing. The date of the writing of the treaty and the date on which it comes into force, as well as the duration of the treaty, must be precisely mentioned.<sup>3</sup> Apart from general matters, such as the cessation of fighting, the settlement of conditions created by war, etc., and special things such as agreement regarding the matters because of which the hostilities broke out, and miscellaneous things which have a connexion either with general or special things—apart from all these things—the treaties include solemn promises for the observance and execution of the treaty,<sup>4</sup> the signature<sup>5</sup> of the duly authorised persons, and the sanction for the execution, such as hostages,<sup>6</sup> etc. And along with the main treaty, sometimes annexes, supplements and even secret sections are also to be found.

In fact there is no limit to the subject matters of treaties,<sup>7</sup> hence no more than these essential and elementary points of a treaty could here be described.

### *Ratification of Treaties.*

Generally treaties are negotiated and provisionally settled by representatives of States. For matters *ultra vires*, they referred even in the time of Shāibānī to the central government.<sup>8</sup> History records a letter of Khālid-ibn-al-Walīd, in which he asked from Yaman for instructions from the Prophet.<sup>9</sup> If the supreme chief is not available at hand, the provisional agreement is later ratified by competent authorities. It is possible that ratification may be denied and the whole treaty becomes null and void. There is an instance of this in the time of the Prophet, when the Prophet

1. Qur'ān, 2 : 282.

2. Sarakhsīy, شرح السير الكبير, IV, 60-61.

3. Idem, pp. 62-63.

4. Sarakhsīy, شرح السير الكبير, IV, 62.

5. Idem, p. 63 mentions seal.

6. Idem, pp. 415-60, a detailed description as to their expenses, etc.

7. Qalqashandīy, صبح الأعشى, XIV, 11.

8. Sarakhsīy, شرح السير الكبير, IV, 313, etc.

9. Ibn-Hishām, p. 959 ; Hist. of Tabariy, pp. 1724-25.

himself had concluded a pact with the proviso that it would be ratified after consulting the pillars of the State. As a matter of fact, they rejected the terms, and the parchment was consequently effaced.<sup>1</sup>

### *Interpretation of Treaties.*

Classical Muslim writers on International Law and "Roots of Law" have given long details of the principles and examples of the interpretation of the terms of treaties. I am tempted to quote a passage of *Shaibānīy*, which shows the great concern which Muslim jurists at the zenith of their empire had for the scrupulous observance of treaties, and how they feared scandal and disrepute :

There are things which may be taken for granted by the Muslims even without express mention of them, but other nations may not imply that. Such things must be expressly mentioned, otherwise the contracting party may conclude that there is an infringement of the pact. And as we have mentioned, the document must be written in a way to bear witness against the contracting parties, and no accusation of perfidy should be possible.<sup>2</sup>

In another passage, the same author opines that if a besieged fortress surrenders on the condition that the free people will not be molested and that the ownership of the slaves will be transferred to the conquering army, and the parties differ regarding the status of certain individuals, the presumption will be that they are free people, since originally every man is free.<sup>3</sup>

### *Amendment of Treaties.*

Treaties may be amended in part at any time by mutual consent of the parties concerned, instead of concluding a new pact. See also *infra*.

### *Denunciation of Treaties.*

It is possible that changes of time render certain conditions of a treaty impracticable, and in view of the changed circumstances they should be revised. Muslim jurists say that if the Muslim ruler denounces a former treaty, he cannot do so unless he informs the other party, and he cannot act in any way contrary to the treaty until reasonable time has passed, in which it is expected that the information has reached the central government of the other party.<sup>4</sup>

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 676 ; Hist. of Tabarī, p. 1474 ; Sarakhsīy, *شرح السيرة الكبير*, IV, 6.

2. Sarakhsīy, *شرح السيرة الكبير*, IV, 64.

3. *Idem*, p. 80.

4. *Idem*, p. 7.



### *Hostages and Pledge.*

In the time of classical Muslim jurists, hostages used to be exchanged or given by one party as a pledge of good faith in carrying out the conditions of the treaty.

Of the very long discussion of the subject by *Shāibānī*, I shall refer to one rule which has had the sanction of the practice of generations of later Caliphs. If Muslim hostages are treacherously murdered, the enemy hostages shall not suffer for the guilt which is not theirs personally. The practice of the Caliphs Mu'āwiyah and Mansūr,<sup>1</sup> as well as a tradition of the Prophet and an oft-repeated verse of the Qur'ān,<sup>2</sup> are cited by our authors in this connexion. The way out, according to Abū-Hanīfah, was to force the hostages to become non-Muslim subjects of the Muslim State, since they could not return before the arrival of the Muslim hostages, and their murder made this impossible, thus rendering the permanent stay of the hostages in the Islamic territory inevitable.<sup>3</sup>

### *The Classical Treaty of Ḥudaibīyah.*

The discussion of this subject may be illustrated by the most important treaty of the time of the Prophet.

Having migrated for religious persecution, and militarily harassed for six long years with varying fortunes, the Prophet went on pilgrimage to visit the House of God in his father's town and stronghold of his inveterate enemies, Mecca. At that time, he had the embittered Jews in the formidable colony of *Khaibar*, in the north; and the irritated, though much exhausted, *Quraish* of Mecca in the south. A *Khaibar*-Mecca coalition was imminent. At least this much was certain, that if the Muslims marched towards Mecca, the Jews would storm the empty and undefended *Madinah*; and if the Muslims attacked *Khaibar*, the same was the fear on the part of the Meccans,<sup>4</sup> and the Muslims at that time were not sufficiently powerful to undertake both the expeditions at once, or at least to spare sufficient force to defend the metropolis of Islam when the expedition against either Mecca or *Khaibar* had left the city.

Moreover the Iranians had just suffered a decisive defeat at Ninevah at the hands of the Byzantines,<sup>5</sup> and it was just the time for Arabia to postpone its internecine feuds and take advantage of the international situation, and at least to free the Arabian provinces toiling under the Iranian yoke, e.g., *Bahrain*, *Umān* and *Yaman*.

1. *Sarakhsīy*, السير الكبير, p. 43; *Sarakhsīy*, *Mabsūt*, X, 120; *Māwardīy*, p. 84; Abū-'Uбайд, كتاب الاموال § 445-46.

2. Qur'ān, لا تزدوا زورا ولا تزدوا زورا اخرى, 6: 165, 17: 15, 35: 18, 39: 7, cf. 53: 38.

3. *Sarakhsīy*, المبسوط, X, 120.

4. *Idem*, X, 86.

5. *Gerland*, Die Persische Feldzüge d. K. Heraklius.

The Prophet wanted a free hand regarding Khaibar and Irān, and to that end was prepared to concede terms even derogatory to his prestige. This on the one hand.

On the other hand, cut off from their victual marts of Syria,<sup>1</sup> 'Irāq,<sup>2</sup> Yamāmah<sup>3</sup> and even Yaman,<sup>4</sup> surrounded on all sides by Islamicised tribes,<sup>5</sup> deserted by their friends,<sup>6</sup> suffering actually by drought<sup>7</sup> when the Prophet had won the sympathy of many of them by contributing the handsome amount of 500 gold coins towards the famine fund,<sup>8</sup> by raising the ban on the grain of Yamāmah,<sup>9</sup> and by going to visit the national sanctuary of the enemy during the months of the Truce of God—it was hoped in these conditions that the Quraish would the more easily be prepared to come to terms, provided their *amor propre* were not hurt and face-saving clauses were inserted.

In these circumstances, the Prophet, with a force of 1400 strong, camped at Hudaiḇīyḥ, in the outskirts of Mecca. And after protracted negotiations,<sup>10</sup> the following treaty was concluded :

### *Text of the Treaty*<sup>11</sup>

With Thy name, O God !

This is what was agreed upon between Muḥammad, son of 'Abdullāh and Suhail, son of 'Amr :

They both agreed to put down fighting on the part of people for ten years, during which period the people were to enjoy peace and refrain from fighting with each other.

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 547 ; *Hist. of Tabariy*, p. 1347 ; Ibn-Sa'd, 1/2, p. 63.

2. *Ibid.*, and Ibn-Sa'd, 1/2, pp. 24-25.

3. Ibn-Hishām, pp. 997-98 ; استيعاب of Ibn-'Abd-ul-Barr, no. 278.

4. For, several Muslim attacks on Nakhlah, etc., had rendered this route also precarious.

5. For instance Khuḏā'ah in the south of Mecca, not to speak of the north and east.

6. Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 48.

7. Ibn-Hishām, p. 998 ; Caetani, *anno* 6.

8. Sarakhsīy, الميسرة, X, 91-92 ; *idem*, شرح السير الكبير, I, 69.

9. Ibn-Hishām, p. 998.

10. *Ibid.*, etc., *in loco*.

11. For the original text see : Ibn-Hishām, pp. 747-48 ; Ibn-Is'hāq (MS. Paris) fol. 170a ; *Maghazī of Wāqidiy* (MS. British Museum), fol. 140a ; Ibn-Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, pp. 70-71 ; *Hist. of Tabariy*, pp. 1540-47 *Tafsīr*, of Tabariy, Vol. 26, p. 61 ; *Risālat Nabawīyah* of 'Abdal-Mun'im-Khān, no. 60, citing Ibn-Hanbal, *Sirah* of Bakriy (MS. Aya Sofia), *in loco* ; Ibn-Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IV, 168-69.

For extracts from the text and certain variants see : *Annāl* of Abū-'Ubaid, §. 441-44 ; Bukhārī 64 : 43 ; 64 : 35 (29), 53 : 6-7, 54 : 1 ; *Kharāj* of Abū-Yūsuf, p. 129 ; *Kanz al-'Ummāl* of 'Alīy-al-Muttaqīy, Vol. 5, nos. 5534, 5536, citing Ibn-Abi-Shaibah ; *Ilām-as-Sā'ilin* of Ibn-Ṭūlūn, no. 26 ; for further references see Wensinck, *Miftāḥ-Kunūz-as-Sunnah*, s.v. Hudaiḇīyah.

For analyses and exposés, see : *Annali dell'Islam* of Caetani, *anno* 6 §. 34 ; Heffening, *Das islamische Fremdenrecht*, append. 2 ; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, III, 246.

Also my *Arabic or French Corpus* together with *Diplomatie Musulmane*, *in loco*, and my *Hindustani* article in *Siyāsāt quarterly*, Hyderabad, April, 1942.

And whereas whoever of the companions of Muḥammad, comes to Mecca on Ḥajj or 'Umrah-pilgrimage, or in quest of the bounty of God, (i.e., commerce, cf. Qur'ān, 62: 10), en route to Yaman or Tā'if, such shall be in security regarding his person and property. And whoever comes to Madīnah, from among the Quraish, en route to Syria or 'Irāq (variant: Egypt), seeking the bounty of God, such shall be in security regarding his person and property.

And whereas whoever comes to Muḥammad from among the Quraishites without the permission of his guardian (*mawla*), he (i.e., the Prophet) will hand him over to them; and whoever comes to the Quraish from among those who are with Muḥammad, they will not hand him over to him.

And that between us is a tied-up breast (i.e., bound to fulfil the terms), and that there shall be no secret help violating neutrality, and no acting unfaithfully.

And that whosoever likes to enter the league of Muḥammad and his alliance, may enter into it; and whoso likes to enter the league of the Quraish and their alliance, may enter it.

—And thereupon upsprang the tribe of Khuzā'ah and said: We are in league with Muḥammad and his alliance; and upsprang the tribe of Banū-Bakr and said: We are in league with the Quraish and their alliance.—

And that thou (Muḥammad) shalt return from us (Quraish) in this year and enter not in our midst; and that when it is the coming year, we shall go out from thee and thou shalt enter with thy companions and stay there three nights, with thee being the weapon of the rider: having swords at the side; thou shalt not enter with what is other than them (swords).

And that the animals of sacrifice (brought by thee) will be slaughtered where we found them (i.e., in Ḥudaibiyah), and thou shalt not conduct them to us (in Mecca).

[Probably Seal of Muḥammad &  
Seal of Suhail]

WITNESSES:

Muslims:—Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, 'Abdar-Raḥmān-ibn-'Awf, 'Abdallāh-ibn-Suhail-ibn-'Amr, Sa'd-ibn-Abi-Waqqās, Maḥmūd-ibn-Maslamah, etc.

Meccans:—Mikraz-ibn-Ḥafṣ, etc.

SCRIBE AND WITNESS:—'Alīy-ibn-Abi-Ṭālib.

Two copies of the treaty were prepared. One was kept by the Prophet, and the other was handed over to Suhail, the plenipotentiary of the Quraish.<sup>1</sup>

1. Sarakhsiy, السيرة الكبرى, IV, 61; Ibn-Sa'd, 1/2, p. 71; Lammens, La Mecque, p. 136.

The Prophet detained the Quraishite plenipotentiary until the Muslim envoy, who was wrongfully interned in Mecca, returned safe.<sup>1</sup>

After the agreement was reached, but before the completion of signatures, a persecuted convert, who happened to be the son of the Quraishite plenipotentiary, fled from confinement by his father, and took refuge in the Muslim camp. Upon demand, the Prophet extradited him, and conceded that the treaty should come into force immediately upon agreement without waiting for formal execution.<sup>2</sup>

The Prophet interpreted the term of extradition to embrace only men, and excluded women when some cases arose before the departure of the Prophet from Hudaibiyah. The Quraish reluctantly gave way.<sup>3</sup> In case of converted women taking refuge in Muslim territory or camp, the Prophet allowed their husbands, if any, a right to what they had paid as nuptial gift—which was credited to their accounts from the general exchequer.<sup>4</sup>

The one-sided extradition proved expensive and inconvenient to the Meccans; and, upon their own request, the Prophet consented to amend the treaty in this respect.<sup>5</sup>

Cases arose to prove that extra-territorial jurisdiction of camps and armed forces was recognised by both the parties.<sup>6</sup>

Extension of three days' limit for the stay of the Prophet in Mecca was requested, but was not granted by the Quraish when the Prophet visited Mecca the following year.<sup>7</sup>

The main object of the treaty was to get permission to visit the national sanctuary of the enemy. Incidentally, a truce for ten years was agreed upon, with immune transit or stay for religious or commercial purposes in each other's territory. As an annexe is mentioned the adherence of various tribes on either side getting the same rights and obligations as the original contracting parties.<sup>8</sup>

As a proviso, the Prophet added, before affixing his seal, "the rights and duties are equal and reciprocal between you and us."<sup>9</sup>

The treaty is silent regarding the property of the Muslim refugees,

1. *Insān* of Halabiy, III, 26; *Sirah* of Dahlan, II, 46; *Sirah* of Karāmat 'Aliy, ch. Hudaibiyah.

2. Ibn-Hishām, p. 748; *Hist. of Tabariy*, pp. 1547-48; Ibn-Sa'd, I/2, p. 73.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 754.

4. *Idem*, pp. 754-55; cf. Qur'ān, 60: 10-11, and commentaries thereto.

5. *Idem*, p. 752-53.

6. For several cases, cf. Ibn-Hishām, pp. 748-55.

7. Ibn-Hishām, p. 790. After three days' stay, the Prophet evacuated the city, and did not utilise the opportunity to make treacherously a permanent occupation of the city from which nobody could oust him. least of all the Quraish, especially when they had left the city.

8. Letter to Budail, cf. Ibn-Sa'd, 2/I, p. 25, Abū-'Ubaid, §. 515 (أَخَذْتُ لِمَنْ هَاجَرَ مِنْكُمْ مِثْلَ مَا أَخَذْتُ لِنَفْسِي).

9. Ibn-Sa'd, I/2, p. 74 (كَتَبَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي أَصْفَلِ الْكِتَابِ: لَنَا عَلَيْكُمْ مِثْلُ الَّذِي لَكُمْ عَلَيْنَا).

appropriated by the Meccans,<sup>1</sup> as the Muslims had fled to Madīnah, the property of the Prophet not excluded. And tacitly the Muslims accepted the *status quo* regarding the validity of the enemy occupation.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### Miscellanea

#### (1) *Neutral and National Ambulance Service to the Sick and Wounded.*

MEDICAL service is purely humanitarian. Doctors and nurses are never harmed if they did not resist : they might be captured.

The neutral and even non-Muslim ambulance service and medical help for Muslims is mentioned by as early a jurist as *Shaiḥānī*<sup>2</sup> (d. 189 H.). Even Muslim relief work, rendered for non-Muslims, might be upheld on the ground of the Qur'ānic precept :<sup>3</sup> " And co-operate regarding charity and piety," (تعاونوا على البر والتقوى).

Instances abound in the life of the Prophet of arrangements for ambulance service. In the battles of Uḥud, Khandaq, and others, history has recorded details of hospitals, nurses, and arrangement for the transport of the wounded, etc.<sup>4</sup> The armies of the Caliph 'Umar, too, were provided with medical men.<sup>5</sup>

#### (2) *Army-Court.*

In the time of the Prophet, no special arrangement of judges for the expeditions is recorded, the commander himself functioning simultaneously as a judge also. We come across mention of the post of army-judge (قاضى العسكر) first in the time of the Caliph 'Umar.<sup>6</sup> They must have functioned not only to decide cases of the members of the Muslim army, but also of land and sea booty. Certain provisions of the Muslim penal code ceased to apply during an expedition, as long as the army found itself in enemy country.<sup>7</sup>

1. Cf. Qur'ān, 59 : 8 ( للفقراء المهاجرين الذين اخرجوا من ديارهم واموالهم ) ; Bukhārī, 64 : 84 (3) ; Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, X, 52 ; Ibn-Hishām, pp. 321-22, 339.

2. Sarakhsī, شرح السير الكبير, IV, 112-113.

3. Qur'ān, 5 : 2.

4. Cf. *supra*, ch. xxii, " Women in Muslim Army."

5. *Hist. of Tabari*, p. 2223.

6. *Ibid.* وجعل عمر الاطبة وجعل على قضاء الناس عبدالرحمن بن ربيعة الباهلي ذالنور وجعل اليه الانباض ( وقسمه القى وجعل داهيتهم ورائدهم سلمان الفارسي . . . والترجان هلال الهجرى والكاتب زياد بن ابى سفيان

7. Sarakhsī, شرح السير الكبير, IV, 108, citing the traditions of the Prophet.

If an act was done at the command of a superior authority, it could not be considered a crime of the committer : the enemy might not try him for that act. But without knowledge and permission of the higher authority, if any wrongful acts were committed by an officer, even the officer-commanding, the damages had to be paid by his government to the sufferer. The disciplinary punishment of such an officer by his own government does not come under international law. As an instance we may mention the case of the *Banū-Jadhīmah*, in which blood-money was paid by the Muslim government for every life ; and even dogs killed were compensated for. A considerable amount of money was added for " unknown damages that may have been done."<sup>1</sup>

The Prophet had the emancipation of slaves so much at heart that he declared that if the slaves of the enemy deserted their masters and embraced Islam and came to the Islamic territory, they would at once become free. Several cases of the time of the Prophet are also recorded as precedents.<sup>2</sup>

### (3) *Religious Service in Time of Danger.*

The religious polity of Islam and the moral basis of Muslim international law is demonstrated by what every classical work on Muslim International Law mentions and which is also taken notice of in an unusual detail by the Qur'ān.<sup>3</sup> I mean, the five daily congregational religious services should not be abandoned even when actual fighting was going on. Muslim soldiers are reminded thereby so many times daily that they were fighting only in the cause of God, not at all caring for any worldly gain.<sup>4</sup>

### (4) *When and Why the Muslims Should Agree to Make Peace ?*

One or two quotations of the Qur'ān will explain the point :

a. So do not falter and cry out for peace when ye are the uppermost. And God is with you, and He will not grudge (the reward of) your actions. (47 : 35).

b. And if they incline to peace, incline thou also (O Muḥammad) to it, and trust in God. Lo ! He is the Hearer, the Knower. (8 : 61).

It will be noticed that the victorious Muslim is required to offer peace, not the annihilation of the enemy. The object of a Muslim war is triumph of the banner of God, and no worldly gain.

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 833.

2. See Battles of Tā'if and Khaibar, in Ibn-Hishām, etc.

3. Qur'ān, 4 : 101-103.

4. Cf. *supra*, saying of the Prophet that he alone of the warriors would go to Paradise who fought in order that the word of God may reign supreme, *من في الجنة ؟ قال من قاتل لتكون كلمة الله هي العليا*.

## PART IV.—NEUTRALITY

## CHAPTER I

*Introductory*

THE neutrality of a State, in a war between two or more parties, is as old a thing as the co-existence of more than two independent states. Still, judicial conception of it does not seem to have developed, before modern times, to an extent calling for special chapters in law books. Muslim authors mention it incidentally in the discussion of the laws of war or peace, according to whether the Islamic state is or is not a party in the conflagration. Further the data are meagre ; and so far as I know, this is the first<sup>1</sup> attempt to collect and glean relevant points from the dispersed material.

## CHAPTER II

*Technical Term for Neutrality*

MODERN Arabs use the word *hiyādah* (حيادة) for neutrality. Pre-Islamic and early-Islamic Arabs employed the term *i'tizāl* (اعتزال). Though this term now applies only to a particular school of Muslim philosophical and theological thought, even its scholastic sense was suggested by the neutral attitude which the Mu'tazilites adopted towards both the Sunnis and the Khārijites.

After a long discussion, Prof. Nallino of Rome has also come to the conclusion that :

1. Nel campo teologico il nome d'al-Mu'tazilah non ebbe origine dall'idea di secessione dalla ortodossia, e non fu quindi escogitato dagli ortodossi con implicato senso di biasimo o di dispregio come una dichiarazione di eterodossia ; quel nome fu scelto, od almeno accolto, dai Mu'taziliti primitivi nel significato di, neutri, di, non parteggianti per nessuna delle due fazioni contrarie (ortodossi e Hārijiti) nella grave questione politico-religiosa del modo di considerare il fāsiq.

1. In theological discussions, the name Mu'tazilah did not originally mean secession from Orthodoxy, and was not therefore excogitated by the Orthodox (Sunnīs) with the implied sense of blame or contempt as a declaration of heterodoxy. That name was chosen or at least accepted by the early Mu'tazilites in the sense of *neutrals*, "those who participated with neither the Orthodox nor the Khārijite" in the grave politico-religious question as what to consider a sinful man (i.e., whether he neverthe-

1. Cf. also my article in Z. D. M. G., 1935 : "Die Neutralität im islamischen Völkerrecht."

2. Poichè la questione suddetta riceveva la sua importanza dalle lotte politiche e dalle guerre civili del I sec., è naturale che il nome di *al-Mu'tazilah* fosse desunto dal linguaggio politico del tempo; i nuovi *Mu'taziliti* dogmatici erano in origine i continuatori, nel campo teorico o speculativo, dei *Mu'taziliti* politici o pratici. (*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Roma, 1916, pp. 447 et seq.)

less remained a Believer or the commission of sin rendered him an Unbeliever?).

2. Since this above question received its importance on account of the political rivalry and the civil wars of the first century of Islam, it was natural that the term *Mu'tazilah* should be influenced by the political language of the time. The later dogmatic *Mu'tazilites* were, in the origin, mere continuators of the old political or practical "Neutrals," in the field of theory and speculation.

The *Mu'tazilite* philosophy occupied Muslim politics so much during the reign of *Mā'mūn* and his successors, that golden age of Arabic learning, that the original legal and philological sense of this term soon fell into desuetude.

In order to show that neutrality was not unknown even in pre-Islamic Arabia, a few quotations may not be out of place. They will, at the same time, give a historical background to the pre-Islamic Arabic practice, which has substantially influenced Muslim law—as was shown in Part I of this monograph. It will be noticed that at times the term *I'tizāl* or its inflected forms are used, and at others the sense has been rendered in other ways.

1. The treaty of neutrality and friendship between the Emperor Decius (d. 251 A.Ch.) and the *Ghassānid* prince of Syria.

Before the migration of the *Ghassānids* from Yaman to Syria, the *Duj'umites* had settled in Syria, and used to tax every new immigrant, on behalf of the Byzantine emperor, according to his means. The refugee *Ghassānids* at first agreed to this tax, but later they refused to pay. A bloody battle ensued in which the *Duj'umites* were annihilated. The emperor feared the *Ghassānids* might incline to Persians. So he made this offer to their chief, *Tha'labah*:

You are a mighty and numerous people and you have annihilated this tribe, which was the mightiest and the most numerous among the Arabs. I am prepared to install you in their stead and conclude with you a treaty to the effect that if any Arabs attack you, I shall help you with 40,000 Roman combatants; and, if any Arabs attack us, you shall help us with 20,000 combatants; and *that you do not mingle in our affairs with the Persians*. *Tha'labah* accepted this, and the treaty was concluded. The emperor made *Tha'labah* a king, and bestowed upon him a crown (*mallaka, tauwaja*). The name of



the emperor was Decius. (كتاب المحبر by Ibn-Habīb, fol. 131a. MS. British Museum).

2. During the famous 40 years' war of Basūs, which raged between the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib, there was frequent mention of neutrality. Al-Kalbī says :

When Kulaib, the chief of the Taghlib, was murdered by a young Bakrite, a deputation was sent to the Bakrites in order to demand the extradition of either the culprit or the chieftain or any other nobleman of the Bakrites, failing which an ultimatum of war would be given. As the murderer had escaped, the peace negotiations were frustrated. Soon a war began in which most of the branches of the tribe of Rabi'ah took part on the side of the Taghlibites against the Bakrites. But many branches of the Bakrites themselves remained neutral (*i'tazalat*), and took no part in the war of their kinsmen. Such were the Yashkur, the 'Ijl, the Banū-Hanīfah, and the Banū-Qais-ibn-Tha'labah. Particularly the chieftain of the last named branch, al-Hārith-ibn-'Abbād, who was a famous knight and poet, guarded his neutrality (*i'tizāl*), in spite of the remonstrances of his relatives. This was the prime reason why many other clans kept aloof from the war, and said : O ye people of Shaibān ! Ye have oppressed your brother (Taghlib) and killed your own cousin the prince (*i.e.*, Kulaib). We shall never help you.

In the course of the protracted war, one of the Bakrite chiefs, who was born during the war itself, succeeded in persuading most of the tribes, who had remained neutral, to take part in the conflict. Only al-Hārith-ibn-'Abbād kept back. Yet when his own son was treacherously murdered, he too forsook his neutrality, and it is recorded that he composed the following couplet on that occasion :

I kept back from the Bakr thinking that they would behave

reasonably,

Yet the Taghlibites themselves do not want that I remain  
neutral (*i'tizālī*).

On the other hand, many Taghlibite clans had also remained neutral ; but slowly all were forced by circumstances to take part in the war, which at last involved all the branches of both the Bakr and the Taghlib. (كتاب بكر وتغلب , by an anonymous author, MS. British Museum).

3. When the tribe of Khuzā'ah emigrated from Yaman to the North for fear of the breaching of the dam of Ma'rib, their chieftain, 'Amr, sent his son to Mecca, in order to make their request of its inhabitants :

Allow us a short stay in your territory until our people, who have gone in search of colonies to 'Irāq and Syria, come back.

The Jurhumites of Mecca would not entertain the idea, and a war ensued. One Jurhumite chief, Mudāḍ, remained neutral (*i'tazala*), and even left Mecca along with his family, for the time being. The Khuzā'ites had the upper hand. The Ismā'ilite clans had also remained neutral (*i'tazalū*) in the war of the Jurhum and Khuzā'ah. They then came to the victorious Khuzā'ites and asked permission to live in Mecca. This was granted. On hearing this, Mudāḍ also sent emissaries to the Khuzā'ah and requested the same, proving his neutrality (*i'tizālihi*) in war. But the Khuzā'ah refused to grant the request. (كتاب الاغانى , XIII, 110).

4. Quṣa'iy, the ancestor of the Prophet, had become the supreme chief of Mecca, with the help of his clansmen of Quḍā'ah. After his death, his functions were distributed among his several sons. But rivalry divided them, and each party sought foreign allies. All the local tribes joined with one or the other ; only two tribes remained neutral (لم يكونوا مع واحد من الفريقين and sided with neither of the two parties). (Ibn-Hishām, pp. 84-85).

In Hadīth literature also, there are things of interest for the subject. The following two citations have been taken from Bukhārīy (cf. ch. *Manāqib*, 11, and Muslim cf. ch. *Imārah*, 51, and concern the practice of the Prophet).

(a) The Prophet is reported to have said that soon civil wars would ensue among the Muslim community, and the pious believer would be the one who would sit at home during the unrest and would take part with neither faction (*i'tazala*). The narrator adds, it was owing to this hadīth that many a pious Muslim remained neutral during the wars between 'Alīy and Mu'āwiyah. (For instance, Sa'd-ibn-Abī-Waqqāṣ, according to Muslim, 53 : 11, Ibn-Hanbal, I, 168, 177 ; etc.).

(b) The Prophet is said to have predicted that towards the last days of the world, a terrible fight would break out between the believers and the Rūmīs (Westerners). The Rūmīs would make this offer to one Muslim group : "Let us fight alone against those Muslims who have captured our wives and children." The Muslim group would reply : "No ! We cannot desert our brethren." This war would seal the end of the power of the Rūmīs.

### CHAPTER III

#### *Teachings of the Qur'ān on Neutrality*

SO far our data have dealt with matters of more or less historical perspective. For their special importance, the relevant verses of the Qur'ān may be collected in this Chapter.

(a) Hast thou not observed those who are hypocrites, (how) they tell their brethren who disbelieve from among the People of the

Scripture : If ye are driven out, we surely will go out with you, and we will never obey anyone against you, and if ye are attacked we will verily help you. And God beareth witness that they verily are liars. (For) indeed if they are driven out they go not out with them, and indeed if they are attacked they help them not, and indeed if they had helped them they would have turned and fled, and then would not have been victorious. (59 : 11-12).

In these verses it is predicted that the hypocrites among the inhabitants of Madīnah would not help their friends (the Jews of Banū-an-Nadīr, cf. *Tafsīr* of Ṭabariy, Vol. 28, p. 29), but would remain neutral in case of fight with the Muslims.

Much more interesting are the following passages, which advise the Muslims to take care of certain tribes who had remained neutral and had not helped the enemies of Islam in their fight against the Muslims ; they also advise drastic action against those who violated their neutrality.

(b) Excepting those of the idolators with whom ye (Muslims) have a treaty, and who have since abated nothing of your rights nor have supported anyone against you. (As for these), fulfil their treaty to them till their term. Lo ! God loveth those who keep their duty (unto Him). (9 : 4. Cf. 8 : 58-60.)

(c) God forbiddeth you not regarding those who warred not against you on account of religion and drove you not out from your homes, that ye should show them kindness and deal justly with them. Lo ! God loveth the just. God forbiddeth you only regarding those who warred against you on account of religion and have driven you out from your homes and helped to drive you out, that ye make friends of them. Whosoever maketh friends of them—(all) such are wrong-doers. (60 : 8-9).

The most important verse is perhaps the following, in which even the term *i'tizāl* has been used :

(d) What aileth you that ye are become two parties regarding the hypocrites, when God cast them back (to disbelief) because of what they earned ? Seek ye to guide him whom God hath sent astray ? He whom God sendeth astray, for him thou (O Muḥammad) canst not find a road. They long that ye should disbelieve, that ye may be upon a level (with them). So choose not friends from them till they forsake their homes in the path of God<sup>1</sup>; if they turn back (to enmity) then take them and kill them wherever ye find them, and choose not friend nor helper from among them, except those who seek refuge with a people between whom and you there is a covenant, or (those who) come unto you because their hearts forbid them to make war on you or to make war on their own folk. Had God willed He could have given them power over you so that assuredly they

1. That is migrate to Muslim territory.

would have fought you. So, if they remain neutral regarding you (*i'tazalūkum*) and wage not war against you and offer you peace, God alloweth you no way against them. You will find others who desire that they should have security from you and security from their own folk. So often as they are returned to mischief they are plunged therein. If they do not remain neutral regarding you (*lam ya'tazilūkum*) nor offer you peace nor hold their hands, then take them and kill them wherever ye find them. Against such We have given you clear warrant. (4: 88-91).

#### CHAPTER IV

##### *Cases and Treaties of Neutrality in the Time of the Prophet and Orthodox Caliphs.*

THE Orthodox practice comes only next in importance to the Qur'ānic prescriptions. A few typical cases may be of interest.

##### 1. *Cases.*

(a) The Jewish tribe of Banū-an-Naḍīr was allied to the tribe of Ghatafān, and had also secured the promise of help on the part of the neighbouring Jewish tribe of Banū-Quraizah. Believing in the aid of these formidable allies, the Banū-an-Naḍīr refused in the year 4 H., to comply with the request of the Prophet, under treaty, to contribute towards the payment of the blood-money of some of the allies common to them and the Muslims. Consequently they were besieged in their fortresses. The Banū-Quraizah, however, remained neutral (*i'tazalat*), and rendered no help to the Banū-an-Naḍīr. And similar was the attitude of the Ghatafān.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Forced to quit Madīnah, the Banū-an-Naḍīr migrated to and settled in Khaibar. In view of their intrigues<sup>2</sup> with the Meccans and others, the Prophet took the initiative to nip the danger in the bud, and led an expedition against Khaibar. En route, he sent an envoy to the Ghatafān, who were allies of the Banū-an-Naḍīr, bidding them not to take part in the affairs of the Muslims and the Jews. The Ghatafānids said that they would not desert their friends in this time of need. The tactical march of the detachment of the Muslim army against their settlements, however, persuaded them of the necessity of remaining at home and giving the Prophet a free hand in his designs against Khaibar.<sup>3</sup>

1. Ibn-Sa'd, 1/2, p. 41.

2. Idem, pp. 47, 66; *Hist. of Tabarīy*, pp. 1556, 1575-76; Mas'udiy, *Tanbih*, p. 250.

3. Ibn-Hishām, pp. 757-58; *Hist. of Tabarīy*, p. 1575 *et seq.*

(c) During the unrest of apostasy in some parts of Arabia, on the death of the Prophet, a Yamanite chief, Qais, sent a message to another chief, Dhū-al-Kulā', to the following effect :

The *Abnā'* (i.e., the Persians domiciled in Yaman) are but intruders in your country, and are come to you from a foreign land. If you leave them (at your side), they will dominate you also. Therefore I think it right to kill their chiefs and to expel the rest from our country.

Dhū-al-Kulā' and his pārtisans, however, refused this and neither co-operated with him nor helped the *Abnā'*, but remained neutral (*i'tazalat*), saying : We have no concern with all this, do as you like.<sup>1</sup>

(d) Al-Jārūd had embraced Islam in Madīnah. When the Prophet died, Jārūd's tribe, 'Abd-al-Qais, also intended defection. He warned his people not to do so, and consequently this tribe remained loyal to Islam and did not take part in the struggle that ensued between the Muslims of Bahrain and the rest of the tribes of Rabi'ah.<sup>2</sup> This neutrality of theirs was of considerable importance.

## 2. *Treaties.*

As for treaties which provide for neutrality, or state documents which contain reference to neutrality, they are numerous even in the early days of Islam. A few of the more important may be quoted with interest.

(a) When the Prophet migrated to Madīnah, and constituted there a city-state, he took the initiative of consolidating Muslim power by entering into alliance with non-Muslim Arab tribes living around Madīnah, especially on the caravan-route of the Meccans to and from Syria. The following treaty with a chief of the Banū-Ḍamrah dates from the month Ṣafar of the year 2 H.

He (i.e., the Prophet) will not attack Banū-Ḍamrah nor will they attack him nor swell the troops of his enemies nor help his enemies in any way.<sup>3</sup>

(b) Soon after, other families of the same tribe were rallied, and a treaty of mutual aid and neutrality in particular cases was concluded :

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

This is the writ of Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, in favour of the Banū-Ḍamrah, assuring them the security of their persons and their properties ; that they may count on (his) help if anybody takes aggressive action against them, except in case of fight in the

1. Hist. of Tabariy, p. 1990.

2. Idem, p. 1958 et seq.

3. Idem, 2/1, p. 3; Sirah of 'Alīy al-Qāri (MS. Istanbul), ch. *Ghazawit*.

name of religion. This assurance is valid so long as a sea wets the shells. Similarly, when the Prophet requires it of them, they will help him ; and they pledge for that God and His Messenger. To help them will depend upon their loyalty and piety.<sup>1</sup>

(c) Another tribe living near the sea-coast of the Red Sea was the Banū-Ghifār. They were also rallied about the same time, and their treaty provided :

Help is assured them if anybody attacks them aggressively. If the Prophet requires their help, they will help him, and it is incumbent upon them to help him, except in wars waged in the name of religion. This is valid so long as a sea wets a shell.<sup>2</sup>

(d) When the city-state of Madīnah was constituted, there were many Jewish settlements in the eastern suburbs of the Arab city. They also adhered to the confederal city-state, and agreed among other things that :

§. 45. If they (the Jews) are called upon to join a peace and adhere to it, they will do so and adhere to it. Similarly if they ask it, the same would be incumbent upon the Muslims. The wars waged in the name of religion are excepted.<sup>3</sup>

(e) It was probably in the year 5 H. that the Prophet concluded a treaty of alliance and neutrality with the tribe of Banū-'Abd-ibn-'Adiy, regarding which our historians record :

The Prophet received the deputation of the Banū-'Abd-ibn-'Adiy . . . . They said : O Muḥammad ! We are the inhabitants of the Holy Circle (around Mecca) and we are the mightiest of all those who live there. We do not want to fight you. On the other hand we are prepared to help you in your expeditions, except against the Quraish of Mecca. For we would not fight against the Quraish.<sup>4</sup>

(f) In the famous treaty of Ḥudaibiyah also there is provision for neutrality. In fact an expression is used there which according to lexicographers has different significances. I mean the word *islāl*. It signifies the unsheathing of a sword as well as violation of neutrality and secret help to the enemy of the other contracting party. That the word *islāl*, in the treaty of Ḥudaibiyah, has been used in this latter sense, is borne out by two other treaties<sup>5</sup> concluded in the early days of the Orthodox Caliphate, and it is conclusively proved that it was a technical term.

The relevant section of the treaty of Hudaibiyah is the following :

And they both agree to put down fighting on the part of people for ten years, during which period the people are to enjoy peace and

1. *Hist. of Tabarī* 2/1, p. 27 ; *Suhailiy*, II, 58-59.

2. *Ibn-Sa'd*, 2/1, pp. 26-27.

3. For the complete text of the Constitution, see *Ibn-Hishām*, pp. 341-44 ; *Abū-'Ubaid*, *Amwāl*, §. 517 ; *Ibn-Kathīr*, *Bidāyah*, III, 224-26 ; etc.

4. *Ibn-Sa'd*, 2/1, p. 48.

5. Cf. *infra*, under VII and VIII, which immediately follow ; cf. also لسان العرب c.v. "مَلَّ."

refrain from (fighting) each other. . . . And between us is a tied-up breast (i.e., bound to fulfil the terms), and there shall be no secret help violating neutrality, and no acting unfaithfully.<sup>1</sup>

The treaties just referred to are the following :

(g) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

This is the writ of Suwaid-ibn-Muqarrin in favour of Farrukhān, the Commander of Khurāsān, concerning the enemy territories of Ṭabaristān and Jīlīlān.

Thou art assured of the protection of God, exalted is He, provided that thou dost prevent the rapacities of the robbers of thy country as well as of the people adjoining thy country and, that thou dost not give asylum to any rebel against us. And thou shalt pay the (Muslim) commander on the border of thy country a sum of 500,000 drachmas of the currency of thy country.

If thou dost this, it will not be lawful for us to attack thee or traverse thy country or enter it without thy permission. With permission, however, we shall have a safe passage in thy country, and the same shall be observed regarding thy passage.

Thou shalt not give asylum to any rebel against us, shalt not secretly help any enemy of ours (و لا تسلون لنا الى عدو), and thou shalt not act unfaithfully. Otherwise there will be no pact between us and thee.<sup>2</sup>

(h) This is what Nu'aim-ibn-Muqarrin accorded the chief of the province of Rai'y :

Provided that you act in good faith, serve as guide (to us), do not act faithlessly, and do not secretly help (our enemy in violation of pledge).<sup>3</sup>

(i) The following clause is taken from the treaty with the ruler of Nubia, concluded by a Muslim governor of Egypt of the time of the 3rd Caliph, 'Uthmān :

You, O Nubians, are assured of the Protection of God and His Messenger, Muḥammad, the Prophet. That we shall not wage war against you, nor prepare for war against you, nor attack you so long as you observe the conditions of treaty between us and you . . . But it will not be incumbent upon the Muslims to drive away any enemy who may encounter you, nor to prevent him from you, between the limits of the territory of 'Ulwah and Aswān.<sup>4</sup>

(j) Qais-ibn-Sa'd, the governor of Egypt, addressed the following letter to the Caliph 'Alīy, during the civil wars of the time :

1. For complete text, cf. *supra*, section XXV.

2. *Hist. of Ṭabarīy*, p. 2659.

3. *Hist. of Ṭabarīy*, p. 2655. Cf. treaty of Jurjān, *idem*, p. 2658, for similar provision. (لَمْ يَدْمِهِمْ سِلَ وَلَا غُلَ).

4. Maqrīzīy, *Kh-ṭaṭ*, I, 200 (ed. Būlāq).

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

I have to inform the Commander of the Faithful that there are people here who want to remain neutral (*mu'tazilīn*). They have requested me not to take action against them but to leave them unmolested until the situation clears.<sup>1</sup>

(k) 'Alīy replied :

Proceed towards the people thou hast mentioned in thy letter. If they obey, as other Muslims, it will be all right. Otherwise punish them.

The governor replied :

I wonder, O Commander of the Faithful, how couldst thou order me to fight against a people who are keeping aloof from thee and are giving thee a free hand to fight thy enemy. If thou wagest war against them, they shall help thy enemy against thee. So hear me, O Commander of the Faithful, and refrain from taking action against them.<sup>2</sup>

(l) Extract of the open letter of 'Alīy, addressed to the rebels and apostates of Banū-Nājiyah :

I invite you to abide by the Book of God and the practice of His Messenger, and to act righteously as God has ordained in the Book. Further : Whoever of you returns home to his people and keeps aloof and observes neutrality (*i'tazala*) *vis-à-vis* this nihilist and robber (i.e., *Khirrīt*, the chief of the Banū-Nājiyah), who has come forward to fight against God, His Messenger and the Muslims, and is doing mischief in the land—such will be assured of his person and property. But whoever follows him to fight against us and disobeys our authority, we shall seek help from God against him.<sup>3</sup>

(m) In the year 28 H., the Muslim armies attacked Cyprus. A peace was concluded on the condition :

That the Muslims would not attack the people of Cyprus, but at the same time they would not defend them if any other power attacked them.<sup>4</sup>

Such examples may be multiplied, but unfortunately none of them describes the rights and duties emanating from the status of neutrality, which were understood. For these we have to refer to practice. Some such things are collected in the following Chapter.

M. HAMĪDULLĀH.

(To be continued).

1. *Hist. of Tabariy*, p. 3244.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Hist. of Tabariy*, p. 3435 *et seq.*

4. *Idem*, p. 2826.



# ARAB NAVIGATION

(Continued)

## SEA LORE

WHEN, in the beginning of learning and civilization, nations navigated seas, they thought that each sea was separate and different,<sup>1</sup> but the greatest discovery of the modern world is that all the seas are one great community of waters. The seas of India, China, Persia, Rome and Syria are not divided, but form really one and the same great circle of water, which surrounds these countries.

It is not known whether the Arabs knew this fact, but an Arab sailor, Sulaimān, living in 225 A.H. contends that no one knew this prior to his time. He writes :

“ Among the things which have happened in our days, and were not known before, are these : it was not conjectured that the Chinese Sea and the Indian Ocean were connected with the Syrian Sea, nor had the sailors of bygone days any such idea. But this was proved in our time. For we received a report that the timbers of ships wrecked in the Mediterranean Sea, and shattered into pieces by the waves, were carried into the Khazar Sea by the wind and from there came to the Mediterranean gulf ( خليج روم ), and after that to the Mediterranean and Syrian Seas. This proves that the sea lies round China, Seila ( سيل ), at the back of Turkestan and Khazar, and then, drifting into the Mediterranean gulf, flows to the Syrian coast. This is proved because the joined timbers were chiefly used in the boats of Sirāf, while the Syrians and the Roman boats were joined only by nails. We know this also for the reasons that amber was found in the Mediterranean Sea, which was not known in former days. If this is true, it may be that the amber was brought there from ‘Aden, and though the Red Sea is connected with those rivers which produce amber, yet a barrier lies between it and the Mediterranean. (This is the Suez, which is now a canal). So if the story of amber is true, then it is probable that the Indian Ocean carried it to the other seas, which took it ultimately to the Mediterranean Sea.”

1. *Murāj-al-Dhahab*, Vol. I, p. 372, (Paris edition) and *Aḥsan-at Taqāsim* by Bashshārī, pp. 16, 17.

The first route indicated by Sulaimān led from the Indian Ocean, passed through the China Sea, the Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea, and reached the Arctic Ocean, after which it crossed the Atlantic, and rounding Gibraltar, it entered into the Mediterranean Sea. But the second route which, according to him, brought amber to the Mediterranean from the Indian Ocean, was easier and more open. This route led from the Indian Ocean to the ( بحر محيط ) Atlantic Ocean and through the Barbara Sea, and from the ( بحر محيط ) Atlantic Ocean it went into the Mediterranean *via* Gibraltar. Sulaimān's description of the passage leads us to believe that he had a definite idea of the maps of the world and the seas. The sailors of later days have described still more clearly the ways which led to the Mediterranean Sea from the African coast.

Accordingly, Ibn-Wāḍih Yā'qūbī, who flourished fifty years after Sulaimān, says at the end of his geography *Kitāb-ul-Buldān*, in connection with the description of Sos, a coastal town of Morocco, that there was a mosque called Bahlol on the bank, "and in front of this mosque, the sea brings forth those rope-fastened ships, which are built in Obulla (Persian Gulf) and in which they voyage to China."

A similar description has been given by Mas'ūdī (303 A.H.)<sup>1</sup> Abū Raiḥān Berūnī (died in 440 A.H.) has given, according to Yāqūt, the most graphic account of the seas. He says :

"The Sea on the west of the populated world, and on the coasts of Tanja and Spain, is called بحر محيط (Atlantic Ocean), which is named اوقيانوس by the Greeks. One cannot reach the middle of it. Ships sail around its coasts. It (the sea) leads northwards from these countries in the direction of Ṣaḡālibah (Slavonic). In the north of Ṣaḡālibah, there is a gulf, which extends up to a Muslim country known as Balghār. Its name is the river Bering. There lives a tribe of the same name on its coast. This sea then turns towards the east. It has between its coast and the far Turkish territory desolate lands and pathless mountains. It then turns from Tanja towards the south till it reaches the mountains of western Sudan (Africa) called Qamar, from which rises the river Nile of Egypt. There is plenty of water here, but ships cannot sail in safety. The sea then turns around the extreme end of China in the east. This route also is not navigable. In short, waters are named after the countries by which they pass, *viz.*, the Chinese Sea, the Indian Ocean. Great gulfs also extend from it (the Atlantic Ocean), each of which is called a river . . . . The other gulf, mentioned above is Barbara, which extends from 'Aden to Zanj. Ships do not go farther than this on account of the perils in the way, and the river then joins the western

1. *Murūj-al-Dhahab*, Vol. I, p. 365.

Atlantic Ocean.”<sup>1</sup>

Abū-Hāmid of Granada, the famous globe-trotter (died in 565 A.H.), has explained the community of the seas most clearly in his book *Tuhfat’ul-Albāb*. He writes :

“ You must know that the بحر محيط (Atlantic Ocean) encircles the world, and the earth in the midst of the sea is like a ball in a pond. This is that Black Sea, which is called بحر ظلمات. Ships do not ply here. The Indian Ocean is one of its gulfs and the Chinese Sea is a branch of it. The Red Sea is also a gulf. The Persian Sea is a part of it. It is one and the same sea, which passes through Basrah, ‘Abbādān, Sirāf, Karmān, Bahrain, Qais, Daibal, Abyssinia, Zanj, Sarandīp and Chuliyān. All the rivers, mentioned and not mentioned here, originate from the same black sea, which is called بحر محيط.<sup>2</sup>

But the brightest picture of oceans has been drawn by Abū’l-Fida (died in 725 A.H.), and Ibn-Khaldūn (died in 808 A.H.) even excels in his descriptions. Abū’l-Fida’s accounts are the following :

“ The part of the Western (Atlantic Ocean), بحر محيط, on which are situated Morocco and Spain, is called اوقيانوس. In it there are the islands of Khalidat, which lie at the distance of several degrees from the shore. This بحر محيط (Atlantic Ocean) goes straight from the Moroccan coast southward, and proceeds onwards through the deserts of Lamtunah lying between Berber and Sudan. It then crosses the desolate, unpopulated and untrodden parts in the south, and reaches the Equator. It then turns around the Qamar hill in the east, from which rises the river Nile of Egypt. This sea then flows southward and then goes to the east towards the barren tracts of Africa. Flowing again to the east and the north, it meets the Indian Ocean and the Chinese Sea. It then travels eastward, till it comes opposite to the far open lands of China. It then turns from the east of China to the north, from where it again goes to the east, till it leaves China and faces the walls of Gog and Magog. It turns again and travels in an unknown land and then proceeds westward, and is seen flowing to the north from the land. Now enclosed by land, it turns to the west and the south and enters into land. Then it proceeds westwards and passes through the coasts of infidels of different nationalities until it is on the opposite side of Rome (Italy). As it goes further from Rome, it faces those countries which lie between Rome and Spain, till it flows off the Spanish coast. It then passes through the west of Spain

1. *Mu’jam’ul Buldān*, Yāqūt, p. 191, (Egypt edition).

2. Paris edition, pp. 91, 92.

and turning towards the south it leaves Spain and comes to the opposite side of Sabtah, from which it began its course."<sup>1</sup>

The exhaustive account of the sea given by Ibn-Khaldūn in his *Prolegomena* is as follows:

"The geographers are of opinion that the Mediterranean Sea starts from the بحر محيط (Atlantic Ocean) in the western side of the fourth Iqlīm (اقليم). It comes forth from a narrow gulf, which is twelve miles wide, from the middle of Ṭanja and Ṭareef, the name of the gulf being Zaḳāq. Then the Mediterranean flows eastward, becoming 600 miles wide. It finishes at the fourth part of the Iqlīm (اقليم), and from its beginning to this point it is 1,160 furlongs long and the Syrian coasts lie on its shore. On its southern side there are the western (north African) coast, Ṭanja being near the narrow gulf, after which there are the coasts of Banādiqa (Venice), Rome (Italy), France and Spain, and then Ṭareef, which is close to Zaḳāq and opposite to Ṭanja. Its names are the Mediterranean Sea (بحر دوم), and the Syrian Sea (بحر شام). There are many great populated islands here, viz., Crete, Cyprus, Sicily, Majorca, Sardinia, and Denia."

The geographers say that two more seas start from the gulfs of the Mediterranean Sea in the north. One is opposite to Constantinople. It begins from a narrow space at the distance of one arrow-shot from the Mediterranean Sea, and passing through three rivers comes to Constantinople becoming afterwards four miles wide and extending for sixty miles. Its name is the 'Gulf of Constantinople'. From its estuary, which is six miles wide, it becomes a tributary to the Black Sea (بحر نيطنس), and, turning aside, flows towards the east, passes through هر يقيله and terminates at Khazar, covering in all 1300 miles. On either side of this sea there live the Romans, the Turks, the Burjans, and the Russians. From another gulf of the Mediterranean there comes forth a second sea, which is called بحر بنادقه. It starts from Italy in the north and, reaching the mountains, turns westward towards Banadiqa (Venice) and Rome, etc. It is known as the Gulf of Venice. Geographers say that beyond the Atlantic Ocean, 13°E north of the equator, there flows an extensive sea, which passes through the south until it terminates in the first Iqlīm (اقليم). It then goes westward of the Iqlīm until it reaches Abyssinia, Ethiopia and Bābal-Mandab, and to this point it is 4½ thousand furlongs long. Its names are the Indian Ocean, the Chinese Sea, and the Abyssinian Sea. On its coast, on the southern side, there are Zanj and Barbara, which are mentioned

by I'mra'ul Qais in his verses. But this Barbara is not the same Berber which is one of the tribes of the west (north Africa). Then there are Maqdashua ( مقدشوا ), Safala and Wāqwāq (Japan?). On its coast to the northern side at its beginning is China, then there are India and the Indus. After them, there are the coasts of Yemen, viz., Aḥqāf and Zubaid, etc. At the end of the sea is Zanj, after which is Abyssinia. Geographers declare that two more seas lead from the Abyssinian Sea. One of them begins from Bābal-Mandāb, proceeds northward, getting wider and wider, turns a little to the west, and then terminates at Qulzum ( قلزم ) in the fifth part of the Iqlim ( اقليم ), covering the distance of 1,400 miles. Its name is the بحر قلزم (Mediterranean Sea) and بحر سويس (Red Sea). Fustāt-e-Egypt lies at a distance of three stages from here. On its shore on the eastern side are the coasts of Yemen, and then there are Al-Hejāz and Jeddah. Madā'in, Ela ('Aqba) and Fārān are at its end. On the western side are the coasts of lower Egypt; Aidhab, Sawakin, Zila (Araeteria), and Abyssinia are at its base. Its extreme end is at Qulzum ( قلزم ), just opposite to the Mediterranean Sea ( بحر روم ) near 'Arīsh ( عريش ). In the Islamic period, and even before it, kings longed to link the two seas by cutting the land (Suez) lying between them, but they could not do so.

The other sea, starting from the Abyssinian Sea ( بحر حبش ) is called بحر اخضر (Akḥḍar Sea), and lies between Sind and Aḥqāf of Yemen. Flowing a little westward till the extreme end of the north, it finishes its course at a distance of 440 furlongs near Obulla on the coast of Baṣra in the sixth part of the second Iqlīm ( اقليم ). Its name is the Persian Sea بحر فارس. On its coast on the eastern side are Indus, Mekran, Kirman, and Persia ( فارس ). Obulla is at the end of it. On the western side are Baḥrain, Yamāma, 'Umān and Shahr. Aḥqāf is at its base. Between the Persian Sea ( بحر فارس ) and the Qulzum there is the peninsula of Arabia, as if an arm of the land has thrust itself into the sea. Arabia is surrounded in the south by the Abyssinian Sea ( بحر حبش ), in the west by the Mediterranean Sea ( بحر قلزم ) and in the east by the Persian Sea ( بحر فارس ), and covers till 'Iraq, midway between Baṣra and Syria, the distance of 1,500 miles.

### MEASUREMENT OF THE SEA

IBN-KHALDŪN'S voyage was limited to trips from Spain to Egypt

and Al-Hejāz. The above account, according to his own assertion, is based on Idrīsī's geography (548 A.H.). The noticeable thing in these descriptions is the length and the distance of the sea. In Ptolemy's geography we find a similar measurement of sea, but it is full of errors. Monsieur Le Bon writes in the *Civilisation of Arabia* :

" Ptolemy in his description of the towns he discovered has made many mistakes. For example, he made a mistake of 40 furlongs in the length of the Mediterranean Sea. The geographical progress of the Arabs may be favourably compared to the Greek contributions to this subject. This comparison will show that the researches of the Arabs differ a little in only the minutes of the latitude, while the Greeks miscalculated its degrees. At the time when there were no reliable watches nor charts of lunar movements, it was very difficult to know anything of the longitude, so the Arabs erred greatly in the calculation of the longitude, but their errors do not exceed two degrees, and are far fewer than those of the Greeks. For example, Ptolemy has recorded the longitude of Tanja  $53^{\circ} 30'$  as measured from Alexandria, but the correct calculation is  $35^{\circ} 41'$ , a difference of  $18^{\circ}$  from Ptolemy's measurement. There is a mistake of one degree ( $1^{\circ}$ ) in the map of the Arabs as regards the length of the Mediterranean Sea from Tanja to Tripoli, but Ptolemy has made it  $19^{\circ}$  longer in his map, which has led to the difference of 400 furlongs."

Similarly, the length of the Red Sea given by Ibn-Khaldūn is 1,400 miles, and according to modern calculation it is 1,310 miles long. This shows that the Arabs' estimate was quite close to modern researches.

## BERING SEA

THE stretch of water which lies between Alaska and northern Asiatic Russia on the Pacific side is called Bering Sea. It is known that no human being crossed this area until quite recently, and it was explored by an adventurer Vitus Bering. This Sea is very close to the North Pole and remains always covered with snow, but it is strange to find that the Arabs knew of it.

Sulaimān's description (225 A.H. 839 A.D.) of the route by which he connects the China Sea with the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean *via* the Pacific and the Arctic Oceans, shows evidently that he knew the passage or had an idea of it. Abū'l Fida (732 A.H.) writes :

"Description of the Vering Sea : I did not find the description of this sea anywhere except in Abū Raiḥān Bērūnī's works and Nāṣir Ṭusi's biography. I have therefore copied it here as described by al-Bērūnī. He says that the Vering Sea starts from the

southern side of the North Atlantic Ocean. It is of considerable length and width. And Vering is the name of the tribe which lives on its coast."<sup>1</sup>

Al Berūnī and Nāṣir Ṭusī died in 440 A.H. and 672 A.H. respectively. This shows that the name of Bering (Vering) was known to the Muslim scholars from a much earlier period. Abū-Raiḥān Bērūnī's home was, Khawarzīm (Khiva), one of whose boundaries was Russia. In his time the king of Bulghar (not modern Bulgaria, which lies at the extreme end of Russia) accepted Islam; and the Abbasid Caliph Muqtadir-billāh sent an embassy from Baghdād to Bulghar *via* Adherbijān and Russia under Ibn-Faḍlān's leadership. The latter wrote an account of his travels from Baghdād to Russia and Bulghar, a brief summary of which has been given in Mu'jam by Yāqūt. Moreover, al-Bērūnī lived in Ghaznīn at the time when its empire was extended to the Chinese Turkestan. And Ṭusī lived in the days of the Tartars, who visited every corner from Russia to Baghdād. It is therefore not surprising that al-Bērūnī and Ṭusī had knowledge of the Bering Sea. In short, the two routes starting from the Arabian Sea and meeting together ultimately in the Atlantic Ocean were known to the Arabs. The route described by Sulaimān in the beginning of the third century is also mentioned by the famous Arab navigator Mas'ūdī of the fourth century A.H.<sup>2</sup>

The two sea-routes indicated by the Arabs are these :— (1) The first led from the Arabian Sea to the Chinese Sea, after which it passed through the North Pacific Ocean, and then entered the Bering Sea. After this, it came to the Arctic Ocean *via* the back of the Bering Sea, and then it went to the Atlantic and crossing the Cape of Gibraltar drifted into the Mediterranean Sea. (2) The second route led from the Indian Ocean to the Abyssinian Sea, then to Zanj, and Berber, called at present Mozambique Channel, then to the cape of Good Hope, after which it passed by the African coast and came to the Atlantic Ocean *via* the Cape of Gibraltar, and then entered the Mediterranean Sea. This was the route by which Vasco da Gama came to India from Portugal.

## DIFFERENT SAILORS OF DIFFERENT SEAS

FROM Mas'ūdī's accounts (332 A.H.) we learn that each sea had separate sailors and experts. He had personal knowledge of the experts of the Mediterranean Sea, whom he describes thus:

"I witnessed the warring and trading sailors of the Mediterranean Sea. . . . I also met with bands and officers as well as the fighting men and navigators, e.g., Abūl-Ḥārith Lāwī, slave of the ruler of Syrian Tripoli on the Damascus coast. They say that after

1. *Taqwīm'ul-Buldān*, p. 35.

2. Vide *Murūj-al-Dhahab*, Vol. I, p. 365 (Paris edition).

300 A.H. the length and breadth of the Mediterranean Sea increased considerably and its gulfs and inlets also became numerous. I received similar information from 'Abdullah, the son of the Minister of the Chief of Hams in Syria. At this time (332 A.H.) no one has more reliable knowledge of the Mediterranean Sea than he, nor is anyone older. The sailors of the men-of-war as well as merchantships act upon his advice, and have a great regard for the soundness and reliability of his information. They also witnessed his fight against the Greeks in the Mediterranean Sea."<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, he describes the Arab sailors of the African sea and Barbara in the following way :

"The sailors of 'Umān travel on this sea (Abyssinian Sea) up to the island of Qanbloo (Madagascar). The Muslims also live in this city with the Ethiopian infidels. These Arab sailors of 'Umān declare that the distances of the Barbara gulf (Mozambique Channel) exceed their own estimates. And they say that it is a mad sea. The people who sail on this sea belong to the tribe of Azd of 'Umān. When they reach the waves of the sea and go with currents, which rock them high and low, they sing the following verse during their work on the ship :

بر برا و جفونی و موجک المجنون  
جفونی و بر برا و موجها کاتری

Barbara and Jafonī—And thy mad storm.

Jafoni and Barbara—And its wave, as you see.

"The farthest point they reached in the Abyssinian Sea is Qanbloo, Safala, Wāqwāq, and the last boundary of Zanj (Abyssinia), and the lower regions of its (?) sea, which is crossed by the people of Sirāf. I embarked in the sea for Ṣuḥar with a group of sailors, who owned ships, namely Muḥammad, son of Zaid Bud, Jauhar, son of Aḥmad, *alias* Ibn-Sabrah. They were drowned in this sea.

I made my last journey in 304 A.H. from Qanbloo to 'Umān in the ship of Aḥmad and Abduṣ-Ṣamad, the brother of 'Abdur-Raḥīm. Both the brothers along with their companions and ships were drowned in this sea. This was my last trip in it. . . . I have made several voyages in several seas, *viz.*, the Chinese Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, the Sea of Japan, the Yemen Sea, and bore numberless hardships, but no journey was more dreadful than that of the بحر زنج (Abyssinian Sea).<sup>2</sup>

These accounts give an inkling of the gallantry of the Arabs during their navigation. In the above passage, by the island of Qanbloo is meant

1. *Murūj-al-Dhahab*, Vol. I, p. 282, (Paris edition).

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 233-234, (Paris edition).



Madagascar.<sup>1</sup> And Wāqwāq was used by ancient Arabs for the modern Japanese islands.<sup>2</sup>

## LITERARY INVESTIGATORS OF THE ARAB NAVIGATORS

LEARNED and clever geographers measured the earth and sea and fixed their distances and boundaries in their studios, but it was left to the Arab navigators to corroborate, amend, or falsify these calculations from personal observations. Mas'ūdī writes: "I found sailors of the Chinese Sea, the Indian Ocean, and river Indus, the Abyssinian Sea, the Yemen Sea, and the Mediterranean Sea . . . holding divergent views about the Abyssinian Sea from the philosophers, who had described its distance and depth. There are many places in this sea which are unfathomed. Similarly, I found the knowledge of the warring and trading sailors of the mediterranean Sea differing from the investigations of the philosophers."<sup>3</sup>

Similarly the personal observations of the so-called illiterate navigators as regards the ebb and flow are quite different from the views of the theorists.<sup>4</sup> The information of these navigators was based on practical knowledge, Mas'ūdī says: "The sailors who navigate this sea, know the winds which blow at particular times . . . . They pass on their experience to the next generation and give them political training, for they know the moods of wind and wave. They know when the sea will become furious and when it will be calm." This refers to the Abyssinian Sea and can also be applied to the Romans and the Muslims sailing in the Mediterranean and Caspian Seas up to Jurjan, Tabaristan, and Dailam.<sup>5</sup>

The best source of such information is in the prose and versified treatise in the 9th century by Ibn-Mājid, the Lion of the Sea, and Sulaimān, a fac-simile of which was published in 1828 A.D. from Paris. Bashsharī Muqaddasī, who toured the Islamic countries in the middle of the 4th century A.H., records his experiences in two seas in the following way: "I saw two seas only in the Islamic countries. One of them ran from the east between China and Sudan (north Africa). When it approaches the Islamic territory it rounds the Arabian island, as I have shown in the map . . . . The outlet of the second sea is in the far west beyond Sos and Spain. Widening out from the Atlantic it afterwards becomes smaller. Then once again it becomes wider as it flows by the Syrian coast." After this he says: "It is not known to me whether these two seas fall into the Atlantic Ocean or start from it, but it seems rather that they flow into it, because when you come closer to

1. Vide French translation of *Murūj-al-Dhahab*, Vol. I, p. 232, Paris edition.

2. *'Ajāib'ul Hind* by Buzrug bin Shahryar, p. 175.

3. *Murūj-al-Dhahab*, Vol. I, p. 281.

4. Vide *Sulaimān's Travel*, p. 21, and *Murūj-al-Dhahab*, Vol. I, p. 251.

5. *Murūj-al-Dhahab*, Vol. I, p. 243.

Farghāna (Turkeṣtān) you go on descending till you reach Egypt and the Far West. The people of 'Irāq call the inhabitants of Persia 'people of upper regions,' and the nations of the west 'people of lower regions.' This also supports my assertion, proving at the same time that these are rivers, which fall into the Atlantic Ocean." (p. 16).

Aḥmad bin Mājid, the valiant sailor of the 9th century A.H., claims to have discovered Barbara, recording the terrestrial observation of the voyage to this place. He says, "There has been no record of it from the beginning of the world until now." (p. 46). He is alleged to have discovered also that the Indian Ocean is linked with the Atlantic Ocean, for, he says, he travelled from sea to sea to Egypt. His actual words are: *لان البحر الهندي هو متعلق بالبحر المحيط* (For the Indian Ocean is connected with the Atlantic Ocean; p. 27, Vol. II).

In 230 A.H., and again in 244 A.H., an unknown tribe made a furious naval raid on the Spanish coast with a large number of ships. This disturbed the inhabitants of the coast, but 'Abdur-Raḥmān, son of Ḥakam, defeated the raiders and demolished the minaret which indicated the Spanish coast to sailors. Who were these naval raiders? Some historians call them Magians, which signifies according to them, non-Moslems, or races having no revealed book. Ibn-Sa'id Maghrabī, Zakaria Qazwīnī and Maqqarī say that they were the natives of Britain and Ireland.<sup>1</sup> Some of the scholars declare that they were Russians. Alexander Seippet has collected from printed books and manuscripts all the available Arabic accounts of this raid in a book called *الروس وورنگ و الارمان*. The hard battle fought between the Muslims and the above-mentioned tribe is dated 245 A.H.<sup>2</sup> Mas'ūdī (303 A.H.) thinks that these invaders were the Russian idol-worshippers. If this is true, he adds further, the Russians could have invaded Spain by coming to *بحر نيطس* from *مايطس* (Black Sea).

It is evident that the Arabs knew the two routes which led to Spain from Europe. One of them was from Britain and Ireland through the Atlantic, and the other was from Russia, through the Black Sea, the Dardenelles, the Mediterranean Sea. And Mas'ūdī after making enquiry from a great number of sailors, says that the Caspian Sea is not linked with the Black Sea.<sup>3</sup>

## THE ISLANDS OF THE ATLANTIC OCEAN

THE Arabs called the great seas beyond Spain *بحر ظلمات* and *بحر محيط*. They knew some of the islands lying to the north, one of which they

1. Vide *Majmū'-i-Akḥbār Umam-ul-Majūs*, pp. 23, 26.

2. Vide *Murūj-al-Dḥahab*, Vol. I, p. 364.

3. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 272.

called *انكلطره* and other *ايرلندا*. It is obvious that the former name is that of England, and the latter is that of Ireland.

The raiders who attacked Spain in 223 A.H. and 244 A.H. were, according to some historians and geographers, natives of England and Ireland. Ibn-Sa'id Maghrabī (673 A.H.) writes that "to the north of *انكلترا* and Britan lies Ireland, whose length is 12 days journey and whose width can be crossed in 4 days. The island is noted for its unrest, and the natives were magians, but were later on converted to Christianity by the influence of their neighbours. Brass and zinc are procured from here." Qazwīnī describes the birds found here and the way in which they are hunted. (p. 24).

Shamsuddin of Damascus (728 A.H.) says that the tributary which goes to the north of the Atlantic Ocean is called *بحر انكلطره* (English Channel) (p. 47), and that white falcons were brought to Islamic countries from here. (p. 138 and 142).

After the invasion in 244 A.H., an agreement was made between 'Abdur-Rahmān, the ruler of Seville ( *اشبيلية* ) and the natives of these islands and embassies were exchanged. There is an interesting story in this connection. 'Abdur-Rahmān sent an envoy named *Ghazzāl* by ship, bearing gifts and presents. He reached the islands after experiencing many hardships and met the king. The queen fell in love with him. A graphic account of this romance is described in Ibn-Daḥyah's *ابن دحية* ( *مجموعه اخبار اسم المجوس* of pp. 13, 16 of *كتاب المطب في اشعار اهل المغرب* ).

The island of 'Tuli was situated in the extreme north. The islands of *Khālidat* and *Sa'ādat* were at the other extreme end. " *مغترين* or *مغرودين* " were a group of daring navigators of Spain who wandered in search of the Atlantic islands. Idrīsī and Mas'ūdī have mentioned them.

## ISLANDS OF THE CHINESE SEA

THE Arabs explored the Indian Ocean and the Chinese Sea extensively. They touched every island of the Chinese Sea, but could not settle in most of these places on account of the savage and barbarous nature of the native population. But their settlements exist in Java, Sumatra and other Indo-Chinese islands, and they give a very accurate account of these islands, as if they had some maps of the world before them.

The efforts made by the Arabs to reach these islands and become familiar with the inhabitants are described in Buzurg bin *Shahryār*'s book '*Ajā'ib ul-Hind*. The Arabs called Java *زاغ* Sumatra *سرسبز* or *سومطره*, and the Japanese islands *واق واق*. They have described the manufactures, navigation and wooden houses, etc., of the Japanese people.

## PHILIPPINES

BUZURG bin *Shahryār* (300 A.H.) describes a volcanic island in the Chinese Sea, which must be the Philippines (*Ajā'ib ul-Hind*, p. 22). His description is not altogether reliable, but there is doubtless a volcanic island in the sea, which is the Philippines. It is well known that centuries before the coming of the Spaniards to these places, the Muslims had colonised them. It is said that they emigrated here from the Indian islands, after accepting Islam, and came here unceasingly till it was subjugated by the Spaniards.<sup>1</sup>

## AUSTRALIA

BUZURG bin *Shahryār* has described wonderful deeds of the sailor 'Abhara of Kirman in his work '*Ajā'ib ul-Hind*. This sailor visited China from the Persian Gulf regularly. He was the first mariner who dared to navigate the Chinese Sea until he reached what was probably an archipelago, where his ship sank, but he saved himself in a boat. He helped the other ships coming after him by unloading their cargo and merchandise, and thus led them safe to China through a desolate island (p. 88). Which was this island? Perhaps Australia.

## MADAGASCAR

TWO more islands are mentioned in this sea near Mozambique, one of which was called Qanbloo ( قنبلو ), the other Qumr ( قمر ). Most of the scholars took these two islands to be Madagascar but the fact is that Qanbloo is Madagascar, while Qumr is Comoro Island lying near Madagascar.

## THE ARAB GUIDE OF VASCO DA GAMA

IT is evident from the above details that the Arabs knew from very ancient days that a sea-route led to the Indian Ocean from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean *via* the African coast. Consequently, when the Turks subjugated Constantinople in 857 A.H. (1453 A.D.) and became the masters of the Mediterranean Sea, the Europeans had to discover a new route to the East. After destroying the supremacy of the Arabs in 897 A.H., the Spaniards and the Portuguese progressed by following in their footsteps, and so their bold pilots began to explore every corner of

1. Vide article on Philippines in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, Vol. XXI, p. 397.

the seas. Accordingly an enterprising Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, followed the route indicated by the Arabs, and from the shores of the western Africa he came to the Indian Ocean *via* the Atlantic and reached the coast of eastern Africa. The famous Arab sailor Aḥmad bin Mājid, who had made daring voyages in the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and had the greatest knowledge of the art and instruments of navigation, was also there. It is said by the Arabs that Aḥmad, getting intoxicated, led Vasco da Gama to India, where he anchored in Calicut (Madras) which was a big harbour for trade in spices. According to Europeans, Aḥmad did so for the sake of a reward.

That Vasco da Gama reached India with the help of an Arab sailor is corroborated by the Portuguese as well as the Arab authorities. The learned scholar of Gujrat Qutbuddīn of Nehrwalā, who was appointed secretary and teacher of a school in Mecca founded by the ruler of Gujrat, and is the author of a history of Mecca *الاعلام باعلام بيت الله الحرام* and a history of the Turkish conquest of Yemen ( *البرق الياى فى الفتح العثمانى* ), was living at that time. In both of his books he gives an account of the coming of the Portuguese into the Eastern Sea. In the history of Mecca, he deals briefly with the disorder created by the Portuguese in the ports of Arabia and India<sup>1</sup> but an elaborate description of their coming is found in his *البرق الياى*. He writes :

“One of the greatest events that happened in the 10th century A.H. is the coming of one of the European nations, *i.e.*, the Portuguese, to India. One group of such men sailed from Zagaq of Sabta, and passing through the Atlantic came to the mountain of Qumur, which is source of the river Nile. These sailors reached a point in the east which lies close to the coast in an isthmus having a mountain on one side and the Atlantic on the other. Such great waves beat here that the ships could not be controlled and were always wrecked. Although many lives were lost and no one reached the Indian Ocean, they continued to make this voyage. At last one of their ships happened to reach India, where they sought information of the Indian Ocean, and eventually one of the experienced mariners named Aḥmad bin Mājid became their guide. The chief of these Europeans called *ثملندى* kept him in his company, and they became boon companions. He (Aḥmad bin Mājid) told him that route in a fit of intoxication, warning him not to go near the coast, but to sail straight out to sea and then turn when the rough waters had been left behind. After giving this information he came to his senses. From this time a great many Portuguese

1. *برهانش خلاصة الاحكام* (دحلان) p. 166 *الاعلام باعلام بيت الله الحرام*.

2. In Portuguese it is called *امير البحر* and in Arabic *امير البحر*.

قال ابن خلدون فى مقدمته وسمى صاحبها (الاساطيل) فى عرفهم الملتد بتخيم اللام منقولاً من لغة الافرىج (باب قيادة الاساطيل).

ships came into the Indian Ocean and made Goa the centre of their naval enterprise."

The Portuguese historians, nay, one of the fellow-voyagers of Vasco da Gama gives an account of it. It has been described most elaborately by Baros, who says, "While Vasco da Gama was at Malindi, some *banyans* came to visit the Admiral. With them came a Moor (Muslim) of Gujrat called Maleno (Mu'allim) Can (Kanaka).<sup>1</sup> The latter, as much for the pleasure he took in the company of our men as to please the king (of Malindi,) who was looking for a pilot for the Portuguese, agreed to set out with them (to show them the route to India). After discoursing with him, Vasco da Gama was much satisfied with his knowledge, especially when the Moor had shown him a map of the whole coast of India, arranged as those of the Moors are with meridians and parallels (degrees of latitude and longitude) in great detail, without indicating the rhumbs of winds. As the squares (formed by the intersection) of these meridians and parallels were very small, (the direction of) the coast by the two rhumbs N.S. E.W. was very exact without the map being overloaded with the quantity (of signs indicating the direction) of the winds and the needle, as on our Portuguese map which served as a basis for the others. Vasco da Gama showed the Moor the great wooden astrolabe which he had with him and other astrolabes in metal, with which the altitude of the sun was taken. The Moor displayed no astonishment at seeing such instruments. He said the (Arab) pilots of the Red Sea used instruments of brass, triangular in form, and quadrants to take the height of the sun, and of the (Pole) star, which they used most in their navigation. But, he added, he and the sailors of Cambay and the whole of India sailed with (the help of) certain stars, southern as well as northern, and other notable stars which crossed the centre of the heavens from east to west. They did not take their altitude with instruments like those (that Vasco da Gama showed him) but with another which he used himself, and he brought it at once to show him. It was an instrument made of three plates. As we are dealing with the shape and method of using this instrument in our (*Geographia Universalis*, a work unfortunately now lost) in the chapter devoted to instruments of navigation, it is sufficient to mention here that the instrument in question is used by the Moors for the operation, for which we used in Portugal the instrument called by the sailors *Erbalestrillas*, which is also dealt with, along with its inventors, in the chapter just mentioned (of the *Geographia Universalis*). After this discourse and others which they had with this pilot, Vasco da Gama had the feeling that he had found a great treasure. In order not to lose him, he put to sea as soon as possible, and sailed for India on April 24, 1498."<sup>2</sup>

1. It is said that Kanaka is the Tamil pronunciation of a Sanskrit word, which means "an expert in naval mathematics." It is probable that Ahmad bin Mājid was known by this designation amongst the Gujratī *banyans*.

2. Vide article on Shihāb al-Din Ahmad b. Mājid, in *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

## EQUIPMENT AND IMPLEMENTS FOR NAVIGATION

THE foremost thing required in navigation is the chart. The Arab sailors sailed by the charts they had, gathering information of seas from their predecessors and confirming these maps by their experiences. Bashshārī Moqaddasī, living in the middle of the 4th century A.H., says in *Aḥsan-at Taqāsīm* that he saw a map on paper in the library of Samānide Amīr of Khorāsān and another on a cloth in Nishāpore in the possession of Abū'l-Qāsim bin Anmāṭī. He found maps in the libraries of 'Aḍu'd-Dawlah and Ṣahīb bin 'Abbād also. Each of them differed from the others. He writes : "I have travelled for two thousand furlongs in it, and wandered on the Arabian coast from the Mediterranean ( قلزم ) to 'Abbādān, besides those islands, where ships stopped to take water. I have met those old mariners, who were born and brought up in this sea. They were either captains, passenger stewards, mathematicians, agents or merchants. Their knowledge of the seas, harbours, winds and islands was more reliable than those of any other men, so I asked them of the sea and its boundaries, and argued with them. They had a large number of files and books, on which they relied, and they act according to the directions given in them. I copied many things from them and compared their maps with mine." (Leyden, p. 10). Ibn-Khaldūn says in his *Prolegomena*, "There are fixed laws for navigation, which are known to the sailors of the Mediterranean sea and its coast. These laws are written in a chart. The maps of the seas, countries lying on its coast, harbours, direction of wind and their zones are depicted in that chart, which is called compass. The sailors are guided by it in their voyages." (p. 45, Egypt edition).

It has been mentioned above that when Vasco da Gama met the Arab sailor on the northern coast of Africa, the latter showed him his maps, which described the Indian coasts and their respective distances after the manner of the Arabs.

Albuquerque, who was a Portuguese viceroy in India, had a naval map prepared by an Arab sailor named 'Umar, and kept it with him in the 'Umān Sea and the Persian Gulf (vide مجموعه مقتطف مسأله بالرواد, p. 46, Egypt edition). Aḥmad bin Mājīd also refers to naval map which he called (داه نامہ دہانی) guide of the passage). He writes that these were kept by the navigators in their voyages. The sailors of the Mediterranean Sea called them كمبراس (Compass). Ibn-Faḍlullāh 'Umarī (died in 749 A.H., 1348 A.D.) has recorded his investigation of the compass in his book مسالك الابصار في تمالك الامصار. Vol. II, Chapter I. The word كمبراس has been Arabicised from the Latin word *Campas*, and was probably borrowed from the Roman navigators. The sailors of the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf called this map (*Rahnāmah*).

## LIGHTHOUSES

NEXT to the map, minarets and lighthouses constructed near dangerous spots are important factors for those who sail the seas. The Arabs used minarets. *Bashshārī Moqaddasī* writes, "Long bars are planted in the sea. On them are the rooms where men are deputed to kindle lights in the nights, so that ships may keep at a distance." (p. 13 Leyden edition). The well-known lighthouse of Alexandria was kept intact in the times of the Arabs also. *Ya'qūbī* (277 A.H.) says, "One of the wonders of Alexandria is the minaret, which measures 175 hands and lies at the mouth of the great harbour. On the minaret are fire pans in which a fire is lit, when the watchman sees ships at a distance."<sup>1</sup> Marks were laid in the Persian Gulf by planting big bars in its bottom. *Mas'ūdī* writes in the course of the description of *خشب البصرة*. "These wooden poles are thrust into the sea, and are signs for ships indicating that there is a distance of three hundred furlongs from here to 'Umān."<sup>2</sup> *Nāṣir Khusrū* has probably described the same thing in his *Safar Nāmah*, when he passed through the Persian Gulf in about 445 A.H.<sup>3</sup>

## SHAPES OF THE STARS

ARABIA is a land of stone and sand, therefore the Arabs usually journeyed in the night because of the intense heat and torrid wind, and the stars of the sky were their only guides. The visibility in the desert is good, so they plotted their course in the unknown wastes by the stars. Even before the advent of Islam, they called stars after the names of countries, viz., *سَهيل يَمَانِي* (Canopus of Yemen), *شعري شامي* (Canis of Syria). They used the names of stars, viz. *قطبين* (Polar stars), *سَهيل* (Canopus), *فوقدين* (Lesser Bear), *شعري* (Canis), *بنات النعش* (Great Bear), and *ثريا* (Pleiades) in their verses in order to suggest time and directions. They found the position of different countries by the stars. Ample materials on Arab astrology can be had from *Mazrūqī's* book *الأزمنة والأمكنة* printed in Hyderabad, Deccan.

In the beginning the information was based on the observations and experiences of the Days of Ignorance, but later on the Arabs progressed in astronomy and astrology, and they used this knowledge in their voyage. Accordingly *Bashshārī Moqaddasī* in the middle of the fourth century mentions some mathematicians also who sailed with the Arab navigators. This indicates that Arab navigation had become a science in the 10th century A.D., the mathematicians pointing out direction by latitude, longitude and the stars.

1. *Kitāb-al-Buldān*, p. 338, Leyden.

2. Vol. I, p. 33, Paris editin,

3. Vide *Safar Nāmah*, p. 135, Berlin edition.



Ibn-Mājid of Najd, the famous sailor of the 9th century, gives in his *الفوائد في علوم اصول البحر والقواعد* a list of books which are necessary for expert navigators. Amongst them are books on geography, astronomy, latitude, longitude, and the shapes of stars. He refers especially to 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ṣūfi's book *صور الكواكب*. He says, "For the convenience of navigators I record here the names of important books, without which they cannot be well-versed in this art. These books are (1) *كتاب المبادئ والغايات مراكشي* (2) *كتاب التصاوير*, in which there are pictures and shapes of different stars with their respective distance, degree, longitude and latitude, (3) *كتاب الاختصار*, (4) *زيج بناني* (5) Ptolemy's *Almagest*, (6) *زيج ابن شاطر مصرى* (7) *زيج ابن شاطر مصرى* (8) Abū-Ḥanīfa Dīnawarī's book, (9) Ṭūsī's works, (10) *مزيل الارتباب عن مشتبه الانساب* by Abul-Mājd Ismā'il bin Ibrāhīm, (11) *كتاب المشترك* by Yāqūt Ḥamavī, (12) Ibn-Sa'īd Maghrabī's works, (13) *Geography* by Ibn-Ḥamavī (in which there are descriptions of rivers, seas, coasts, hills, canals, countries and towns). Some of these books describe gulfs, seas, canals and mountains, and some give longitude and latitude and others refer to the stars. I have read them all, and there are books on Roman months, as well as harvests and seasons of the year." (Abridged from *الفوائد*, p. 44).

The most useful stars to the Arabs were *شعري* (Canopus), *سهييل* (Canis called *تير* in Persian), *قطب* (Polar Star), *ثريا* (Pleiades), *فرقدین* (Lesser Bear), *ذئب* and *طائر*, *اکلیل*, *ساک* (Capella), *عیوق* (Great Bear), *بنات النعش* (Great Bear). And the useful Zodiacs for them were Aquarius, Pisces, Cancer, Aries or Ram, Gemini and other fixed planets. All of them served as their guides in the darkness of the night." (*الفوائد* p. 46).

The Arab navigators knew stars by astrolabes and other simple instruments. Besides this, they observed the stars by placing the palms of the hands on their eyebrows. The number of the fingers covering stars indicated the distance approximately. They wrote down these observations and learnt them by rote. Clever sailors used astrolabes also. Accordingly, the Arab guide of Vasco da Gama had a better astrolabe than those of the Portuguese, as has been already mentioned.

S. SULAIMĀN NADAVI.

(To be continued)

# THE FLIGHT OF JALĀL KHĀN NUḤĀNĪ TO THE KING OF BENGAL

THE chronology of the reign of Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh of Bengal is much confused and deserves closer and more careful investigation.

In the present paper an attempt is made to determine the date of the flight of Jalāl Khān Nuḥānī to the king of Bengal. Side by side with this it will also be seen whether Jalāl Khān after his breach with Shēr Khān Sūr joined Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh or took refuge with his successor Sultān Maḥmūd.<sup>1</sup>

'Abbās, followed by Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad and other Afghān historians,<sup>2</sup> simply says that Jalāl Khān Nuḥānī along with his nobles fled to the king of Bengal ( والى بنگال ), whose name he does not mention.

Firishtah is more definite and says that the Nuḥānī king took shelter with Sultān Maḥmūd, the ruler of Bengal and the successor of Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh.<sup>3</sup>

The authors of *Tārīkh-i-Manṣūrī*<sup>4</sup> and of *Riyāḍus-Salāṭīn*,<sup>5</sup> both of which deal with the history of Bengal, not only support Firishtah but also supplement him by saying that Nuṣrat Shāh was succeeded by 'Alāuddīn Firūz Shāh, who in his turn was succeeded by Sultān Maḥmūd. Let us therefore first of all ascertain the dates of the accession and death of Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh and his successors.

Firishtah and the author of *Riyāḍus-Salāṭīn* are not at all certain about the exact length of Nuṣrat Shāh's reign. They do not record the exact date of his accession but give 943 H. (1536-37 A.D.) as the date of his death. But this date cannot be accepted because it is not supported by epigraphic or numismatic evidence.

1. Dr. Qānūngo (*Shēr Shāh*, 92.) says that he fled to Maḥmūd Shāh, king of Bengal, while Mr. Erskine (*History of India*, 2 : 127) and Dr. S. K. Banerji (*Humāyūn Bādshāh*, 39) are inclined to think that he fled to Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī* by 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī, (abbreviated as 'Abbās). Allahabad University (A.U.) MS. 84 ff : Elliot 4, 338. Tab. Akb., Cal. text, 296 ; *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī*, A.U. MS. 158 ; Dorn 97.

3. *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah*, Lucknow text, 1, 2, 223-4.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Manṣūrī*, by 'Alī Bilgrāmī, R.A.S.B. MS. 81b ff.

5. Cal. text, 139.

Fortunately a number of inscriptions of Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh are extant. The earliest of these, which was found by General Cunningham on a mound near Sadi Pur, Sonar Gaon, is dated 929 H. (1522-23 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> Others belong to 930 H. (1523-24 A.D.),<sup>2</sup> 933 H. (1527 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> and 937 H. (1530-31 A.D.),<sup>4</sup> while the latest extant inscription, so far as is known, is dated 938 H. (1531-32 A.D.).<sup>5</sup>

After that year we have an inscription bearing the name of 'Alāuddīn Firūz Shāh, son of Nuṣrat Shāh, and the ruler of Bengal. It is dated "the first of the Blessed Month of Ramaḍān 939 H." (March 27, 1532 A.D.).<sup>6</sup> A coin of the same ruler, dated 939 H. (1532-33)<sup>7</sup> has also come down to us.

Thus there seems to be no doubt that 'Alāuddīn Firūz Shāh was on the throne of Bengal on Ramaḍān 1, 939 H., when Nuṣrat Shāh died. Since the author of *Riyāḍus-Salāṭīn* assigns only three months' reign to 'Alā'uddīn, it can be safely concluded that Nuṣrat Shāh cannot have died earlier than Jumādā-Awal 939 H. (Dec. 1532 A.D.). This is also indirectly borne out by Firishtah, who says that on hearing of the accession of Humāyūn and apprehensive of an invasion of Bengal, Nuṣrat Shāh sent his envoy Malik Murjān to Sultān Bahādur Shāh in the year 939 H.<sup>8</sup> Thus it is certain that Nuṣrat Shāh was alive in the year 939 H. (1532-33 A.D.).

Let us next determine the date of Shēr Khān's breach with the Nuḥānī ruler, Jalāl Khān. 'Abbās refers to the Nuḥānī ruler's flight to Bengal, and to the gains of Shēr Khān after his victory over the Nuḥānī and the Bengal forces, in these words:<sup>9</sup>

جلال خان گریخته نزد بادشاه بنگاله رفت . خزانه و فیل و حشم و توپخانه تمام بدست شیر خان آمد و از مذلت تیغ دیگران خلاص شده خود حاکم ملک چهارگشت .

which may be rendered into English as follows :—

"Jalāl Khān fled to the king of Bengal. The treasures, elephants and a train of artillery fell into his hands. He thus extricated himself from the control of others and became the master of South Bihar."

Later on, referring to the occasion when Shēr Khān had to join Sultān Maḥmūd Lōdī, 'Abbās says :—

"When the Sultān, having been joined by the said nobles with a large following, arrived in Bihar, Shēr Khān found it impossible

1. J. A. S. B., 1872, 337-38.

2. Ibid, 1873, 230.

3. Ibid., 1872, no. IV., 296.

4. Ibid., 338.

5. Ibid, 1874, no. III, 308.

6. Ibid., 1872, 332.

7. Ibid., 1875, 298.

8. Firishtah, Lucknow text, 1, 2.

9. 'Abbās, Allahabad University MS. 84.

to offer any resistance. He attended upon Sultān Maḥmūd. The Sultān portioned Bihar among the Afghans and promised Shēr Khān, 'after obtaining the country of Jaun Pur from the Mughals I will give back to you the province of Bihar which you have acquired after defeating the Bengal army.'"<sup>1</sup>

Nizāmuddīn, Firishtah and other Afghan historians also say the same.

The above extracts go to show that Jalāl Khān's flight from Bihar and Shēr Khān's victorious battle had concluded prior to Sultān Maḥmūd's campaign against Jaun Pur. We know that the Lōdī Sultān invaded Jaun Pur in 938-39 H. (1531-33 A.D.),<sup>2</sup> i.e., in the time of Nuṣrat Shāh. The flight of Jalāl Khān Nuḥānī to Bengal and Shēr Khān's victory over the king of Bengal therefore took place either in or before 938 H., i.e., in the life-time of Nuṣrat Shāh. But Jalāl Khān's flight cannot be said to have taken place prior to Ramaḍān 8, 935 H. (May 16, 1539 A.D.),<sup>3</sup> when, after defeating Sultān Maḥmūd in the battle of Ghogra, Bābar restored Bihar to Jalāl Khān Nuḥānī.

Thus Jalāl Khān's flight to the king of Bengal and Shēr Khān's victory over both of them took place between Ramaḍān 8, 935 H. and 938 H., i.e., during the reign of Nuṣrat Shāh.

R. S. AVASTHY.

1. Tab. Akb., Cal. text 97-8; Dorn 102; *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī*, A.U.M.S. 160 ff.

2. Jauhar, Allahabad University MS. 6; Stewart 3; *Gulbadan* text 27; *Akbar Nāma*, Cal. text I, 124. Firishtah, Lucknow text I, 2, 213.

3. *Memoirs*, 6767.

# IBN-ABĪ-'AUN

## A LITTERATEUR OF THE THIRD CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

IN the introduction to my critical edition of the *Kitāb al-Tashbihāt*,<sup>2</sup> I have pointed out that the personality of the author of *Kitāb al-Tashbihāt* is not recognizable owing to the ambiguous references of his bibliographers.<sup>3</sup> Further investigation of the life of the author has revealed certain hidden facts in his career. This new material deserves consideration by students of Arabic literature, as it is a definite improvement on what I have already written in this connection and enables us to give a proper place to Ibn-Abī-'Aun among his contemporaries.

The difficulty in recognizing the true person of Ibn-Abī-'Aun is mainly due to two causes. The first cause is that the earliest sources dealing with the life of Ibn-Abī-'Aun are not many. The first account of Ibn-Abī-'Aun is found in *al-Fihrist*,<sup>4</sup> which was written 54 years after Ibn-Abī-'Aun had been killed. It is probably from this source alone that Yāqūt al-Rūmiy,<sup>5</sup> al-Baghdādiy<sup>6</sup> and Ibn-al-Athīr have obtained their information about the life of the author of *Kitāb al-Tashbihāt*.<sup>7</sup> As Ibn-al-Nadīm's (died 385 A.H.) reference to Ibn-Abī-'Aun is rather confused, one naturally seeks for other contemporary sources to corroborate the statement of Ibn-al-Nadīm. The only other contemporary source is the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abu'l-Faraj (died 356 H.), who mentions a certain Ibn-Abī-'Aun in the following words:—

قال كان حماد عجرد يعاشر ابا عون جد ابن ابي عون العابد وكان ينزل الكرخ وكان عجرد  
إذا قدم بغداد زاره الخ

He says that Hammād-u'Ajrad (died 167 H.) used to court the society of Abū-'Aun, who was the grandfather of the ascetic Ibn-

1. Georg Zaiden in his *History of Arabic Literature* mentions Ibn-Abī-'Aun among the scholars of the 2nd century, but almost all chroniclers have recorded his life in the events of the 3rd century.

2. This is a dissertation submitted to the University of Cambridge for the Doctor's Degree. It is now in the hands of the Gibb Memorial Trustees, who have kindly undertaken to publish it.

3. See Introduction to *Kitāb al-Tashbihāt*, MS. pp. 11-12.

4. *Al-Fihrist*, Flügel edition, p. 147.

5. Yāqūt's *Dictionary of Learned Men* (1907), Vol. I, p. 296.

6. *Al-Farq Bain al-Firāq* of al-Baghdādī.

7. The author of *Mu'jam al-Muṣannifin* has simply copied the above-mentioned sources. The text is full of mistakes. Brockelmann has also added nothing new to Yāqūt's biography of Ibn-Abī-'Aun.

Abī-'Aun, and that 'Ajrad alighted at the place of al-Karkh and visited him (Abū-'Aun) whenever he came to Baghdād.

This Abū-'Aun may have been some ancestor of the author of *Kitāb al-Tashbihāt*, but he was not the immediate grandfather of Ibn-Abī-'Aun, because this Abū-'Aun was a companion of Hammād-u-'Ajrad, who died in 167 H.<sup>1</sup> It is also possible that this Abū-'Aun had no connection at all with the tribe of the author of *Kitāb al-Tashbihāt*, as the real name of this Abū-'Aun is said to be Nāfi' ibn 'Aun ibn al-Muq'ad, which is different from Abū-'Aun Aḥmad ibn Hilāl abī al-Najm, who was the immediate grandfather of our author.<sup>2</sup>

The second difficulty is that the surname of Ibn-Abī-'Aun in the manuscripts of his own works is given in various forms. The scribe of the earliest manuscript<sup>3</sup> of *Kitāb al-Tashbihāt* mentions that Ibn-Abī-'Aun is also known by the name of Abū-'Aun, while in all other manuscripts and bibliographies his surname is said to be Abū-Ishāq. In the *Kitāb al-Farq* of al-Baghdādi (died 429 H.) his surname is written Abū-'Imrān. This is probably a misprint for Abū-'Amr or Abū-'Aun. Similarly, Ibn-al-Nadīm traces Ibn-Abī-'Aun's descent to Abū-'Aun Aḥmad ibn al-Munajjim, while Yāqūt describes the lineage as Ibrāhīm son of Moḥammad son of Aḥmad Abī-'Aun. This shows that Yāqūt has inserted one more link between Ibrāhīm ibn Abī-'Aun and his grandfather Abū-'Aun Aḥmad. This genealogy is corroborated by the fact that this very line of forefathers has been assigned in the MS. of Ibn-Abī-'Aun's work, *أبوالاداب في رد جواب ذوى الالباب*<sup>4</sup> and in the *Kitāb al-Farq* of al-Baghdādī, who died in 429. It therefore leads us to say that Yāqūt's mention of Ibn-Abī-'Aun's genealogy is more correct than that of Ibn-al-Nadīm. Thus we conclude that Abū-'Aun, by whose name the author of *Kitāb al-Tashbihāt* is known was the grandfather and Moḥammad ibn Abī-'Aun the father of our author.

Nothing is mentioned of this Moḥammad ibn Abī-'Aun (our author's father) in the sources which deal with the life of the author of *Kitāb al-Tashbihāt*. Only in the history of al-Ṭabarī we find mention of a certain Moḥammad ibn Abī-'Aun,<sup>5</sup> who was originally connected with the court of Moḥammad ibn 'Abdullah ibn Ṭāhir and was then raised to the status of a general<sup>6</sup> and governor of Wāsiṭ in the reign of al-Mu'tazz (255 H.). We have no definite proof to show that he was the same Moḥammad ibn Abī-'Aun who was the father of the author of *Kitāb al-*

1. See *al-Aghānī*, Vol. XII, p. 82-92.

2. Similarly Abū-Bakr Moḥammad b. Abī-'Aun (died 249 H.) and Moḥd. b. Aḥmad b. Abdallāh ibn Abī-'Aun (died 313) are also mentioned in *Tārīkh-u Baghdād*. They are obviously other than our author.

3. The MS. of *Kitāb al-Tashbihāt* which is preserved in the Library of Shaikh al-Islām at al-Madīnah was written in 466 H.

4. This MS. is preserved in Berlin State Library. See *Bibl.*, Sprenger, no. 1205.

5. *Al-Ṭabarī*, Year 251, pp. 1544, 1556, 1573, 1590, 1630, 1637.

6. *Al-Ṭabarī*, Year 252, pp. 1658 and Year 255, pp. 1746, 1751, 1757.

*Taṣhbihāt*, but it will not be far from the truth if he is stated to have been the same person, since he lived in the very age in which Ibn-Abī-'Aun's father should have flourished (251-255).

Moreover, some of his characteristics correspond to those of the members of Ibn-Abī-'Aun's family. Ibn-Abī-'Aun's family is famous for having produced many poets and able secretaries (كتاب جمع كاتب). Ibn-Abī-'Aun's grandfather, Abū-'Aun, and his uncles, Ṣāliḥ and Mājid, were famous poets. Ibn-Abū-'Aun, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather, Hilāl, were all well-known secretaries. The above-mentioned characteristics are noticed in the person of this Moḥammad ibn Abī-'Aun also. He first served Moḥammad ibn 'Abdullah ibn Ṭāhir as a chamberlain and then became general just as Ibn-Abī-'Aun first served as a secretary and performed the duties of a general under the command of Abul-Haiṭham al-'Abbās ibn Moḥammad ibn Ṭhawāba. Further, al-Marzubānī<sup>1</sup> mentions that Moḥammad ibn Abī-'Aun, the chamberlain of Moḥammad ibn 'Abdullah ibn Ṭāhir, sent flowers from his garden along with his verses to Ibn al-Rūmī.<sup>2</sup> This shows that this Moḥammad ibn Abī-'Aun was also as good a poet as other members of his family. In any case, chroniclers are reticent about him.

On the other hand, a fairly good account of Ibn-Abī-'Aun's grandfather is available. Ibn-Abī-'Aun's grandfather is said to have been master of Muslim scholasticism and an able author of many works in philosophy.<sup>3</sup> Although he is said to have been a poet,<sup>4</sup> yet there existed some doubt as to the authorship of the verses found in the *Kitāb al-Taṣhbihāt* and other anthologies, as they were sometimes ascribed to his grandson Ibn-Abī-'Aun. But certain facts enable me to assert that the verses which are ascribed to Ibn-Abī-'Aun definitely belong to his grandfather. The facts are that Yāqūt in his biography of Ibn-Abī-'Aun mentions that Abū-'Aun<sup>5</sup> (grandfather of our author) was a contemporary of the poet Abū-Ṣhibl Āṣim ibn al-Wahb al-Burjumī,<sup>6</sup> who was a court-poet of 'Ubaidullah ibn Khāqān.<sup>7</sup> Since Ibn Khāqān was vizier of al-Mutawakkil, we conclude that Abū-'Aun, a contemporary poet of al-Burjumī, must have flourished in the reign of al-Mutawakkil alone. This is further confirmed by an anecdote of al-Tanūkhīy. In the Table-Talk of this Mesopotamian judge it is recorded that al-Mutawakkil loved to see yellow colour all around whenever he sat down to drink wine. For him therefore a pavilion of sandalwood was erected on a fountain inlaid with gems, and saffron was dissolved in the water in order to make

1. *Al-Muwashṣhah*, p. 349.

2. The verses are quoted in my Introduction to *Kitāb al-Taṣhbihāt*, MS. p. 15.

3. See *al-Fihrist*, Cairo edition, p. 211.

4. Yāqūt's *Dictionary of Learned Men*, Vol. I, p. 287.

5. *Diwān al-Ma'ānī*, Vol. I, p. 328; *Nihāyat al-'Arab*, Vol. I, p. V, 9. *Kitāb al-Taṣhbihāt*, MS. p. 165 (Taimūriya Library).

6. See Yāqūt's *Dictionary of Learned Men*, Vol. I, p. 296.

7. *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (Nishwar al-Muḥādarah), ed. by Margoliouth, Vol. I, p. 12-13.

it of orange colour. The pavilion was decorated with gold and carpeted with yellow silk. Al-Mutawakkil was served with wine of a golden colour while citrons were placed before him in golden trays. All the maid-servants attired themselves in yellow dresses.<sup>1</sup> This love of al-Mutawakkil for yellow is vividly depicted by Abū-'Aun in the following verses which describe the famous fountain of al-Mutawakkil :

قال ابو عون الكاتب (المنسرح)<sup>2</sup>

برلة هو فد شادها ملك      تظل ارجاؤها به تزهر  
فصفرة التبر في مجالسها      الى وميض اللجين و المرمر  
كوجه عذراء داعها خجل      فخذها في بياضه احمر  
طمت فظلت تقتر عن زبد      كدر عقد من سلكه ينثر  
ثم افاضت على الرياض كما      تفيض بالجوود راحتا جعفر  
كأنها حين تستقي ثم تس      في الروض من صوب دجلة الاغزدر  
شرب اضافتهم الكروم فهم      ابناء اعنابها التي تعصر

It is now obvious that the author of the above verses must have lived in the reign of al-Mutawakkil;<sup>3</sup> otherwise the poet would have not addressed Ja'far al-Mutawakkil in the present tense, as he does in the following hemistich تفيض بالجود راحتا جعفر. Since Ibn-Abī-'Aun (who was hanged in 322) cannot be supposed to have been old enough to recite the above verses in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, they should naturally belong to his grandfather.

We therefore reach the conclusion that Abū-'Aun, the grandfather of Ibn-Abī-'Aun, was the panegyrist of al-Mutawakkil (232-247). Since al-Buḥturīy (282 H.) has also described the fountain of al-Mutawakkil, we are better able to compare the poetry of Abū-'Aun with that of al-Buḥturīy. It will be beyond the range of this enquiry to take up the question of comparing the two poets in detail. But this much is obvious, that in the fluency of the language and beauty of the similes the verses of Abū-'Aun can easily vie with those of al-Buḥturīy. The standard of Abū-'Aun's poetry can be further estimated by the fact that many grammarians have quoted his lines as examples of certain forms of rhetoric.<sup>4</sup>

In the *Kitāb al-Taṣḥībīhāt* also there are many verses of Abī-'Aun which indicate his aptitude for original conception and poetic thought.<sup>5</sup>

1. See *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, Vol. I, p. 146.

2. See *Kitāb al-Taṣḥībīhāt*, (MS. Taimūriya Library, Cairo), p. 109.

3. See *Dawān al-Buḥturīy*, Vol. I, p. 17.

4. See my Introduction to the *Kitāb al-Taṣḥībīhāt* (MS. p. 15) *al-'Umdah*, Vol. I, p. 205.

5. Another line of Abū-'Aun (i.e., تشبه دينا رأ على درهم) is also mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Miḥlat*, p. 184.





It is well known that Ibn-Abī-'Aun, like his forefathers, was a secretary.<sup>1</sup> He may have acquired this position as a hereditary profession, but we have no information to show whose secretary he was. He, however, seems to have been in touch with the court of Baghdād, as on one occasion he appeared there in the capacity of a general<sup>2</sup> of Abul-Haiṭham 'Abbās ibn Moḥammad ibn Thawāba, who was later on imprisoned in Maṣīl by Furāt and released by Khāqānī,<sup>3</sup> and then tried to make himself vizier and was tortured by 'Alī ibn 'Isā.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Ibn-Abī-'Aun is known to have been one of the adherents of Ibn-Abī-'Azāqir al-Shalmaghānī<sup>5</sup>—a man who claimed that deity abode in him. This Shalmaghānī moved in the circle of viziers and exercised considerable influence therein. We are told that al-Shalmaghānī was extremely intimate with Hāmid ibn 'Abbās, who, when he became vizier, took him to Baghdād, would take his advice on important matters, and employed him as intermediary in great affairs.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, al-Shalmaghānī was favoured by Muḥassin ibn al-Furāt, vizier of al-Muqtadir. When Muḥassin came into power, he also employed al-Shalmaghānī as his agent.<sup>7</sup> Miskawaihi, further, records that al-Shalmaghānī "had a friend from Baṣrah<sup>8</sup> known to be his associate and ready to shed blood." To this Baṣrian friend of Ibn-Abī-al-'Azāqir, Muḥassin delivered a number of persons to exact from them the arrears of their fines. Here Miskawaihi is probably referring to the famous associate of al-Shalmaghānī, Ibn-Abī-'Aun, who suffered martyrdom for his belief in al-Shalmaghānī. If the above conjecture is correct, then Ibn-Abī-'Aun seems to have been one of the agents of the court intriguers, since a rivalry among the viziers of al-Muqtadir (Hāmid ibn al-'Abbās, Ibn al-Furāt, 'Alī Ibn 'Isa) was going on.<sup>9</sup> It is therefore not improbable that al-Shalmaghānī and Ibn-Abī-'Aun were both killed for some political reason or other. This suspicion, moreover, finds its echo in Ibn-Khallikān, who says that Hallāj, al-Jannābiy and al-Shalmaghānī were revolutionaries and aimed at the dismemberment of the Empire.<sup>10</sup> But all bibliographers are unanimous in repudiating both our author and his leader al-Shalmaghānī as heretics. Both of them are said to have been hanged for their heresy in 322 H. In view of the definite evidence of Ibn-al-Nadīm (385), al-Baghdādī (429), Ibn al-Athīr (630), Yāqūt (626), and others, none can venture to doubt the authenticity of the statement that al-Shalmaghānī and his associate Ibn-Abī-'Aun were hanged, but it is

1. Yāqūt's *Dictionary of Learned Men*, Vol. I, p. 296.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 287.

3. *Tajārib-al-Umam*, Vol. I, p. 22.

4. *Ibid.*, 24 and 27.

5. See Yāqūt's *Dictionary of Learned Men*, Vol. I, p. 296.

6. *The Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, parts II and VIII, p. 207.

7. *Tajārib al-Umam*, Vol. I, p. 123.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Yāqūt's *Dictionary*, Vol. I, p. 297 and *al-Fihrist* (Cairo edition, p. 211).

10. Ibn-Khallikān, *Wüstenfeld*, Vol. I, p. 122.

surprising to note that Ibn-al-Nadīm's contemporary the scholar al-Tanūkhīy (384)—is not only silent about this capital punishment in his time but presents al-Shalmaghānīy as a god-fearing man who disliked a bad reputation. Al-Shalmaghānīy's firmness of character and love for right and justice can be ascertained by the following speech which he delivered when Hāmid (vizier of al-Muqtadir) refused his intercession for lenient treatment on behalf of Muḥassin ibn al-Furāt, who was going to be tortured by Hāmid.

Hāmid said to him (al-Shalmaghānīy): 'Abū Ja'far, is it due to the friendship which I have shown you that you should be so loyal to my enemies and leave my room when you see that I am about to chastise them? He said: Does the vizier mean to judge justly or merely bid me approve?' He said: 'I will hear and judge justly.' He said: 'Vizier! This is a man whose cause I pleaded with you. Suppose he had been a green-grocer, not the son of a vizier, whose rank you know and must respect, it would have been improper for you to refuse my request on his behalf, and, if you did refuse, to force me to remain seated and witness the ill-treatment of a man for whom I had interceded. Further, you are aware that fortune changes, and this act of yours may have a consequence from which may God protect you! Supposing that consequence comes about, what harm will accrue to you from my life being safe and my fortune secure from the mischief these men may do? From their being unable to say presently: It was because you despised us and would not intercede for us; had he (meaning me) acted like a friend, the vizier who was so intimate with him would not have refused him. He can only have remained seated to witness our cuffing in order to gratify his spite. What, further, could be better for you than that your staff and your chosen friends and associates should have good qualities and dislike of evil ascribed to them, so that people might say: Were he not a good man, he would not have chosen good men as his associates? He must have been driven to this action by anger and need of money, but otherwise his nature is kindly and that is his dominant quality,—rather than that they should say: being bad man he has gathered bad men around him. You may be sure that when I left your assembly, I had made up my mind that you would ruin me; I was aware that I had committed a breach of etiquette, and was not sure but that you would ruin me at once. But I said to myself: I will follow the right and abide by sound reasoning and prudence, even if I am to suffer. If I escape, it will be by the favour of God: if I perish, God will deliver me.'<sup>1</sup>

An analysis of the above speech will show that al-Shalmaghānīy believed in Almighty God, fate, right and justice. He followed these principles

1. *The Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, parts II and VII, p. 208.

so strictly that he did not hesitate even to risk his life in abiding by these articles of his faith, which are no other than the pure and simple tenets of Islam. Al-Shalmaghānī himself confessed his faith in Islam<sup>1</sup> when he was arrested by Ibn-Muqlah for being a known pantheist like Hallāj. But his associate Ibn-Abī-'Aun is said to have professed his faith in al-Shalmaghānīy and addressed him as 'my God,' 'my Providence.' But it is worth noticing that this important event and the martyrdom of Ibn-Abī-'Aun find no mention in the works of al-Tanūkhīy (384), Ibn-Miskawaihi (421), al-Tha'libīy (429), and Ibn-al-Jauziy (597), although they refer to al-Shalmaghānīy. Moreover, out of many works<sup>2</sup> written by Ibn-Abī-'Aun, only three are extant. Two of these MSS. I have been able to examine, and therefore I can say that there is nothing in them to support the so-called heretical tendencies of Ibn-Abī-'Aun. On the other hand, he begins his *Kitāb al-Tashbihāt* by a supplication to God for His help and guidance, and uses in the text pious expressions such as :

(١) بالله الحول والقوة .

(٢) نبتدى على اسم الله بتشبيهات خالق الاشياء جل و عز فى كتابه انه كان ا لمل شاهد و اوضح حجة الخ .

(٣) و بالله نستعين على كل مطلوب .

Similarly he begins his introduction of *Lubb al-Ādāb* with a bold assertion of the unity of God in the following words : بقى بالله وحده and ends it with this due homage to the Creator :—

و بالله الحول والقوة وهو حسبنا و نعم الوكيل .

In quoting the above, it is not however my intention to refute the statements of all the historians who have claimed that Ibn-Abī-'Aun was hanged along with his leader al-Shalmaghānī. I am only trying to point out that above-mentioned political circumstances in which both these scholars were involved might have been one of the factors which led them to this calamity.

This conjecture is further strengthened when we see that not only is the statement of Ibn-al-Nadīm regarding the genealogy of Ibn-Abī-'Aun ambiguous, but his reference to the scholarship of Ibn-Abī-'Aun is also contradictory in terms. Ibn-al-Nadīm says that Ibn-Abī-'Aun was a

1. Ibn-Khallikān, Vol. I, Wüstenfeld, p. 129 and Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. VIII, p. 101 and *Duwal al-Islam*, Vol. I, p. 154.

2. His works are said to be as follows :—

*Kitāb al Nawāhī'l Buldīn* ; *Kitāb Bait al-Malassurūr*, *Kitāb al-Rasā'il* ; and the books which have been preserved are *Kitāb al-Tashbihāt*, (MS. in Cairo and Madina), *Kitāb Jawābāt-e-dhawī-al-Albīb*, (MS. Berlin) *Kitāb Jawābāt-e-Muskith* (Istanbul).

ittérateur, author of many books and at the same time crack-brained<sup>1</sup> It is not understandable how a crazy man was able to write such scholarly works as *Lubb al-Ādāb fī Radd-i-Jawābāt-i-dhawī al-Albāb*, *Jawābāt-i-Muskītah* and *Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt*, works which unequivocally manifest the deep study and sound judgement of their author. In the *Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt* our author has collected 1741 unique similes from about 476 poets. And this work is not a mere collection of choice verses, like *Dīwān al-Ma'ānī*, *Majmū'āt al-Ma'ānī*, *Hamāsa*, etc., but contains the methodical criticism of the author. To add to the above, the extent of Ibn-Abī-'Aun's erudition can be further learned from his book *Lubb al-Ādāb*, which is a fine compilation of the witty retorts of the various classes of society. As this work reflects on some tendencies of the author, I give below an outline of *Lubb al-Ādāb* and some selected pieces from the same work, in order to furnish the reader with an idea of his style in writing.

The book is divided into the following chapters :—

Retorts of the littérateurs	(١) جوابات ذوى الاداب
Serious retorts	(٢) الجوابات الجديه
Retorts full of thought and wisdom	(٣) جوابات الفكر والحكمة
Retorts of ascetics	(٤) جوابات الزهاد
Retorts of Muslim theologians	(٥) جوابات المتكلمين
Retorts of Bedouins	(٦) جوابات الاعراب
Retorts of women	(٧) جوابات النساء
Retorts of the criminals	(٨) جوابات المذنبين
Humorous retorts	(٩) جوابات هزلية

Some lines at the beginning of the MS. are missing. The remaining text of the introduction runs as follows :—

.....بقى بالله وحده ..... من العمل واعانك ..... شاهد  
 لك وغير حجة ..... اعزك الله استحسانك ..... لجواب اذا كانت الاصابة فيه  
 والحجة معه والبلاغة ..... والايجاز قصد صاحبه ..... ولعمري  
 لقد استحسنتم مايفضل به اهل البلاغة ويسبق الى البديهة به اهل الذكاء والفتنة وقرب الماخذ في  
 الاحتجاج على الخصم وابقاع الجواب على المبتدى بالسؤال و افحام المشاغب عن معارضة بالحجاج  
 وخاصة اذا طبق الجواب والمعنى واغنى عن الاعداد كان الابتداء والجواب كالمثاقفة بالالة  
 والحمل في المعركة ..... (وأخر هذا الباب) وقد اثبت لك ابقاك الله من الجوابات  
 القاطعة للابتدآت والابتدآت المفحمة عن الجوابات مافيه لك كفاية ومتعة وتادب ورياضة وجعلت

ذلك ابوابا لثلاث يختلط الجدي فيه بالهزل والواعظ بالمضحك والركين بالركيك و اذا وعيت ذلك حفظاً و وثبتت فيها نبذت اليك بقطعة اخرى و بالله الحول والقوة وهو حسبنا و نعم الوكيل .

Here are some of the extracts of the book :

من الجوابات الجدية

سأل معاوية الاحنف عن الزمان فقال انت الزمان فان صلحت صلح و ان فسدت فسد الخ

ترك الجواب جواب

و قال رجل للحسن البصرى انا ازهد منك وافصح قال اما افصح فلا، قال فخذ على كلمة واحدة قال هذه الخ

جزء من جوابات الفلاسفة والحكماء

قيل لفيلسوف ألا تنظر فعمض عينيه . قيل له الاتسمع فسد اذنه قيل له الاتكلم فوضع يده على فمه قيل له الا تعلم قال لا اقدر الخ . قيل لبعض الحكماء الا تخوض معنا فى الحديث فقال الحظ للمرء فى اذنه و الحظ لغيره فى لسانه .

و من جوابات الزهاد

قيل لعابد فلان رجع عن القراءة فقال دعوه فانه لا يرجع الى شى احلى من طاعة الله و القرآن . قيل لزاهد حضرته الوفاة كيف تجدك قال اجدنى لم ارض حياتى لموتى الخ

و من جوابات المتكلمين

دخل هشام بن الحكم على بعض الهاشميين . فقال رجل للعباسى : انا اقرر هشاما بان علياً كان ظالماً فقال ان فعلت فلك كذا وكذا فقال : يا ابا محمد علمت ان عليا نازع العباس الى ابي بكر . قال نعم ، قال فايها كان الظالم لصاحبه ؟ فتوقف هشام وخاف ان يقول العباس او يقول على فنقض اصله فقال له : لم يكن فيها ظالم ، قال فتختصم اثنان فى امر و هما جميعا متفقان قال نعم ، اختصم الملكان الى داود وليس فيها ظالم و انما اراد ان ينهاء عن ظلمه فكذلك اختصم هذان الى ابي بكر الخ

و من اجوبة الاعراب

قال هشام بن عبد الملك يوما : من يسبنى ولا يفحش هذا المطرف له ! فقال اعرابى الفه يا احوال قال خذ فانك الله الخ

من اجوبة النساء

قيل لابنة الزبير مابالك اذا قدم زوجك كنت من اهزل ماتكونين فقالت ما قبح بالمرأة ان تضاجع زوجها بمل بطنها الخ

من جوابات المذنبين و المخلصين

قال الجاحظ حدثنا ابراهيم النظام ان امراة مديني قالت لزوجها احفظ صحبة ثلثين سنة  
فقال و الله مادهاك عندى غيره الخ

من الجوابات الهزلية

قال ابو حنيفة (؟) جاز بي نساج فقلت له بنى حائك قال فاردته صرفيا الخ

سرق حماد ابى العيناء فقال له عبيد الله بن سليمان لم تخلفت عنا قال سرق حمادى قال وكيف فقال

لم اكن مع اللص فاخبرك قال فالاجئت على غيره قال كرهت ذلة المكارى و منة العوارى الخ

A careful perusal of the above extracts will show that Ibn-Abī-'Aun must have read much about the life and work of the philosophers, mystics and men of letters whose retorts he has collected. The extracts also give us an idea of the taste which was working behind this selection. Of course, the style of writing shows that Ibn-Abī-'Aun contributed nothing new to the prose style of his day. He followed the style of al-Jāhiz (255 H.) both in the introduction to *Kitāb al-Taṣḥbīhāt* and in *Lubb al-Ādāb* and followed it in a manner which seems to have been natural to him. In short, apart from this internal evidence, scholars have also openly declared that Ibn-Abī-'Aun was one of the scholars and chiefs of the class of the secretaries<sup>1</sup> وابن ابى عون احد رؤساء الكتاب و علما لهم. Even a contemporary author—Abū-Sa'd Naṣr ibn Ya'qūb—makes mention of Ibn-Abī-'Aun along with Hamza ibn al-Ḥasan and says that he is one of the two leading Sheikhs, and an honoured man<sup>2</sup> of distinct ability. If Ibn-Abī-'Aun was regarded as one of the best men of letters in his own time, there is no reason why we should not give him the same position to-day.

MOHD. 'ABDUL-MU'ID KHĀN.

[ 1. *Duwal al-Islam*, Vol. I, p. 154.

2. و هذان شيخان مقدمان و فحلان مقرمان . See *Yatima*, Vol. IV, p. 274.

# CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

(Continued)

## گزیدن (guzīdan)

برگزیدن : “ To distinguish.” (M., II, 380).

شیخ راند اندر میان کودکان      بانگ زد بار دگر او را جوان  
که بیا آخر بگو تفسیر این      این زنان سه نوع گفתי برگزین

The Shaikh rode among the children, (but) the young man again called to him,

Saying, “ Come, pray expound this. You say women (are of) three kinds : distinguish (between them).”

——“ To separate, pick out, assort.” (M., II, 56).

گر در آمیزد عدس با شکرش      بر گزیند یک یک از یکدیگرش

If lentile should get mixed with their pieces of sugar, they separate them from each other one by one.

## گزین

گزین : “ Excellent,” or “ more excellent.” (M., II, 169).

هم بصورت دست و پا و پشم تو      هست صد چندانکه نقش چشم تو  
لیک پوشیده نباشد بر تو این      کز همه اعضا دو چشم آمد گزین

Also your hands, feet and hair, as to form, are a hundred times as great as the form, your eyes.

But this fact is not concealed from you that your two eyes are more excellent than all your members.

گزین کردن (with از) : “ To prefer ” (to). (Sh. N., IV, 1735).

بدو ده همه گنج نابرده دنج      تو جان برادر گزین کن ز گنج



Give him treasure untrammelled by toil; prefer the life of your brother to treasure.

[The adviser of Gau is speaking to him about his rebellious half-brother Ṭalḥand].

—“To choose, select.” (Sh. N., IV, 1735).

ز درد برادر پر از آب روی      گزین کرد نیک اختری چرب گوی  
بدو گفت رو سوی طلحد شو      بگویش که پر درد و زنجست گو

With face bathed in tears in trouble at his brother, he selected a man of happy fortune, a fluent speaker.

He said to him, “Go, approach Ṭalḥand and tell him Gau is full of trouble and pain.”

#### گستاخ

“To make easy, to put at one's ease.” (Sh. N., II, 527).

بدو گفت کیخسرو ای شیرفش      روان را ز سوگند یزدان مکس  
کنون دل بسوگند گستاخ کن      بخنجر و را گوش سوراخ کن

Kai-Khusrau said to him, “O lion-like man, do not despair at your oath to God.

Make your mind easy now as to your oath, pierce his ear with your dagger.”

[Giv has sworn to shed the blood of Pīrān, the wazīr of Afrāsiyāb, and Prince Kai-Khusrau releases him from the oath by the above device].

#### گسسته

“Discontinued.” (Sh. N., III, 1506).

بت آرای بیند چو ایشان بچین      گسسته شود بر بتان آفرین

If an idolater should see (beauties) like them in China, (his) praise of idols would be discontinued.

“Devoid of intelligence.” (Sh. N., II, 530).

بدو گفت گیو ای گسسته خرد      سخن زین نشان خود کی اندر خورد

Giv said to him, “O you devoid of intelligence, how can words of this nature be fitting?”

کَش (gash) : "Elated." See کش.

گَشی (gashī) : "Elation." See کشی.

کَشی کردن : "To be elated." See کشی کردن.

گَشتن (gashtan)

گَشتن : "To have passed, to be over." (Sh. N., I, 366).

مرا نَفت تاین از پدر یادگار      بدار و بین تا کی آید بکار  
کنون کارگر شد نه پیگار گشت      پسر پیش چشم پدر خوار گشت

She said to me, "Keep this as a token and memorial of your father, and see when it will be effective."

It has now become effective when the fight is over, and the son has been held as naught by his father.

[Suhrāb is speaking to Rustam, after being mortally wounded by him, of a token by which he might have recognized him had it not been shown too late].

—(with به) : "To be changed" (into), "to turn" (to). (Sh. N., IV, 1842).

همه رنج او سر بسر باد گشت      همه داد و دانش به بیداد گشت

All his toil has been entirely nullified : all his justice and sense have turned to injustice.

[Hurmuzd is speaking of his rebellious general Bahrām-e Chūbīn].

باز گشتن (with به) : "To be referred" (to), "to be committed (to) the charge" (of). (Sh. N., IV, 1808).

بدو گفت سالار لشکر توئی      بتو باز گردد بد و نیکوئی

(Hurmuzd) said to (Bahrām-e Chūbīn), "You are the general of the army : all things are committed to your charge."

—"To hold back, to keep away." (v. neuter). (Sh. N., IV, 1770).

چو هنگامه رفتن آید فراز      زمانه نگردد به پرهیز باز

When the time of departure comes upon us, death does not hold back for (any) regimen.

—(with سوی) : "To be reconciled" (with). (Sh. N., I, 422).

وگر باز گردد سوی شهر یار      ترا برتری باشد از روزگار

And if (Siyāvash) becomes reconciled with the King (of Persia), your exaltitude will be enhanced by Fortune.

[The above, however, may be intended literally : “And if Siyāvash return to the King.”]

گشن (gushn)

گشن کردن : “To impregnate.” (Sh. N., I, 317).

شنیدم که چل مادیان گشن کرد یکی تخم برداشت از وی بدرد

I have heard that (the stallion) impregnated forty mares, and that (but) one conceived from him with difficulty.

گفتار

گفتاری : “Verbal,” almost “controversial (as کلامی) . (M., II, 383).

علم گفتاری که آن بیجان بود عاشق روی خریداران بود  
گرچه باشد وقت بحث علم زفت چون خریدارش نباشد مرد و دفت

Verbal and controversial knowledge, which is without life and soul, is a lover of the faces of customers.

Though it be vigorous and full at the time of the learned debate, when it has no customers it is as dead and gone.

[i.e., the knowledge of God is a subject of the heart and soul, and cannot be gained by learned discussion].

گفت

گفتی (guftī, archaic guftē) : “Any speech.” (M., II, 132).

ماجرای بلبل و گل گوش داد گر چه گفتی نیست آنجا آشکار

Attend to what passes between the nightingale and the rose, although in their case no (actual) speech is apparent.

گل (gil)

گل خور : A “warrior ;” [lit., “one who swallows the dust (of battle)”]. (Steingass). Cf. ابوتراب as a title of ‘Alī.

گم (gum)

گم کرده : “Dropped,” (as settled). (Sh. N., I, 420).

ز بهر نوا هم بیازارد او سخنانی گم کرده باز آرد او

He troubles (me) also on account of the indemnity and the hostages : he brings up matter that have been dropped, as settled.

گمان (gumān)

گمان (now pronounced gamān) : “ Thoughts, mind.” (Sh. N., IV, 1788).

همیشه خرد پاسبان تو باد همه نیکی اندر گمان تو باد

Many wisdom always be your watchman ; many naught but goodness be in your thoughts.

گناه

گناه گار ساخت : “ To find guilty, to consider guilty.” (D. Sh., p. 152).

حکایت کنند که آخر عمر شاهرخ سلطان بقصد نیره اش سلطان محمد بایسنغر لشکر بعراق کشید سلطان محمد منہزم شدہ شاهرخ سلطان سادات و بزرگان و علمای اصفہان را گناه گار ساخت سبب آنکہ سلطان محمد سلام کردہ بودند .

It is related that Sultān Shāhrukh, towards the end of his life, led an army to ‘Irāq-e ‘Ajam against his grandson Sultān Muḥammad Bāysunghur. Sultān Muḥammad was outed, and Sultān Shāhrukh held the Saiyids, great men and learned doctors of Isfahān guilty on the ground that they had bidden Sultān Muḥammad farewell.

[Sultān Shāhrukh, the fourth son of Tīmūr, became ruler of Transoxiana, and died in 1447, aged 71, after a reign of 42 years].

گنج (ganj) : “ Profit,” as the result of دنج “ toil.” (Sh. N., II, 517).

ننون جان خسرو شد و دنج من همی دنج بد در جهان گنج من

Now has the Prince’s life been lost, and (all) my toil—my profit in the world has been (naught but) my toil.

گنگ (gung) : ‘ Stammering, a stammerer.’ (Qā’ānī).

م - م - من - گ - گ - گنگم م - م - مثل ت - ت - تو  
ت - ت - تو گ - گ - گنگی م - م - مثل م - م - من

(من گنگم مثل تو تو گنگی مثل من (i.e.,

I am a stammerer like you ; you are a stammerer like me.

## گوش

گوش داشتن [as مخاطب کردن (Bh.)] : "To address."

[Vullers renders, "facere, ut quis loquatur," and Steingass, "to make one speak," both evidently misunderstanding the interpretation of Bh.].

گوهر : "Stock, race," (in respect of national character). (Sh. N., I, 461).

ز گوهر مرا در دل اندیشه خاست      که یاد آمدم آن سخنهاى راست  
نخستین ز تور اندر آمد بدی      که برخاست ازو فره ایزدی  
شنیدی که با ایرج کم سخن      باغاز کینه چه افگند بن

Apprehension has arisen in my heart as to race, for I remember those true accounts :

The evil started first with Tūr—from whom departed the Divine radiance—

You have heard how he set out in the beginning with malice and enmity against (his) inoffensive (brother) Īraj.

[Tūr, the second son of Farīdūn, was given Turkistan and China, Īraj, the third son, Persia. With these two began the hostility between Tūrān and Īrān].

## گیتی ("the world")

گیتی : "The part of the world belonging to a King." (Sh. N., I, 457).

اگر تور را دل نگشتی دژم      ز گیتی بایرج نکردی ستم

If the heart of Tūr had not become dissatisfied and antipathetic, he would not have wronged Īraj on account of his territory.

[Tūr is dissatisfied with his portion, Turkistan and China, and covets that of his younger brother, Īraj, which is Persia, and is supposed to give supreme authority].

گیتی فروز : "The sun." (Sh. N., 1901, *et passim*).

بایران نبا شند بیش از سه روز      چهارم چو از چرخ گیتی فروز  
بر آید همه نزد خسرو شوند      بدین بوم و بر بیش ازین نغنونند

Let them not remain more than three days in Persia ; on the fourth, when in the sky

The sun rises, let them all go to Khusrau (Parvīs), and rest no longer in this land.

[The reference is to such as should not be content with the intended usurpation of Persia by Bahrām-e Chūbīn].

## ل

لا جورد : "Dark, black." (*Sh. N.*, IV, 1920, *et passim*).

کنون او نشستست پرسوگ و درد شده روز روشن برو لا جورد

Now she is sitting mourning and sorrowful, bright day to her (now) is dark.

لاشه : "An ass." (*M.*, II).

## لاغی

لاغی برگشودن : "To make up a jest." (*M.*, II, 552).

گفت از ناچار و لاغی برگشود عمر و یک واوی فزون دزدیده بود

The grammarian is reduced to making up a jest, and says, "Amrw had stolen a superfluous 'w.'"

لاینصرف : Used punningly by Sa'dī in the two senses "he will not go away" and "(a word) is not declined."

(Graf's *Būstān* of Sa'dī, p. 144).

ندانسته از دفتر دین الف نخوانده مجز باب لاینصرف

He has not known the a, b, c of religion, he has read nothing (in grammar) but the section, "it is not declined." (In another sense, the section, "he will not go away").

[The story of a mean creditor who "will not go away" from his debtor].

The term لاینصرف does not, says Steingass, mean "a miser," but refers only to the particular mean creditor of Sa'dī's story. It will recall the amusing poems, "the Giuli Ire."]

لشکر افروز (as لشکر فروز in Steingass): "Famous in battle." (*Sh. N.*, IV, 1873).

## لغت (lughat)

لغتی : "A particular mode of writing or expression." (*Ch. M.*, p. 92).

گویا غاک لغتی باشد در خاک و ابدال خاء بغین و عکس آن در زبان فارسی متداول است

خاک is no doubt a particular mode of writing خاک and the change of “Khā” to “Ghain” and *vice versa* is common in Persian.



ماتم : “Mourning.” (Sh. N., I, 366).

که رستم منم کم ماناد نام نشیناد بر ماتم پور سام

For I am Rustam—perish my name!—may the son of Sām sit in mourning for me!

[The son of Sām ; *i.e.*, Zāl Rustam's father].

ماچین : “Southern China.”

چین و ماچین expresses the Chinese empire, but خطا is used for “North China.”

ماست : “Sour curds specially prepared.” (Redhouse).

ماست مایه : “Old curd used as a ferment in preparing curds.” (Redhouse).

ماقبل (māqabl) : “Precedent ;” *e.g.*, “with a precedent (letter) affected by ‘fatha.’” (Ch. M., pp. 193-194).

و چون یا ء مجهول در تلفظ عربی اشیاء است بیاء ساکنه ماقبل مفتوح لهذا مصنفین عرب این کلمه را بیرونی بفتح با ضبط کرده اند.

And since the “Majhūl yē” in the Arab pronunciation is most similar to “jazmated yē” with a precedent (letter) affected by “fatha,” the Arab authors have fixed the spelling of this word as “Bairūnī,” with “fatha” of the “bē.”

[*i.e.*, in plain terms, the Persian “ē” becomes in Arabic writing “ai”].

(مالیدن “To rub”).

دست مالیدن (with بر) : “To stroke.” (M., II, 86).

دست می مالید بر اعضای شیر پشت و پهلو گاه بالا گاه زیر

He stroked the lion's limbs with his hand, its back and side—sometimes above and sometimes below.

## ماندن

ماندن : “ To be in addition, still to be.” (*Sh. N.*, IV, 1887).

سپه ماند از بردع و ارد بیل      از ار مینیه سست پی یک دو خیل  
از ایشان برزم اندرون نیست باک      چه مردان بردع چه یک مشت خاک

There are still troops of Barda', Ardabīl, and Armenia—one or two squadrons of slow and negligent men ; (but) there is no fear of them in battle—the men of Barda' are no better than a handful of dust.

[The rebellious general Bahrām-e Chūbīn is speaking of some additional troops of *Khusrau Parvīz*, most of whose army is in favour of himself].

——“ To allow, to suffer.” (*Sh. N.*, IV, 1887).

بدی رز مگه امشب اندر مباحث      مان تا شود کنج و لشکر تلاش

Do not remain to-night on this battle-field ! do not suffer the treasure and the army to be dispersed.

[Advice of Gardūy to *Khusrau Parvīz* in the latter's contention with Bahrām-e Chūbīn].

——(with از) : “ to turn away ” (from, “ to be free ” (from). *M.*, II, 376).

چون بماند از خلق گردد او یتیم      انس حق را قلب می باید سلیم

When (the heart) turns away from the creature it becomes single (in its nature), (and) for companionship with God a heart (thus single and) pure (of all) is necessary.

—— ——“ To be destitute ” (of), “ to be without.” (*M.*, III, 70).

با تو باشد در مکان ولا مکان      چون بمانی از سرا و از دکان

He is with you in place and in non-place when you are destitute of house or shop.

—— ——“ To become incapable ” (of carrying out a work or duty). (*M.* II, 388).

این چنین رنجوری پیدام شد      جان من از رنج بی آرام شد  
مانده ام از ذکر و از اوراد خود      بی خبر گشتم ز خویش و نیک و بد

Such a malady (as suffer from) came upon me ; and my soul through pain has now become devoid of rest.



I have become incapable of reciting the praises of God, and of repeating the stated portions of the Qur'ān ; I have become oblivious of myself, and (of everything), good and evil.

—— ———“To be made helpless, to be defeated (by).” (M., I, 288).

شیر را خرگوش در زندان نشاند      ننگ شیری کو ز خرگوشی بماند

The hare (by craft entrapped the lion—a disgrace, indeed, to a lion to be defeated by a hare!

این مه‌انداز خیلی فاضل و ادیب بنظر می آید و با عمر خیام و اشعار او مانوس است.

This Mihmāndār seems quite a learned and cultured man, and he is familiar with 'Umar-e Khaiyām and his poetry.

[In a letter from a person who visited the tomb of 'Umar-e Khaiyām].

چنان بود ایوان زبس خوب چهر      که گفتی همی بارد از ماه مهر

The palace-room was so full of beauties that the sun seemed to stream from moons.

[i.e., the faces of the moons (beauties) were as effulgent as the sun].

ماهو : (that which is).

و چون معشوق در حقیقت ذات او سبحانه (است) پس عشق برو باید ورزید و عشق متعین

بماهو متعین نباید کرد.

And since the Beloved is, in truth, He, the Praised, therefore love should be devoted to *Him*, and not to a manifestation, inasmuch as it is a manifestation.

ما یحتاج : “What is necessary, the needful.” (Mā-yuhtāj, not mā-yahtāj as in Steingass).

مایه

مهر آن درمها بیدره درون      بیاورد و گفت آنچه از طیسفون

بیابید ازین مایه دیبای روم      که پیکر بریشم بود زرش بوم

بخزید تا آن درم نزد شاه      برند و کند مهر آن را نگه

He brought that coin with the (new) inscription in a bag, and said (to the merchant), "That which is in Ctesiphon.

You may find to the value of this in Grecian brocade with designs in silk upon a golden ground—

Buy it, so that they may take the coin to the King, and he may see the (new) stamp on it."

[Bahrām-e Chūbīn has coined money in the name of Khusrau Parvīz, the son of King Hurmuzd].

مایه دار : A "strong support," (by power, valour, or wealth). (Sh. N., I, 461).

و گر دشمنی آمدست پدید که تیار و زنجش نباید کشید  
من اینک هر کار یار تو ام چو جنگ آوری مایه دار توام

And if any enemy has appeared before you, the trouble and pain from whom cannot be borne,

Here I am your friend in every matter, and when you fight, a strong support to you.

مایه دست ( ? with فک اضافت ) : A "capital, a source of wealth." (D. Sh., p. 207).

محمود را تربیت کلی کرد و آن اموال ده شاه بدو بخشید مایه دست او شد و او بدین جهت مالدار و تاجر و خواجه بزرگ گردید.

(Sultān Muḥammad of Badakhshān) afforded (the poet) Maḥmūd of Bruṣṣa great encouragement, and the money he gave him served as a capital, by means of which he became a wealthy merchant and a man of distinction.

متخلخل (mutakhkhil) : "Shaken, disquieted." (Zend Dynasty, ed. Beer, p. 65).

از غلبه خوف و هراس و نا تمامی تر لیب اجسام مختلفه الطباع آن فرقه حق ناشناس بیک دفعه متخلخل و زیاده بر دو روز حفظ صورت خود نکرده روز سیم که چهارم ماه مزبور بود سلب ماسکه قرار و لطف علی خان را بر جا گذاشته بملگی بجانب شهر فراد (کردند).

By reason of their overwhelming fears and the want of organization of bodies of men of varied nature, those ungrateful troops suddenly became shaken and disquieted, and staying only two days to save appearances, on the third day, which was the fourth of the before-mentioned month, no longer constraining themselves to stay, they abandoned Luṭf 'Alī Khān and fled in a body towards the city.

[Luṭf 'Alī Khān, the last of the Zend Dynasty, is besieging Shīrāz, and his adherents are frightened away from him by threats of injury to their families in Shīrāz if they do not leave him].

متزهد (mutazahhid): "Inclined to asceticism but not perfect in it." ('A. M., p. 93).

و اما متشبه بحق بزهد طائفه باشند که هنوز رغبت ایشان بکلی از دنیا مصروف نشده باشد و خواهند که بیکبارگی از دنیا بگردانند و ایشان را متزهد خوانند.

And similar to the ascetics is a party, sincere and truthful, whose desires, however, have not yet been wholly diverted from the world, but who wish to turn them entirely from it. These are called Mutazahhid (inclined to asceticism).

متشکر (mutashakkir) (with از): "Thankful" (to). (Steingass omits the preposition).

متعرض (muta'arid) (with اضافت): "Attending" (to). (Zend Dynasty, ed. Beer, p. 100).

از آنجا که قضا دامنگیر او گشته غرور و بلحاج هم فطری طبعش بود قبول این معنی نکرده متعرض این سخن نگشت.

Inasmuch as fate had hold of him, and pride and litigiousness were engrained in his nature, he would not accept this proposition nor pay attention to these words.

[Some of Luṭf 'Alī Khān's adherents have been entreating him to flee].

متناول (mutanāvil): "Subsuming." (Almost in sense of شامل). ('A.M., p. 42).

پس این حد شامل و تناول بود جمله آن علوم را که دیگران گفته اند و آنرا فرض شمرده.

Hence this embraces and subsumes all those forms of knowledge which others have spoken of and reckoned as obligatory.

متوجه (mutavajjih) (with به): "Applicable" (to), "just." ('A. M., p. 326).

و بعضی از متصوفه بر بقای شوق در مقام حضور و شهود انکار کرده اند. . . . و این انکار وقتی متوجه شدی که شوق مخصوص بودی بطلب مشاهده.

And some Šūfīs have denied the continuance of yearning desire when the beloved is present and seen. This denial would be just if yearning desire were restricted to that of seeing only.

متوقف (mutavaqqif): "Dwelling, living." (Sh. D., in St. Clair-Tisdall's P. G., p. 69).

پسر کنت د پاری نوه لوی فلیپ پادشاه فرانسه راهم که حالا در انگلیس متوقف و پدرش بسویس رفته است در اینجا دیدم.

I saw here also the Counte de Paris' son, who is now dwelling in England. His father, a grandson of Louis Philippe, King of the French, has gone to Switzerland.

مثل (masal).

مثل زدن (with به of person and در of thing): "To make (a person) proverbial" (for). (Ch. M., p. 99).

قربیب بیقین ست که مراد غبدالحمید بن یحیی بن سعید کاتب مروان . . . . . آخر خلفاء بنی امیه است که در بلاغت مثل باو زنند.

It is almost certain that the person meant is 'Abdu'l-Hamīd b. Yaḥya' b. Sa'īd, who was the Secretary of Marwān, the last Umayyad Khalīf, and whom they make proverbial for eloquence.

— (with از of person and دا of thing). (Ch. M., p. 171).

هری که حضرت شاه تو بود چونان بود کزو زنند مثل زیب دا هر محضر

Herat which was the Court of the King was such that they make it proverbial in every place for beauty.

[From a Qaṣīda by Azraqī in praise of Tughān Shāh the son of Alp Arslān].

مثل شدن (with در of thing): "To become proverbial" (for). (L. A., I, 323).

لهذا قدح ابن مقبل مثل شده است در حسن اثر و نجاح بمطلوب.

Hence "the arrow of Ibn-e Muqbil" has become proverbial for "success and obtaining one's object."

[The "arrow" mentioned was that used in gaming].

محمول (with بر of thing): "Attributed, attributable" (to). (Ch. M., pp. 153-4).

اما این بیت منوچهری

چون فر شاه ماضی بودست با غضاری بر من زمدحت ارجو کان فرو جاہ باشد

بلا شک محمول بر ضرورت شعر است.

But as for the following distich by Minūchihrī : “ Even as Ghazārī had the (reflected) radiance of a former King, so, I pray, may such radiance and exaltitude be mine by my praise of you.”

Ghazārī (for Ghazā'irī) is no doubt attributable (in it) to the exigency of the verse (i.e., the metre).

[Ghazā'irī was a poet contemporary of 'Unṣurī].

مختل (mukhtall) : “ Unṣound.” (Opposed to باصحت). ('A. M., p. 105).

چه هرحال که آنرا موافق حال خود بیند بر صحت آن حکم کند و اگر بر خلاف آن یابد آنرا مختل داند.

For any emotional state he sees to be in accordance with his own, he judges to be sound, but if he find it in opposition to his own he considers it unsound.

[Referring to the emotional “ States ” of the Ṣūfī].

مختلف (mukhtalaf) : “ The person whom one succeeds, one's predecessor.” ('A. M., p. 68).

و چون لابدست که هر خلیفه مستجمع اوصاف مختلف بود فضل الهی و کرم نامتناهی روح را در خلافت ایجاد خلعت جمیع اسماء و صفات جمالی و جلالی خود در پوشانید.

And since every successor must include the attributes of its predecessor, the favour of God and the bounty of the Eternal has clothed the spirit in its succession to creative power with the robe of all its names and attributes, beautiful and terrible.

مدخل (madkhal) (with در) : An “ introduction ” (to). (Ch. M., p. 203).

و اسم اصلی کتاب همین است یعنی مجمل الاصول نه مدخل فی علم التنجیم اگرچه مدخل است در علم نجوم.

And the original name of the book is this—i.e., “ *Mujmal u'l—Uṣūl* ”—not *Madkhal fī 'Ilmit-Tanjīm*, although it is an introduction to astronomy.

مر (mar) : A “ hundred thousand.” (Sh. N., IV, 1777-8).

درم چند باید بدو گفت مرد      دلاور شمار درم یاد کرد  
چنین گفت کای پر خرد مایه دار      چهل مر درم هر مری صد هزار

The man asked him how many “ dirams ” were wanted. The valorous (envoy) mentioned the number of “ dirams,”

Saying, "O wise and wealthy man, forty units of 'dirams'—each unit consisting of a hundred thousand."

مراء (mirā'; P., mirā): ("Claim to equality, rivalry"). (Ch. M., pp. 28-9). See too مری (mirī).

بسا کاخی کہ محمودش بنا کرد      کہ از رفعت همی با مه مرا کرد  
نیکی زان همه یک طشت برپای      مدیح عنصری ماند ست بر جای

How many a palace built by Maḥmūd that in height might claim equality with the moon—

Of all them you will not see a brick standing, whilst the eulogies of 'Unṣurī still subsist.

[Verses by the Author of the *Chahār Maqāla*].

(مرتبہ pl. of مراتب).

مراتب: "Considerably." (Beck's P. G., p. 476).

خیلی خوب تفنگی است ولی یک قدری کار زیاده کرده و سنگین است البته اگر نو تر و سبکتر باشد مراتب بهتر است.

It is a very good gun, but it has seen a little too much service and is heavy. If indeed it had been newer and lighter, it would have been considerably better.

"transferred." : مرجوع

مرجوع داشتن (به) : "To transfer" (to). (Ch. M., p. 164).

در اواخر عمر بعلت مرضی مزمن و طولانی که برو طاری شد وظیفه او را به پسرش ابو علی احمد مرجوع داشتند.

In his last years by reason of a chronic and long-continued malady that had come upon him, they transferred his office to his son Abū-'Alī Aḥmad.

[The person in question is Abū-Bakr Muḥammad, Commander-in-Chief and Governor of *Khurāsān* (933-8) under the Sāmānide Naṣr b. Aḥmad].

A "judge of men." (Sh. N., IV, 2043). (مردم شناس as) مردم شمر

چو شیروی ترسند و خام بود      همان تخت زیر اندرش دام بود  
بدانست مردم شمر هر که دید      نه روز بزرگان نخواهد رسید

Since *Shirūy* was fearful and inexperienced, and was entangled in (the difficulties of) the throne,

All judges of men who saw, knew that a (bad) day would overtake the grandees.

[The grandees fearing that between Shirūy and his deposed father, Khusrau Parvīz, they would suffer injury, advise the death of the latter].

مری (mirē). (Imāla of A. مرا q.v.): "Emulation." (M., II, 455).

و آنکه اشتراک نکرد او از مری همچو آن لم کرده جوید اشتراک

And he who has not lost a camel, through emulation seeks a camel like him who has lost one.

—— "Conceit, arrogance." (M., II, 524).

موشکی در کف مهار اشتراک در ربود و شد روان او از مری

A little mouse seized in its claws the leading-rein of a camel, and in its conceit moved on (with it).

مزخرف (muzakhrāf) "False, specious."

مزد (muzd), مژد (muzhd): As A. ثواب. "Future reward for good works." (Sh. N., III, 1509).

بخشید دینار و گنج و درم مژد روان جهاندار جم

Give away the "dīnārs," the treasure and the "dirams," to secure a future reward for the soul of the world-holder Jamshīd.

[Bahrām Gūr finds the treasure of Jamshīd and gives it all away to the deserving poor].

مستأثر (musta'ṣir): "Appropriating." (Cf. Arabic dictionaries).

مستبعد (mustab'ad): "Improbable." (Ch. M., p. 124).

سامان مدتها پیش از مامون (متوفی در سنه ۲۱۸) بوده است و بودن شعر فارسی در آن عصر هم باین سبک و اسلوب بغایت مستبعد است.

Sāmān was a long time before Mā'mūn, who died in 833, and the existence of Persian poetry in the age of the former, poetry especially of such style, is extremely improbable.

[Ḥanẓala, the author of the poetry in question, flourished probably from about 845 A.D., and Sāmān, whose son Asad was a contemporary of Tāhir, the great general of Mā'mūn (785-833), was born probably in about 755. Hence, as the learned commentator of the *Chahār Maqāla* says later, it is very improbable that he could have read poetry by Ḥanẓala. But it is still more improbable that "poetry of such style" as that of Ḥanẓala could not have been composed so little earlier, comparatively

speaking, as the age of Sāmān ; and is it probable, considering that poetry is progressive, that Ḥanzala's poetry should not have been led up to by that of many predecessors dating back successively to a much earlier period ? The fact that literature is not extant can scarcely be taken as a proof that it did not exist].

مسوی (musavvā) : " Formed, developed." ('A. M., p. 44).

همچنین ولادت معنوی مشروطست بوجود کلمه ایمان و استقرار آن در دل و تسویه حقائق ایمان . . . . . و نفع روح توحید در صورت مساوات ایمانی.

In the same way the spiritual birth is conditioned by the existence of the confession of faith and the establishment of it in the heart, the development of the truths of the Faith, and the breathing of the spirit of the Unity upon the developed form of the Faith.

مشاهده

مشاهده کردن or مشاهده نمودن : " To visit," (as a place). (D. Sh., p. 18).  
نویسار سرخس و تیمور کهسار بادغیس و خزان پر نعمت هرات و حوالی شهر مشاهده می کرد

In the spring (Naṣr b. Aḥmad) visited Sarakhs, in summer the hilly country of Bādghīs, and in autumn the delightful city of Herāt and its environs.

مشبع (mushba').

یاء مشبعه : " Full or inflated yē ;" i.e., yē as a long vowel pronounced as ē, not ī. (Ch. M., pp. 193 4).

چون یاء بیرون یاء مجهول است و این کلمه در زمان ابو ریحان بهان نحو که اقتضای یاء مجهول است (یعنی کسره مشبعه) تلفظ می شده و آن در تلفظ عربی اشبه اشیاء است بیاء ساکنه ماقبل مفتوح لهذا مصنفین عرب این کلمه را بیرونی بفتح باء ضبط کرده اند.

Since the " yē " of " bērūn " is " yā-e majhūl," and this word in the time of Abū-Raiḥān (Bērūnē) was pronounced as required by " yā-e majhūl " (i.e., full or inflated " kasra "), which in the Arab pronunciation is most similar to " jazmated yē " with a precedent (letter) affected by " fatḥa," the Arab authors have fixed the spelling of this word (namely, Bērūnī) as Bairūnī with " fatḥa " of the " bē."

[i.e., the Persian Bērūnī is spelled by the Arabs Bairūnī].

مشتبه (mushtabih).

مشتبه شدن (with به) : " To be confused " (with) ; i.e., for " one to be taken for another." (Ch. M., p. 98).



بلعمی یعنی ابو علی محمد البلعمی المتوفی سنه ۳۸۶ وی وزیر منصور بن نوح سامانی بود و هموست که بفرمان پادشاه مذکور تاریخ طبری را از عربی بفارسی ترجمه نمود و پدرش ابوالفضل محمد البلعمی وزیر امیر اسمعیل موسس سلسله سامانیه بود و در سنه ۳۳۹ وفات نمود و غالباً پدر و پسریک دیگر مشتبّه شوند.

Bal'amī---i.e., Abū 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bal'amī, who died in 996 A.D. He was the Vezier of Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ the Sāmānide, and it is he who by order of that king translated the *History* of Ṭabarī from Arabic into Persian. His father, Abū'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Bal'amī, was the Vezier of Amīr Isma'il, the founder of the Sāmānide Dynasty, and died in 940. The father and son are generally confused with one another.

مشترك (mushṭarak).

“To have several meanings.” (‘A. M., p.328).  
لفظ لقاء مشترك است میان معنی مشاهده و وصول

The word “liqā’ ” has the two meanings, “ vision,” and “ union.”

“ Ample.” (Ch. M., p. 163). مشحون

شرح اعمال عظام و حروب و وقائع ایشان (یعنی امرای چغانیان از آل محتاج) در کتب تواریخ مشحون است.

Accounts of their great achievements, wars, and experiences are ample in historical works.

[The reference is to the Amīrs of Chaghāniyān of the House of Muḥ-tāj].

مشك (mishk, mushk) : “ Black sealing-wax.” (Sh. N., IV, 1755).

یکی درج زردین سرش بسته خشک      نهاده برو قفل و مهری ز مشک  
فرستاد قیصر سوی ما ز روم      یکی موبدی نام بردار بوم

A golden casket with its lid hermetically fastened, a lock upon it, and a seal of black sealing-wax

Has been sent to me by the Qaiṣar from Rūm (in charge of) a famous Mūbid of the country.

مشکل (mushkil).

“ Seen with difficulty.” (D. Sh., p. 195).

گفتش از چیست ماه نوچنین مشکل نما      گفت میگردد ز شرم ابروی من ناپدید

I said to her, "For what reason is the new moon seen with such difficulty?" She said, "Through shame before my eyebrows she disappears."

[From a ghazal by Maulānā Janūbī].

#### مطالبت

مطالبت نمودن (with دا of the person and به of the thing): "To ask, require, claim."

مطلع (muṭṭali'); (with از): "acquainted" (with). (Ch. M., p. 222).

و هر کس خواهد که از تفصیل ترجمه های رباعیات عمر خیام بالسنۀ مختلفه . . . . . و شرح مشرب و مسلک او در فلسفه و غیر ذلک بتفصیل و اشباع تمام مطلع شود باید رجوع نماید بکتاب نفیسی که مستر نشان هسکل دول در این موضوع تالیف نموده.

Whoever desires to become acquainted in full detail with the particulars of the translations of the Quatrains of 'Umar-e Khaiyām into various languages, and with his system of philosophy, etc., must have recourse to the most excellent work composed on this subject by Mr. Nathan Haskell Dole.

مظالم pl. of مظلمه (mazlīma).

مظالم بردن: "To incur complaints on account of injustice." (M., II, 75).

و آن غریبان هم بانکار و جحود      رویشخ آورده کاین بازی چه بود  
مال ما خوردی مظالم می بری      از چه بود این ظلم دیگر بر سری

The creditors too, with strong disbelief (in the Shaiikh), turned their faces towards him, and asked the meaning of this trick.

"You have," said they, "consumed our property; you will incur (in the future state) our complaints of your injustice; for what reason, then, was this other wrong superadded?"

معاش (ma'ād): "The interests of the future life." See معاش.

Mu'ādh, "a proper name. (Lit., "for whom God's favour is asked").

معاش (Ma'āsh): "The interests of this life." Opposed to معاد, "The interests of the future life." عقل معاش: "The intellect of common, every-day life;" i.e., the intellect concerned with the interests of this life worldly wisdom.

Opposed to عقل معاد, "spiritual wisdom." (M., II, 233, Turkish Commentary).

او ز شر عامه اندر خانه شد      او ز ننگ عاقلان دیوانه شد

He has taken shelter from the harm inflicted by the commonalty ; he has become mad because he feels shame at the sensible.

Turkish Commentary :

او عاقللرك عار و نكندن ديوانه اولدى يعنى بو عقل معاشله افتخار ايلين عقلانك عقلنى كوروب بو كونه عقلدن ديوانه اولقى يكدرد ديوانلرك عقلنك غيرتندن تبحن ايلدى.

He has become mad through shame at the sensible ; that is, seeing the intellect of such wise people as take pride in their worldly wisdom, and thinking madness better than such wisdom, through shame at their wisdom he has feigned madness.

[Refers to the feigned madness of Dhu'n-nūn, the famous mystic].

معجلا (mu'ajjalan) : " In haste." (Redhouse).

Steingass has " mu'ajilan," which is probably incorrect.

معرض (ma'rad) : " An aspect, or point of view." (Ch. M., p. 139).

و من مى خواستم چنين كه اين نامه را نبشتم بعد از اين حال اين هزيمت را در معرض خوبتر بيرون آورم و فاضلى بايستی كه چند شعر گفتم تا هم نظم بودى و هم نثر.

And I wished, when I had written this letter (from Mas'ūd to the King of Turkistān) after this occurrence, to give the most favourable aspect possible to the defeat (Mas'ūd had suffered). I required, however, an accomplished and learned (poet), to write some verse, so that there should be poetry in my *History* as well as prose.

[Words of Baihaqī, author of the *Tārīkh-e Mas'ūdi*. The defeat referred to was that suffered by Mas'ūd near Marv in 1040 at the hands of the Seljūqides].

معنى : " An idea, concept." (*Passim*).

— " The spirit," (*e.g.*, of a story). (M., II, 550).

ديده ها بسته ببيند دوست را      چون مشبك كرده باشد پوست را  
ور نديدش از برون نى از درون      از حكايه گير معنى اى زبون

With closed eyes she might see a friend when she had made a lattice of the body.

And if she saw her neither without nor in her own mind,—pay attention, simpleton, to the spirit of the story.

مغ (magh) : " Deep." (Redhouse ; and M., I, 261).

اندر آمد چون قلاووزى بيش      تا برد اورا بسوى دام خویش  
سوى چاهى كو نشانش كرده بود      چاه مغ را دام جاناش كرده بود

(The hare) went on in front as a guide, to take (the lion) to his trap :

To the pit which he indicated to him, having made the deep pit a snare for his life.

[I have taken the reading of the T. Trans., which the T. Com. says is the most prevalent, though he himself reads چاه را او for چاه مغ را].

مفت (muft) is a noun : “ A thing obtained for nothing ;” but is used as an adjective, “ gratuitous,” and as an adverb, “ gratuitously.”

C. E. WILSON.

*(To be continued).*

# CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

## HYDERABAD

### *The Osmania University:*

A PART from the varied literary activities, a notable feature of the intellectual life of the Osmania University was that a Special Convocation was held on 11th November 1941 at which Prince Wālāshān Nawāb Mu'azzam Jāh Bahādur received the honorary degree of LL.D. Prince Wālāshān Nawāb Mu'azzam Jāh Bahādur is the younger brother of Prince Wālāshān Nawāb A'zam Jāh Bahādur, heir-apparent of H.E.H. the Nizam, who has already received honorary degree of LL.D. both from the Osmania and the Muslim Universities. It is a source of genuine pleasure for the Hyderabadis to see that the Princes of the Āsaf Jāhī dynasty, in the traditional fashion of their illustrious ancestors are keeping alight the torch of learning and culture.

A reference should be made to the convocation address which the Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University, Hon'ble Nawāb Mahdī Yār Jung Bahādur delivered in the Andhra University. The Vice-Chancellor in his learned address gave a vivid description of the archæological remains that abound in the Dominions of H.E.H. the Nizam and of the indissoluble cultural and economic links that exist between the State of Hyderabad and the Andhra people. He also dwelt on the catholicity and religious tolerance of the Qutb Shāhī kings and the Mughal emperors which cemented the Hindu and Muslim civilizations into a harmonious whole.

The annual convocation of the Osmania University was held on 26th February 1942. In this convocation the Osmania University conferred on its Vice-Chancellor Nawāb Mahdī Yār Jung Bahādur the degree of D.Litt. and on its professor of mathematics Dr. Raḍiuddīn the degree of D.Sc. Both these Doctors need no introduction as they are already familiar to the learned quarters. These degrees are therefore just recognition of their already distinguished careers.

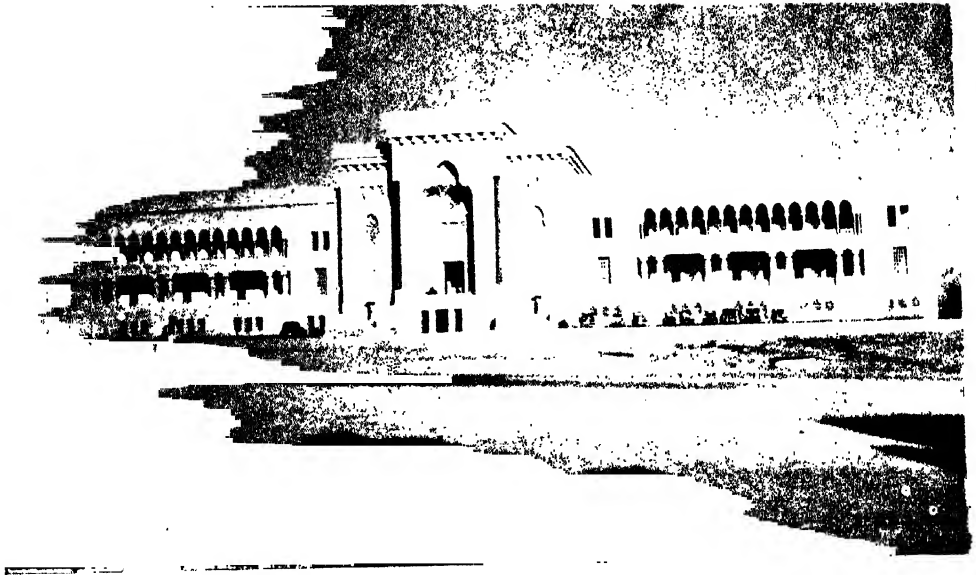
### *All-India Oriental Conference and Indian History Congress.*

Another important feature in the intellectual life of the Osmania University was that it witnessed lively scenes of fresh activities in the last week of December 1941 as the Eleventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference and the Fifth Session of the Indian History Congress selected Hyderabad, an acknowledged centre of culture and learning, as a venue for their deliberations. These conferences held their sessions in the

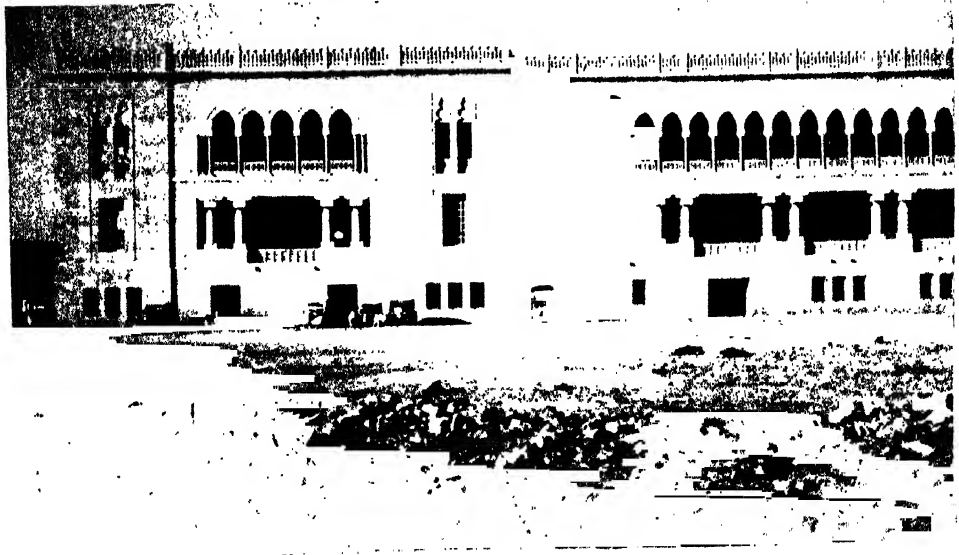




ARTS COLLEGE, OSMANIA UNIVERSITY  
Hyderabad, Deccan-- December 1941



*Front View*



*Side View*





buildings of the Osmania University which, in the words of the Nawāb Ṣāhib of Chhatārī, embodies signal contribution to the cause of the oriental studies. This building of the University as an artistic blending of Hindu and Muslim architectural conceptions, won admiration of the scholars who attended the conferences. One of the distinguished delegates Dr. Andress Nell (of Colombo) has sent us his own photo-prints of the University and desires us to publish them in this Journal. We feel pleasure in reproducing his fine photographs in the following pages.

The first conference to be held was the All-India Oriental Conference. The Nawāb Ṣāhib of Chhatārī, President of the Executive Council of Hyderabad inaugurated the deliberations by conveying to its delegates the following gracious message of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad.

"It is a matter of deep gratification to me that the All-India Oriental Conference is holding its Eleventh Session in the historic city of Hyderabad under the auspices of my Government, and that eminent oriental scholars have assembled here to further the aim and objects of an organisation which has gained a great reputation for the promotion of oriental studies.

"My Dominions possess a unique historical and cultural importance in the history of India, and I hope the delegates to this Conference who are all great students and scholars of the languages and literatures of our country will find abundant material for research in the varied fields of religion, philosophy, archæology and history in the annals and antiquities of the Deccan.

"It has been the tradition of my family from the time of its illustrious founder, Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣāf Jāh I, to maintain peace, to promote unity, and to encourage and foster all the different branches of learning and the arts, with the happy result that my Dominions have to-day become an important centre of education and culture. The Osmania University has led the way in furthering the ideas of employing an Indian language as the medium of instruction up to the highest stage even in purely technical and scientific subjects. It has, thus, not only contributed some thing to the educational ideals of India but has rendered some service to the cause of oriental languages and learning.

"You are meeting at a time when the free nations of the world are struggling against brutal aggression not only to preserve democracy and freedom but to defend and safeguard the very foundation of society, culture and civilization. It is all the more incumbent on you to keep alight the torch of eastern thought, philosophy and religion.

"In welcoming you all to the capital of my State, I wish you a happy sojourn and a successful session of your conference. I hope your deliberations will prove as fruitful as in the past and that this session in Hyderabad will produce results of permanent value in the history of oriental studies."

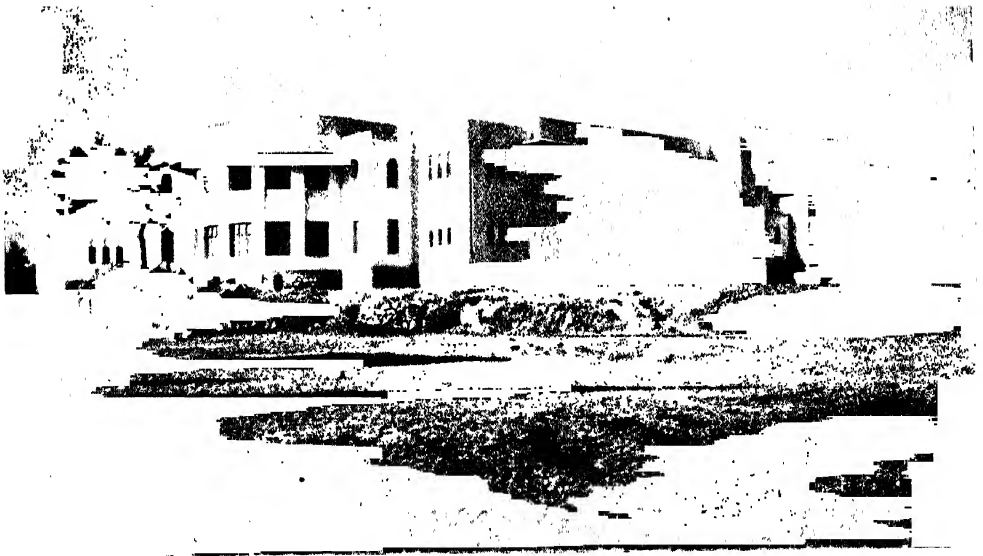
The Nawāb Šāhib of Chhatārī, President, Executive Council, Hyderabad then addressed the delegates and said, "The patronage of art, literature and learning has been one of the distinguishing traditions of the house of Āṣaf Jāh." In this connection he pointed out that the first great poets of Urdu, Walī and Sirāj, were products of the Deccan. It was here that Shāh Nawāz Khān wrote the biographical history of his times; Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, scholar and literary critic, spent the best of his days here and lies buried near Daulatabad, while Mīr 'Ālam's patronage of history produced the *Ḥadīqat al-'Ālam*, and a distinguished descendant of Tēgh Jung founded a modern observatory in Hyderabad. He also referred to the Medical College, the Āṣafiya Library and the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif which have been serving the cause of oriental studies from a long time. He further added that the tradition thus inherited has been fostered with greater zeal by H.E.H. the present Nizam during whose period of rule, more than in any other's, Hyderabad has become one of the centres of oriental studies. Referring to the signal contributions of the present reign, the President of the Executive Council mentioned in particular the rapid spread of education in Hyderabad and the unique achievements of the Osmania University. He also referred to the substantial patronage extended by the State to a number of universities and institutions of India.

In conclusion, the President said that he hoped that the deliberations of oriental scholars might preserve the finer sense of values from the danger of being dulled by doctrines which treat man as an automaton and brute force as God, and be able to instil in minds the spiritual values which have throughout the ages characterised the mind and soul of the East.

Nawāb Mahdī Yār Jung Bahādur, Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University, welcomed the delegates and in his address laid emphasis on the importance of the oriental learning. As regards the share of Hyderabad in the intellectual progress of India, he said, "There are few movements which do not receive moral and financial support from H.E.H. the Nizam's Government." Referring to the Osmania University, the Vice-Chancellor declared that "the experiment has succeeded beyond expectation." Proceeding the Vice-Chancellor said, "The contribution of these Dominions to oriental learning has been by no means small. There has been a continuity of Sanskritic studies from the earliest times down to the present day. The study of Sanskrit in the traditional fashion is still being continued throughout the Dominions and there is a strong Sanskrit faculty in the Osmania University." "Much can be said," he added, "about the development of the other languages of the Dominions like Telugu, Marathi and Kannada." "The advent of the Muslims in the Deccan," the Vice-Chancellor continued, "introduced fresh ideals of fraternity and tolerance and spread two most important classical languages in the Deccan—the Arabic and the Persian." "In the *Fatāwā-i-Tātār-i-Khāniyya* of 'Ālim ibn 'Ala'-uddīn," he said, "we have a monumental work on Islamic law in







OSMANIA UNIVERSITY HOSTEL

Block B *Side View*



Arabic. The Bahmanids and their illustrious wazir Maḥmūd Gāwān made Bidar a literary centre of great fame. The first and foremost poet of the Deccan, Isāmī, who wrote his *Futūḥus-Salāṭīn*, lived at the Bahmanid court. The *Fatāwa'i Ālamgīrī*, a monumental work on Muslim jurisprudence was written in the Deccan. Shaiḫ Aḥmad known as Mulla Jīwan flourished under Emperor Aurangzeb and Shaiḫ Azarī Isfarāīnī wrote *Bahman Nāma* in the Persian language under the patronage of the Bahmanids who were great scholars themselves. Several histories that were written in Persian are directly connected with the authors who flourished in the Deccan." Finally the Vice-Chancellor drew attention of the distinguished delegates to the various institutions of oriental learning in the State such as the Dā'irat-ul-Ma'ārif, the Āṣafiya Library, the State-Archive and the Hyderabad Museum.

The President of the Conference, Mr. Ghulām Yazdānī, read his Presidential address and gave a detailed review of the contributions made by various oriental institutes, journals and research works which are being conducted all over India. Referring to the works in Hyderabad, he mentioned in particular two schemes just sanctioned by H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. One of these aims at making a comprehensive survey of the prehistoric antiquities of the Dominions while the other provides for the publication of an authentic and up-to-date history of the monuments of India. Mr. Yazdānī then appealed for establishing a well-equipped department of research in Delhi and urged the need of a permanent office of the conference with a competent staff and well-equipped library in a central place, which would take stock of the activities of research students in different parts of India and afford them facilities in the shape of expert advice, loan of MSS., monetary help, etc.

After the presidential address, the delegates dispersed to attend the sectional meetings of the conference. The sections which had direct bearing upon the Islamic studies were the Islamic Culture and the Arabic and Persian Sections.

The Arabic and Persian Section was presided over by Dr. Muḥammad Husain Nainar and Dr. Zāhid 'Alī served as its secretary.

In this section, Mr. Jamshed Kawasji Katrak (of Bombay) read an interesting paper on "A Short Survey of Persian Literature." Another interesting paper was read on "*The Original Text of Seh Nathr-i-Zuhūrī*" by Prof. B. D. Verma (of Poona). In this paper the professor pointed out that the generally-accepted idea that *Seh Nathr-i-Zuhūrī* is a preface of the *Nauras Nāma* written in Hindi or Deccani Urdu is erroneous for mainly two reasons. Firstly, there are some passages in the *Seh Nathr* which show that its original text was in Persian and not in Urdu. Secondly, the *Nauras Nāma* does not give any clue that the *Seh Nathr* is its preface. Another article read in this section was "*Khawja Banda Nawāz as a Persian Poet*" by G. D. Rashīd (of Nizam College).

Among other papers, "The need for better Co-operation between Scientists and Arabic Scholars" by Prof. Moḥammad 'Abdur-Raḥmān



Khān was very important as it dealt with an urgent need of the day. The professor in his learned paper said that many masterpieces of Arab scientists have been preserved, but a formidable obstacle in the correct interpretation of the subjects discussed in these masterpieces is lack of adequate co-operation between the scientists and the Arabic scholars. He therefore appealed to the Indian scholars to take greater interest in the Arabic language as it would lead to important discoveries in the field of science.

The Islamic Section was presided over by Dr. 'Abdul-Haq of the Osmania University and Dr. A. Mu'īd Khān acted as its secretary. The papers read in this section were as follows :—

A paper on the "Influence of Roman Law on Muslim Law" was read by Dr. M. Ḥamīdullāh. In this paper the author declared that the influence of Roman law on Muslim law is not traceable, as the Prophet, who gave the Muslims the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth, the Muslim jurists and the countries where the Muslim legal system was adopted and developed, were not in any way influenced by Roman law. Besides, as he argued in support of his conclusion, at the time of the codification and development of law no book on Roman jurisprudence had been translated into Arabic and no borrowed words or Arabicised technical terms were introduced in Muslim jurisprudence. Even the sources of Muslim law, the arrangement of the Muslim legal works and the unconventional procedure in the Muslim court differ from those of the Roman legal system.

Another paper read before the meeting was on the "Spirit of Islamic Culture" by Khan Bahadur Moulvī 'Aṭā, ul-Raḥmān. In this paper the Khan Bahadur mentioned three principles of Islam, i.e. (a) Equality and Brotherhood of man, (b) Spirit of Tolerance and Freedom, (c) Advancement of knowledge, and explained that on these cardinal principles rest the foundation of civilization. This paper was followed by another article by Shaiikh A. Raḥmān al-Yamānī who read an interesting paper in Arabic on the "Idolatry of the Arabs." The author said that, though the Arabs worshipped many idols in the pre-Islamic period, yet they never ceased to believe in the oneness of God.

Another paper read in Urdu language was on the "Nature of Evil" by Dr. Mīr Valiuddin of the Osmania University. He explained that from Ṣūfī's point of view God Almighty is the creator of both good and evil. In this connection he said that creation according to the Ṣūfīs means external manifestation of the *ideas* of God which are also called the essence of things. These essence of things assume shapes when they appear in the external world. They thus cease connection with certain attributes of God at the moment of their external manifestation. This disappearance or non-existence of certain attributes of God causes the appearance of evil which is another name of non-existence.

The next paper was on "Ibn al-'Arabī's Theory of Knowledge" in Urdu by Maulānā Manāẓir Aḥsan Gīlānī who explained very lucidly that knowledge according to Ibn al-'Arabī is divine effulgence which manifests

itself in the heart of Šūfis under certain circumstances.

Another paper was about a research scheme for the compilation of an Encyclopædia of Qur'ānic interpretation by Dr. M. 'Abdul-Mu'īd Khān. In this paper the author pointed out that there are two schools of thoughts with regard to the Qur'ānic exegesis. One of them holds that Qur'ān is self-explanatory while another group of people considers that the high wisdom contained in the verses of the Qur'ān cannot, with our limited intelligence, be easily comprehended. By quoting a number of verses of the Qur'ān the author proved that the so-called incomprehensibility of some of the verses of the Qur'ān is not so much due to the different interpretation of the Qur'ān as to the absence of any scientific and authoritative guide to its true teachings. The author then reviewed at length the history of the development of the Qur'ānic exegesis and explained the qualities and defects of the existing commentaries. He also pointed out that even modern activities in the study of the Qur'ān are not directed towards the critical examination of Qur'ānic interpretation. The modern scholars are either engaged in the compilation of concordance of the Qur'ān or in conducting researches into the critical study of the Qur'ānic verses. The author of this paper therefore urged the need for compiling an Encyclopædic Dictionary of Qur'ānic interpretation on the lines of the Dictionary of the Bible edited by Hasting, in order to provide easy reference to all that has been derived from the Qur'ān during the last thirteen centuries and make them accessible to all classes of the Muslim society. As the author has appealed to the students of Muslim culture to furnish him with helpful suggestion in the furtherance of this good cause, an outline of the scheme is given below for the consideration of the scholars engaged in the Qur'ānic studies. The outline of the work is as follows :—

The introduction to the Dictionary of Qur'ān will contain a critical study of Qur'ānic literature. It may include articles on sociology of Islam and Islamic ethics and politics by well-known authorities on these subjects.

Its alphabetical order and the arrangement of the verses will be based on *Mufradātu-gharīb'al Qur'ān* by Rāghib'al Isfahānī and *Fathā'l Rahmān* by 'Ilmī Zādah. These alphabets will be a key to the verses of the Qur'ān. Each will have a table of interpretation on the following lines :—

*Table of the Interpretation of Qur'ānic Verses.*

1	2	3	4	5
The name of the Commenta- tor	The Tra- ditionist	Their variant explana- tion	Orthodox Jurists	Their Decision
Tabari 310 H.	Bukhārī (256)		Abū-Hanīfa (150)	

Zamakhsharī (538)	Al-Muslim (261)	..	Mālik (179)	..
Rāzī (606)	Ibn-Māja (273)	..	Shāfi'ī (207)	..
Siūṭī (911)	Al-Tirmidhī (279)	..	Ḥanbal (241)	..
M. 'Abduh (1323)	Al-Nasā'ī (303)	..	etc.	..

This table will be followed by a brief statement under the following captions :—

1. Muslim philosopher's review of the verses.  
'Alī-Ibn-Sīnā d. 1037 A.D.  
Ibn-Rushd  
Al-Ghazzālī d. 1111 A.D.  
Ibn Ḥazm d. 1064 A.D.  
Mu'tazalites  
Ash'arites
2. Sūfis' review of the verses  
Ibn al-'Arabī d. 1240  
Sharani d. 1565
3. Historical events connected therewith :
  - A. The occasion on which a verse was revealed
  - B. Complete account of the stories and the historical events which are mentioned in the Qur'ān.
  - C. The circumstances in which a legal case was decided by the Prophet, the Khalifs and the Jurists.
  - D. A brief statement of the movements like Mu'tazalites, Ash'arites and Wahabites which are based on particular verses.

In addition to this, the names of persons and the places which have occurred in the Qur'ān will be alphabetically arranged and each of them will contain brief notes on its historical or traditional importance. A separate index of these names will also follow the index of the verses of the Qur'ān.

As this work aims at supplying the requirements of international character, it is proposed that this Dictionary of the Qur'ān should be written in Arabic.

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### 1. *The Indian History Congress.*

The Fifth Session of the Indian History Congress was also held in Hyderabad along with All-India Oriental Conference. His Exalted

Highness was pleased to send an inspiring message of welcome to the delegates of the Conference which was inaugurated by Nawāb Šāhib of Chhatārī, President, Executive Council, Hyderabad. The inaugural address was read by Nawāb Šāhib of Chhatārī, President, Executive Council and the welcome address by the Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University, Nawāb Mahdī Yār Jung Bahādur. Rao Sahib Prof. Srinivasa-chari, the President of the Congress delivered the presidential address. In the course of his presidential address he held emphasis on the correct, impartial and just interpretation of the Indian history. An important paper read in this Congress was that of Nawāb 'Alī Yāwar Jung Bahādur who briefly but lucidly traced the history of Deccan and its rulers and stressed upon the urgent need for an authoritative history of these Dominions.

## 2. *The Osmania Graduates' Association.*

This active body of young graduates of the University has many sided activities for each of which a special committee has been appointed. The Economic Committee of this Association had organized as usual an Industrial Exhibition which created lively interest both in the public and the delegates who attended the above-mentioned conferences.

## 3. *Anjuman Itteḥād'ul-Muslimīn.*

The efforts of this Association in the unification of the Muslim sects and in the revival of religious education are highly commendable. One of such laudable services of this Association is that it recently celebrated 13 hundredth anniversary of the Karbalā Martyrdom. These celebrations were organised both at Hyderabad and Aurangabad. Many scholars from Hyderabad as well as from outside took part in this sacred celebration. Erudite scholars and orators delivered illuminating speeches on the religious, political and cultural aspects of this supreme tragedy in the Muslim history.

## 4. *Dā'iratul Ma'ārif of the Osmania University.*

The Dā'iratul Ma'ārif is, as usual, busy with the acquisition of the valuable MSS. on the Muslim learning and in publishing them. It has recently acquired the following work:

کتاب الجرح والتعديل (فی الرجال) للامام الخافظ الناقد شیخ الاسلام ابی محمد عبدالرحمن ابن الامام الکبیر ابی حاتم المتوفی سنہ ۳۲۷ھ.

This work has now been duly collated and sent to the press for publication. In the last number of this Journal it was announced that the work (الاشباه والنظائر للامام السيوطى المجلد الثانى الى الرابع (فى النحو) was in the press. The second and third volumes of this work have now been published.

##### 5. *The State Āṣafiya Library.*

It was a happy coincidence that at the completion of the 50th year of its life, the Hyderabad State Library celebrated its golden jubilee during the days when All-India Oriental Conference and the Indian Historical Congress were holding their sessions in Hyderabad. In this connection the executive committee of the library and its able superintendent had organised an exhibition of the most valuable and rare manuscripts preserved in the library. The MSS. dealing with the oriental history, art, literature and Muslim theology, etc., ranging from the 5th century to the present day were placed in the show-rooms for the inspection of the scholars. On this occasion, three prizes for the best articles on "The Deccan Libraries" were also announced. The articles which have won these prizes contain valuable information about rare MSS. preserved in the Deccan libraries. The extracts of these prized essays, which are being withheld for lack of space, will be published in the next issue of this Journal for the benefit of the scholars interested in the revival of the Muslim legacy.

M. A. M.

#### DECCAN

UNDER the auspices of the University of Bombay, Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar delivered a series of three lectures on the "Sources of Maratha History" which he divided into three lectures :—Sources in the Persian Language ; Marathi Historical Material and the Problems of Maratha Historiograph. We give below a few extracts from his lectures.

There is an immense mass of historical material relating to Maratha history available in the Persian language, because Persian was for nearly three centuries the official or diplomatic language of most parts of India, as French was in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe.

These historical materials fall into several well-defined classes, each with its special literary characteristics and degree of value or unimportance as reliable sources of information. The class best known at least by name consists of what I may call the *Nāma*, i.e., the official history of a particular emperor written by his order and sometimes subjected to revision by him or his *wazīr*.

These are of two kinds:—the letters of historical personages and manuscript-newspapers written for private employers. The latter are known as *akhbār*, i.e., news, or more often by the Hindustani double

plural name *Ak̤hbārāt*. The most valuable, and fortunately the most copious surviving mass of these newsletters consists of those written by scribes posted at the imperial court and hence styled *Ak̤hbārāt-i-darbār-i-mu'allā*, or at the capitals of reigning Nawābs (like the Nawāb-Wazīrs of Lucknow) and Rajas,—these latter being called *Ak̤hbārāt-i-Ḥaḍūr* or *Siyāha-i-Ḥaḍūr*.

The oldest, richest and the most extensive store of these records is found in the Jaipur State archives, which contains all except some 22 bundles which were taken away by Lt. Col. Tod, the historian of the Rajputs, and presented by him to the Royal Asiatic Society of London. At Jaipur there are supplemented also several bundles of news-sheets written in the local dialect of Hindi, called Dingal. Their unsurpassable value will be described later.

We hear of the Marathas as actors on the imperial political stage, for the first time in Jahāngīr's autobiography when the rising house of Bhonsles under Shivaji's grandfather and grand-uncles began to change sides as true opportunists, in the wars between Ahmednagar and the Delhi empire.

Most of us know in a vague general way that there are plenty of historical papers in the Marathi language, but their exact character and scope are known only to special workers in this field. It is necessary to have a clear idea of their classes and time-range before we can judge of their comparative importance or worthlessness.

In the descending order of importance, after state-papers or first-class sources, we possess in the Marathi language *bakhars* or traditional narratives, which it would be a misnomer to call histories, for on examination several parts of them prove to be demonstrably false and large portions of these no better than camp-fire stories or bazaar gossip made still more unreliable in the course of transmission from mouth to mouth. For the history of Shivaji we have only two *bakhars* with any claim to being written by men who knew him, i.e., (a) the *Sabhasad Bakhar* written 14 years after his death and (b) the *91-Qalmi Bakhar*, rewritten in its present form of short rough notes between 1730 and 1750. All other *bakhars* are nineteenth century fabrications, beginning with the unjustly prized *Chitnis Bakhar* of 1810 and still later and still more worthless efforts in the same line.

The greatest defect of the Marathi language from the historical student's point of view is the lack of newsletter or *ak̤hbārāt* in it. Even the Peshwas' Maratha envoys in Northern India used to send to their masters Persian newsletters enclosed with their own despatches.

No note has been taken of the materials in the Portuguese, English and French tongues, but happily the most valuable portion of record in these European languages (to which Dutch must be added) have been or are in course of being published.

Hence, the student of the period 1630-1800 has to concern himself mainly with the materials in the Persian and Marathi languages, supplemented by a few Sanskrit works and diplomatic letters.

### *Akbar's Fourth Centenary.*

On 14th October, 1542, Emperor Akbar was born while his father, Humāyūn, was a fugitive in Sind. The next year will, therefore, see the fourth centenary of the birth of the Great Mughal and a proposal to celebrate the event appropriately has found wide support. It is suggested that with the commencement of the 400th year of Akbar's birth, arrangements should be made to celebrate the anniversary throughout the country in the coming twelve months.

Memories of the reign of the Great Mughal Emperor Akbar were revived at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Muslim Students' Union at Blavatsky Lodge to celebrate his 400th birthday anniversary. Dr. G.S. Arundale, who presided, paying his homage to the great personage, said that a person of his vision and ideals was badly needed at the present critical time.

Dr. P.M. Joshi said that Akbar was a great ruler and an emperor in the best sense of that term. Basing his ideals on religious tolerance and respect for all faiths, he tried to build up a common culture in India and laid the foundation of national unity. If ever there was a truly national period in Indian history, it was the Mughal period and more particularly the reign of Akbar.

Principal M.B. Rahmān said that Akbar had made an honest and sincere attempt to unify the whole of India with a common culture in which all the great faiths of the world were merged. Akbar had established what some present-day political leaders were seeking to achieve by slogans like 'Akhand Hindustan.'

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*The Development of Gujrāti Literature and Culture during the Muslim Period* was the theme of an instructive lecture by the well-known Gujrati novelist Mr. Ramanlal Desai at the Convocation Hall, Bombay.

Taking back his audience to the 13th century India, Mr. Desai began his lecture with a reference to a conflict that existed then between the Hindu and the Muslim cultures as a result of the consolidation of the Muslim rule in Gujrat. The policy of suppression of the early Moham-madan rulers had very little effect upon the culture of the Hindus which had preserved its sanctity and had remained intact in spite of all the adverse influences.

Slowly, however, the Muslims veered round towards constructive efforts and under the influence of the changing spirit of the time a new Hindu culture was evolved. Nanak and Kabir were the exponents of this new culture which breathed a new spirit of unity, and assimilated all the beautiful elements of the two conflicting cultures that preceded it.

The lecturer, in conclusion, referred to the efforts of unity on the part of the Hindu and Muslim scholars of the day, who, after looking through the painful past, had come to realise the value of appreciating each other's

culture—a tendency which subsequently led to the development of Indian art, science, literature and philosophy, the fame of which spread to the farthest nook and corner of the world.

*Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. II.*

The following articles have been published in this Bulletin:—

(1) *Arabic Version of the Mahabharata Legend* by M. Reyanud translated by R.G. Harshe from French. M. Reyanud had originally translated from Persian as extracted from an Arabic work of 1206 A.D.

(2) *Literary Personages of Ahmadnagar* by Mr. C.H. Shaikh. The author has particularly dealt with the works of the great Shāh Tāhir Husain, who spread Shi'ism in the Deccan, and of others like Zuhūri, Qummī, etc.

(3) Dr. M.A. Ghaghtāi, discusses 'Poona in the Muslim Period' tracing its early history from the time when Kandhyana, the famous fort, renamed Simhagadh by Shivaji, which is about ten miles from Poona, was besieged by Muḥammad Tughluq. But from the days of Akbar the actual mention of Poona is made in the *Akbar Nāma* and the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, when it was annexed in 1598.

*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, Vol. XXII, Parts I. and II.*

Mr. C.H. Shaikh writes under the heading 'When and where was Firishta born' Basing his argument on Firishta's statement that his father Ghulam 'Alī Hindu Shāh had composed the chronogram which recorded the simultaneous deaths of three kings of India in 961 A.H., viz., Islām Shāh Sūrī, Nizām Shāh Bāhrī and Maḥmūd III of Gujrat, the author has concluded that Ghulam 'Alī should have been at Ahmadnagar about the year 961 and that he remained there till his death which occurred at Ahmadnagar. This would mean that Firishta was born most probably at Ahmadnagar. But his father's authorship of the chronogram has not been so far corroborated by any other contemporary historian specially by the two seniors of Firishta, i.e., Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad Bakhshī, the author of the *Ṭabāqāt-i-Akbarī* whom Firishta follows in each and every item, and 'Alī Tabbat, the author of the *Burhān Ma'āthir*, who only says "It was composed by one of the scholars." We are unable to find the name of Firishta's father included in the list of either renowned scholars or recognised poets by any authority other than his own son Firishta. Our author does not seem to know that according to Mulla 'Abdul Qadir Badāyūnī, Mīr Sayyid Nī'matullah Rasūli (some MSS. bear 'Rishwati') had composed the chronogram, *Zawāli-i-Khusrawān*, 1961 A.H. Islām Shah in spite of his not having read poetry or retaining apt quota-



tions in his memory and never being a clever critic, used constantly to practise the art of versification with Mīr Sayyid Ni'matulla Rasūli and compose many elegant verses and enjoyed listening to those of his fellow poet, (*Muntakhabat-u-Tawarikh* text Vol. I, p. 415 and English trans. Vol. I, p. 531). In the light of this, the claim made for Firishṭa and his father cannot be substantiated.

The same issue of the *Annals* also contains the text of the lecture, *Indo-Muslim Architecture* by Dr. M. A. Chaghtāi which has already been discussed in the *Islamic Culture*.

### *The Palms*

Ismail Yūsuf College, Bombay, Magazine under the above title (Vol. X, pt. I), contains valuable articles specially in its oriental section which consists of contributions in Arabic, Urdu, Gujrati and Marathi largely written by the students. The Arabic section, though not very long, contains useful articles under the headings الناس على دين ملوكهم by Muḥammad Ramaḍan Iḥsān; ماذا رايت by 'Abdul-Ḥusain and الصلاة عماد الدين by 'Omar bin al-Ḥaj. The Urdu section includes a contribution of a high order by Prof. Sayyid Najib Ashraf Nadavi on سوانح میر، خود ان کی تصانیف کی روشنی میں. Prof. Nadavi has fully and admirably discussed his thesis and almost every detail of the life of the poet has been derived from his own writings. It is a good piece of scientific study. Sayyid Maqbūl has traced the history of the learning of Arabic in Bombay in another article in which he gives an account of Madrasa Hashimiya in the Zikriya Masjid, of Madrasa Muḥammadiya in the Jumma Masjid, of Madrasa 'Āliya Arabia of Kamo Yaqub in the masjid of Maiman Wada and of Madrasa Nizamia on the Ibrahim Road. All these Madrasas working in Bombay for over a century are attached to different trusts. Among those on modern lines are Anjuman Islam High School, Habib High School, Muḥammad Beg High School and Ismail Yusuf College. The last one particularly is well equipped with a competent staff, and has as its head Principal Dr. M. Badhlur Raḥmān, who is an eminent scholar of Arabic and Persian. Besides Dr. Raḥmān, Dr. H.F. al-Hamdāni, Prof. A.M. Moulvī and M. Ibrāhīm Dar are on the staff of the College.

### *Proposed Arabic University for Sind.*

For setting up an Arabic University in Sind, prominent Muslim educationalists, including Mr. Sayyid Miran Muḥammad Shāh, Speaker, Sind Assembly, have formulated proposals in consultation with Dr. U.M. Daudpota, Director of Public Instruction in Sind. It is proposed to have

Hyderabad (Sind) as headquarters for the proposed University which will control twenty Madrasas in various districts.

## NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

*THE Tārīkh Manzūm* (in verse) of *Salātīn Bahamanīya*, edited by Dr. M. 'Abdulla Chaghtāi is being published in the Urdu quarterly, Delhi. It has been based on the MS. belonging to the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. Originally it was a rendering from Persian of the 4th chapter of the *Tārīkh-i-Deccan Amjadiya* into Urdu verse by a poet of the last century, named Suhail. Dr. Chaghtāi has discussed the origin of the Bahamani dynasty and has based his conclusions on contemporary sources, including documents, inscriptions, coins, etc. He comes to the conclusion that the real insignia of the founder was 'Alau'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Bahman Shāh' and that he descended from the ancient family of Iran. Before his accession to the throne at Daulatabad, he was called Hasan Gango or Kango or Kanko. But later his real name Bahman was corrupted into 'Brahman.' Firishṭa is primarily responsible for this corruption. He also states that he was in the service of one Gango pandit at Delhi. But contemporary or later authorities are quite silent on this particular point. In reality the word Kango according to the MSS. of *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* and *Haft Iqlīm* is either Kaikoya or Kāeko which has been derived from the word Kaikāūs, the name of the father of Bahman Shāh. He has also thrown further light on the martyrdom of Khwāja Muḥamūd Gāwān.

A number of useful standard works is expected to be shortly published by the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Delhi, as announced by them. But the only work so far published is the Urdu translation of *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* of Dr. Arthur Christensen in French by Prof. Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl, Oriental College, Lahore. The translation of this standard work is really a great addition to Urdu language. It comprises about 800 pages and it is profusely illustrated with many useful maps and plates relating to ancient Iran.

Seventy-six Arabic, Persian and Urdu manuscripts, preserved in the Bijapur Museum which is housed in the upper storey of the gateway of the *Gol-Gunbad* (The tomb of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh), have been described in two numbers of the *Burhān*. This collection consists of MSS. of Qur'ān jurisprudence, mysticism, poetry, history, etc. It is a pity that not one of these MSS. actually belongs to the royal library of 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bijapur which ruled there for a long period. However, one Qur'ān's colophon showed that it was presented by Wali Bibī, the wife of Yāqūt Khān during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh in 1018 A.H. as it bears his seal, and that it was calligraphed by Ismā'il son of Haji Ma'bari in 1013. Yāqūt Khān was one of the great nobles of the Bijapur court. There is one complete MS. of the poetry of Mulla Sa'id Ashraf,

the tutor of princess Zebu'n-Nisa, daughter of Aurangzeb. Its study throws a good deal of light on the literary career of the princess. The MS. of *Jawāhir Asrārullah* containing the poems of *Shāh 'Alī Jī Gamdham* of Gujrat, who may be regarded as one of the early Hindustani poets, is an important acquisition. Among history books specially worthy of mention is the *Muḥammad Nāma* of *Zahur bin Zahuri* which is an important history of the period of *Sulṭan Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh*.

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*Al-Birūnī's Picture of the World*, edited by A. Zeki Validi Taghan, Professor of Turkish History at Istanbul, Memoir 53, Archæological Survey of India, New Delhi. Astronomy, medicine and chronology are the main subjects on which *Abū-Rayḥān al-Birūnī's* reputation rests. but among his works are also '*Āthārul Bāqiya*' —*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, edited and translated by Ed. Sachau. Coming to India with *Mahmūd Ghaznavi*, *al-Berūnī* made a detailed study of India in '*Tārikh-ul-Hind*' (Account of India, edited and translated by Ed. Sachau). Returning to his native country he also wrote for his patron *Sulṭan Mas'ūd* (son of *Mahmūd*), '*al-Qānun al-Mas'ūdī*' (*Canon Masudicus*), a work partially utilized by many scholars but not yet published or translated in its entirety.

Prof. Zeki Validi Toghān during 1925-26 collected several excellent MSS. and supplemented them with certain other materials from other works by *al-Berūnī*—one on the scientific method of geographical science ; another on stones ('*al-Jamāhir fi'l Jawāhir*') and yet another on drugs ('*Ṣaydala*'). The work based on the collected materials has produced what the learned professor calls a geographical work of the greatest importance ; and in this book it is presented in the original Arabic to the critical student. In 1929 attempts were made by the eminent Russian orientalist and geographer, Prof. Barthold for its publication for the Russian Academy of Sciences. Barthold suddenly died and the idea remained unfulfilled. Later Sir Aurel Stein and Sir John Marshall persuaded the Archæological Survey of India to take up the publication of the work and we must congratulate them for publishing this very valuable work.

The MSS. used in the edition of the above work are mostly preserved in Turkish libraries. The Arabic texts are from the *Canon* (4 pp.). The work reflects credit on the enterprise of the Archæological Survey of India ; it also testifies to the scholarship and industry of Prof. Zeki Validi.

M.A.C.

## NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

MAHMŪD GĀWĀN, THE GREAT  
BAHMANI WAZIR by Professor  
Hārūn Khān Sherwānī, M.A. (Oxon.),  
pp. 267, cloth bound, price Rs. 4-8,  
published by Kitabistan, Allahabad.

MAHMŪD Gāwān is undoubtedly the most illustrious figure in the history of the Deccan; but his biography has so far failed to engage the attention of modern writers. Besides one or two articles, there are only two books in Urdu—*Sirat-u'l-Mahmūd* by 'Azīz Mīrzā (Badāun, 1927) and *Mahmūd Gāwān* by Zahir-u'd-dīn (Hyderabad-Deccan, 1927)—which deal with the life of this great wazīr. Apart from the reluctance of our writers to turn their attention from the doings of crowned heads, the main reason why Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān's biography has hitherto failed to attract scholars is the paucity of existing material on this subject. As Professor Sherwānī discusses in his chapter on "Authorities," the chief sources of information are Firishṭah's accounts and *Burhānu'l-Ma'āthir*, both of which were written long after the death of the Khwājah. Besides, Firishṭah's imagination generally leads him away from sober truth and his glosses are mostly uncritical. The only contemporary sources are (1) *Al-ḍaw'-u'l-lāmī' li'ahl-i-qarn-it-tāsi'* by Shamsuddīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān as-Sakhāwī which contains a fairly long account of Mahmūd Gāwān, (2) *Maṭla'-u's-sa'dain* by 'Abd-u'r-Razzāq which also gives some information, (3) *Inshā-i-Jāmī* by the famous poet Maulānā 'Abd-u'r-Raḥmān Jāmī who was a correspondent of the wazīr, and (4) *Riyāḍ-u'l-inshā* which is an authentic collection of

Mahmūd Gāwān's letters. Of these the last is now proved the best authority on this subject, but the information it contains is meagre compared to its verbosity and tedious rhetoric. The paucity of material imposes great limitations on the Khwāja's biographer, and, therefore, Professor Sherwānī deserves great credit for performing this difficult task so successfully. The readers of this Journal are acquainted with certain portions of his book which have appeared in these columns on several occasions. Within the limited size of the book, we are introduced to practically all the aspects of a life which was so rich and so varied in its achievements; for in Mahmūd Gāwān we have a writer of distinction, a poet of merit, a scholar of great reputation, a successful general, a far-sighted statesman, an efficient administrator, a loyal public servant, a patron of learning and a fountain of charity. His life in India reflects the history not only of the Bahmani Empire of that period, but in a way of all contemporary South India. Professor Sherwānī, therefore, rightly discusses the historical background in detail. He thus sets the stage and then introduces the main actor to play the role in the drama which ends like the mighty tragedies of classical writers in the death of the hero. The dramatic effect is heightened by the fact that our knowledge of the private life of this man is scanty—for Mahmūd Gāwān was essentially a public figure. The touching detail of the wazīr's self-imposed poverty for public good is revealed in the end like a befitting epilogue to a classical tragedy. Professor Sherwānī's book does not quench our thirst; we

want to know more about this paragon of virtue and greatness ; but the author is helpless because of the paucity of material. All that he could gather, he has put before us ; wherever the authorities differ, he has adjudicated on sound lines. One may differ from him in this or that, but the main conclusions are sound, and the main discussions illuminating. A pleasing feature of the book is the use of numismatic evidence which our authors are only too prone to disregard. This has elucidated several points regarding the chronology, genealogy and names of the Bahmani dynasty. The vindication of Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī's character is very convincing. But not so convincing, however, is the contention that Maḥmūd was a Shī'ah, because the evidence to the contrary is almost overwhelming. Similarly in the matter of administrative details, there is some room for disagreement. One would have liked, too, fuller discussion of the work of administration in the life of a wazīr. The sultanates of the Deccan provide, in many cases, the history of the transition between the institution of the Sultāns of Delhi and those of the Mughals.

It would have greatly helped the reader if the publishers had added a map to illustrate the various campaigns mentioned and if the learned author had adopted the system of transliteration recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society. The get up and the print of the book are attractive ; the publishers could have been more careful in reading proofs.

Professor Sherwānī's book meets a long-felt need and this learned work deserves great attention.

I. H. Q.

**THE LAW OF WAR AND PEACE IN ISLAM**, a Study in Muslim International Law, by Majid Khaddūri, pp. 312, price 6 shillings, Luzac, London, 1941.

IN this interesting volume, our author, an Asst. Prof. of the Higher Teachers' Training College, Baghdād, has evinced considerable reading and judi-

cious selection of material. The march of humanity towards a world order has gained a great momentum by the ever-increasing use of steam and electricity, and by the interdependence of the world in consequence of the principle of demand and supply. This is one attraction for the science of international law.

The awakening of modern Muslim youth is making him conscious of his heritage in international law which owes its development if not its very existence as an independent science to his ancestors more than to any other nation of antiquities. The demand for a better system of international law to replace the prevalent yet the tottering one in the West, is another inducement to the Muslim youth for acquainting the world with his own heritage in the hope of that it will be welcomed as a solution of the present day evils.

Prof. Khaddūri has not aimed at the more arduous task of writing a manual of Muslim international law ; he has contented himself with a general sketch or outline of the broad principles on which Muslim international law is based. Had he known the works of his immediate predecessors in the field, he was sure to have improved upon them, and added something to what has already been written. For instance Negīb Armanāzī (Paris, 1929), Chaygān (Paris, 1934), Aḥmad Réchid (The Hague, 1937), all have written monographs on the same subject, not to speak of the works of the non-Muslim Western writers or of the work being serially published in this Journal for the last two years, which is the result of 12 years' concentrated labour.

Though the author does not seem to have added anything new to what has already been published in European languages, many of his observations are interesting and make the book worth careful perusal even by those who have already studied the works of forerunners.

For instance, (on p. 33) he explains that *jihād* being a فرض الكفاية and not a فرض عين not only relieved the surplus of soldiers for other national work, but also " the imposition of the ob-

ligation on the community rather than on individuals made possible the employment of the *jihād* as a community (and consequently a state) instrument. The caliph, accordingly, as head of the community, could make use of it in a more effective way in carrying out public policies."

Again, (on p. 43) he observes incidentally that though the great unifying factor of Islam, the *Khilāfat*, ceased to exist in the very early centuries of Hijra, yet a uniform system of law was followed throughout the whole Muslim world with no less unifying influence.

Certain portions of the work require revision in a new edition. For instance, he has unwittingly committed himself to the outworn theory that the traditions of the Prophet were not recorded in black and white until two centuries after his passing away (p. 12). The work was taken in hand in the very time of the Prophet, and was increasingly continued in the time of the Companions of the Prophet (vide article of Prof. Manāẓir Aḥsan in the *Journal* of the Osmania University, Vol. 7, or its summary in the *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 15).

It would not be true to say that "the *jihād* is a continuous status of war against the unbelievers." The author shows acquaintance (ch. 16) with the toleration of *Dhimīs* in an Islamic state. He should also know that, according to the Qur'ān, there is no compulsion in religion. Islam is no doubt in a state of continuous war against unbelief, but not so the Islamic state; and the war of the Islamic religion is not a war of force!

The "sacred months" (Qur'ān, IX, 5) are said (p. 36) to be those four months in which the Arabs abstained from bloodshed. The context of the verse renders the explanation of Imām Ṣaḥāḥīy more plausible that by the "months of the truce," is meant the duration of the treaty of peace.

بينهم النصر على من دهم يثرب (p. 86) "They will have victory over those who may attack Yathrib." It is not "victory," it is rather "help" and "mutual co-operation."

It was very painful to find the author remarking (on p. 90) that though the attack of the Prophet on Mecca, in the year 8 of Hijra, was necessitated by the violation of the terms of the treaty of peace by the Meccans, yet "there is, however, another aspect to this situation. Muhammad had become very powerful at this time and his authority extended farther than Medīna. Moreover, his prestige and influence as a leader had increased to a large extent among his followers. Consequently Muhammad decided to march on Mecca and he actually captured it in 8 A.H. (A.D. 630). Apparently the Quraish were very weak now and could not offer much resistance. Thus, Muhammad entered the city without difficulty."—It all sounds Dr. Zwemer or Dr. Margoliouth rather than Majid Khaddūri! Does the life of the Prophet offer any instance of violation of pledge merely for the sake of plunder and exploitation of the weak? It is unjust to read in other people's mind one's own ideas, and to impute ulterior motives to actions necessitated by hard facts. Regarding the capture of Mecca, it may be pointed to the author that during the "compensation pilgrimage" (عمرة القضاء) the Meccans had evacuated their city and the Muslims were in complete occupation of Mecca. Had there been any material consideration on the part of the Prophet, it would have been easy for him to leave a garrison there and prevent the Meccans from re-entering their homes, and no one could have dislodged him from there. But that would have been against the spirit of Islam. On pp. 91-92 "Rubāh" has twice been repeated. The correct name is Ru'bah رُوْبَه.

#### ARABICA & ISLAMICA by U-Wayriff

IT is well for the author that he has himself admitted that his work "*Arabica & Islamica*" is not of much erudition." I entirely agree with the opinion of R. Paret, of Heidelberg, in the *Orientalische Literatur Zeitung*, 1939, no. 1, who

says that the treatment of the subject is generally superficial and 'primitiv.' It is a pity that he should have spent so much toil on the work."<sup>1</sup> Apart from the lack of originality, a close and careful study of the book would enable reader to probe into the motive and object of the author as well.

The book seems chiefly to have been written with a view to disparaging both Arabic language and Islam. For instance the author says, "It is very doubtful whether any one has mastered the Arabic plural or the Arabic verb." He then goes on to make the following startling and perverse remark on the student of Arabic grammar: "A thorough conscientious student of Wright's grammar might well become a candidate of a mad-house as Mark Twain described a student of the comparatively easy German language".<sup>2</sup> This sadly betrays the lack of interest taken by the author in learning Arabic grammar and his little knowledge of all the great authors on this subject whose works are sound testimonies of their thorough mastering of it. Perhaps he got afraid of its vast literature and could not master it himself. By including the German language in his above-mentioned remark he makes it obvious that he is one of those who have been persecuted by the Nazis. Another instance of his having been intimidated by the vast and extensive amount of Arabic literature is his remark on 'Historians' where he says, "In the first two volumes, (referring to Ṭabari's *History*) which are annals from the creation of the world to Muḥammad's birth, there are 1072 pages and in the succeeding eleven volumes, which cover about 345 years to A.D. 915, 6982 pages, making in all 8054 long pages. Can any one even of those great Dutch and German scholars who have prepared the Leyden edition have read all this."<sup>3</sup>

In dealing with the life of the Prophet the author has leaned on Hādīth rather

than on Sīra (سيرة) as has been rightly pointed out by Arthur Jeffery in the *Egyptian Gazette*, October 1937. In this connection the subjects selected by him are the Prophet's cruelty,<sup>4</sup> his family matters,<sup>5</sup> his concessions to the Meccans "that three female idols should be admitted to be intercessors with the Almighty,"<sup>6</sup> etc., on which he has taken pains to dwell at great length. Even when he gives some facts about the forgiving nature of the Prophet, he casts on them a shadow of doubt by saying that "the first, as will be seen, is doubtful of authenticity."<sup>7</sup> He has only shown one side of the picture. If he would have also described the teachings of the Prophet, the great service done by him for the welfare of humanity and the influence of Islam on future generations, his work would have been of some use to the reader. His omission of the Prophet's Last Sermon, which embodies his final golden advice for the guidance of his followers through centuries, is a clear proof of his work being incomplete. Instead of describing all the phases of the Prophet's life, he finishes it by saying that, "The enormous existing materials for his (The Prophet's) biography are full of lies."

As regards the remaining portion of the book, the chapter on "Historians" may be of some use to the general readers.

Z.A.

**URDŪ FOR ADULTS (A Phonetic Method)** by Ṣāhibzāda Sa'id-uz-Zafar Khan Member-in-Chief, Public Health and Education, State Council, Bhopal; published by Kitabistan, Allahabad; pp. 33, price Rs. 2-8-0.

**D**URING the past ten years Ṣāhibzāda Sa'iduz-Zafar Khan has been carrying out experiments in teaching on selected groups of adults of different social grades. He has also

1. Preface, page x.

2. The Language, p. 5.

3. P. 242.

4. P. 35.

5. P. 49.

6. P. 21.

7. P. 64.

published two Urdū readers, viz., "Koela" and "Kisān," one primer, and also a brief note on his method of instruction. All these have been published with the co-operation of the Maktabah-e-Jāmi'ah-e-Milliyah, Delhi.

In his foreword to this brochure, the author, after expressing his satisfaction on the recognition of his efforts, writes :

"Several of my friends have expressed the opinion that a detailed note on the method, in English, would be instructive to many of those interested in adult literacy. At the same time, after reading Dr. Laubach's excellent book "Towards a Literate World," I thought it worth while to lay before those conversant with English an alternative method which can claim to be a "shorter circuit than the one he has suggested for Urdū."

The brochure is, no doubt, a valuable attempt of its kind. But it is disappointing to see that it bears no proof of the author's knowledge about other works of the same kind published during the last decade. Mr. Md. Sajjād Mirza, Principal, Osmania Training College, Hyderabad, is also engaged in this kind of work, and has already brought out some useful readers for adults, under his guidance. These were published by the Idāra-e-Adabiyāt-e-Urdū, Hyderabad, early in 1940, and are being successfully used not only in Hyderabad but also in the Bombay Presidency and the Kashmere State. Besides, Mr. Sajjād Mirzā has himself compiled and published a

book on "Urdū Rasm-e-Khaṭ," and Dr. Hamidullāh also has done a great deal of work on the alphabet and transliteration of Urdū. Another book, i.e., *Hindustani Phonetics* is also worth mentioning. It was published in English, from Paris in 1929. All these works have been neglected by the author of this brochure, and consequently, his *Phonetic Method* shows many traces of complete ignorance of the rudiments of phonetics. He does not even differentiate between vowels and diphthongs, and as such the diphthongs *ai* (in International Phonetic Script æ) as in "kai" (how many), and "mai" (I), and *ao* as in "maot" (death) and "sao" (100) are treated as vowels, (see specially Chart No. 2, dealing with the letters of the alphabet). In this way the first 15 pages of the brochure are quite unscientific and indicate the author's lack of knowledge of the subject.

The remaining portion of the brochure deals with (a) the theoretical consideration, and (b) the author's method of instruction. This portion is based on the personal experience of the author. It deals with the real scope and method of his instruction and deserves full appreciation of those who are really interested in this subject. We hope, however, that in the next edition, the world picture charts will also be improved. The hideous Urdū script used in these charts require full attention of the author as well as of the publishers, who have taken every pain to bring out this brochure in such a neat and attractive manner.

S.M.Q.







*[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]*

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## THE ORIGIN OF THE VIZIERATE AND ITS TRUE CHARACTER

THE Vizierate is so typical a feature of the Muslim state that the very term vizier has come to be internationally accepted in the sense of prime-minister with unrestricted powers in an oriental government. Nevertheless, we are far from being in possession of a correct historical conception of the origin and the true character of this important office. *The Encyclopædia of Islam* s.v. *Wazir* (Franz Babinger) takes it for granted that both the word and the institution were borrowed from the Sassanian empire. Even Philip K. Hitti in his brilliant *History of the Arabs* (2nd edition 1940, p. 318), simply speaks of ".... the vizir (wazir), whose office was of Persian origin." In his *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, which appeared in 1936, Arthur Christensen still adheres to the opinion, expressed thirty years before in his *L'Empire des Sassanides*, p. 33, that "la charge de grand vézir....est un emprunt direct (!) de l'Etat Sassanide."<sup>1</sup> But when he comes to describe the office of the Sassanian *Vuzurg framādhār*, the alleged prototype of the vizierate, his lack of material is so considerable that he has recourse to the description of the vizierate by al-Māwardī, a Muslim lawyer, who lived in the eleventh century. In fact, so far, nobody has indicated the channels through which the Muslims borrowed the office of vizier, which came into existence more than a hundred years after the destruction of the Sassanid empire. As a matter of fact, no sources have been adduced to corroborate the assumption that it *was* actually borrowed. This theory is, indeed, nothing but a mere generalisation based on the fact that many Iranians, and above all the famous Barmecides, had held the post of vizier in the Abbasid government, and that books and sayings on Sassanid statecraft in general profoundly impressed Muslim writers. But there have been many viziers of other than Iranian origin, the Barmecides were not the first viziers and above all,

1. The list of authors holding the same opinion could be easily extended. In this connection I should like to mention one book especially devoted to the question, i.e., Harold Bowen, *The Life and Times of 'Alī Ibn 'Isā, 'the Good Vizier,'* Cambridge, 1928. Bowen says on p. 14: "The designation Vizier, of Persian origin, had been introduced by the Abbasids, who had modelled their Court procedure as closely as possible on that of the Sassanians."

their forefathers were Buddhists, not Zoroastrians, and had naturally had no connection with the fanatically Zoroastrian Sassanid administration. For the Muslim writers the vizierate is nothing typically or solely Sassanid; for them it goes without saying that viziers had also been acting in the Greek (Byzantine), Roman, Indian and Chinese empires, as well as in the pre-Islamic Arabic kingdoms.<sup>1</sup> It is true that Buzurgmihr, the vizier of the Sassanid King Khusrō Anūsharvān, is the prototype of the wise minister in Muslim literature. However, it was observed by Th. Noeldeke<sup>2</sup> long ago that Buzurgmihr does *not* appear in strictly historical tradition, but only in rhetorical and moralist writings of the Muslims, from which the late Russian Orientalist W. Barthold<sup>3</sup> very ingeniously inferred that it was not the historical Buzurgmihr who had influenced the Abbasid viziers, but the picture of a legendary Buzurgmihr which had been modelled after the prototypes of the Barmecides and other great Muslim viziers.

As we see, the Persian origin of the vizierate is far from being an established fact. So far the whole question has been treated in much too general a way and has, moreover, been based mainly on juridical literature and books of *Adab*, while the historical narratives and sources especially devoted to the subject, like Ibn 'Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī's *Book of the Viziers and Scribes*,<sup>4</sup> have been neglected. In the following pages an attempt is made to understand the origin and character of the Abbasid vizierate from a close study of its beginnings, and to trace the development of both the term and the office step by step until they acquire the meaning we now commonly attach to them.

We need not dwell on the alleged Persian origin of the word vizier. This question has been recently treated by Professor Sprengling of Chicago in a chapter of his article *From Persian to Arabic* (American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, 1939, pp. 331-336). Sprengling<sup>5</sup> discusses the Persian root from which wazīr might be derived. His conclusion is that with the material at hand clear precision is perhaps unattainable. The Pahlavī word "vicir" means "a legal document" or "decision," but is not used to designate an office, rank, or man; the root is also found in the Persian loan-word *gezirpat*, which is used in the Talmud of the Babylonian Jews as the title of a village official of low rank. The Muslims, although admitting the possibility of loan-words in the Qur'ān, unanimously consider wazīr to be an Arabic word. The eminent

1. Cf., e.g., Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, pp. 339-40.

2. *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 1879, p. 251, note 1.

3. *Die Persische Shuubija und d. moderne wissenschaft* (The Persian Shuubija and Modern Research) *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1912. We shall have occasion to come back to this important article.

4. Published in fac-simile by V. Mzik, 1926. The fact that this most valuable source was published in fac-simile and not in print may be the reason why it was used less widely than it deserves to be. It is only recently that the book has been published in print, and this time by two rival Egyptian editors in the course of one year.

5. Quoting Noeldeke, *Tabarī* 53 and 444 sq., Bartholomæ, *Sitzungsberichte A.W. Heidelberg*, 1920, v. 18, p. 39 sq. and others.

Dutch orientalist, De Goeje, in a note to R. A. Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 256, also expresses the opinion that the word is Arabic.

In contrast with the obscurity prevailing around the alleged Persian origin of the word, we have perfect lucidity in regard to its Arabic derivation. The root *wzr* means "to carry a burden," "to bear responsibility," *wazar* "to help somebody (to carry, etc.)," and *wazīr* is the "helper." In this meaning the word occurs in the Qur'ān, where Aharon is twice called "the helper" of Moses, and is very often found in poems contemporaneous with Muḥammad, both by poets serving the case of Islam like Hassān b. Thābit (Ibn-Hishām, 629, 19)<sup>1</sup> Ka'b b. Mālik (ib. 659, 4) 'Abbās b. Mirdās (ib. 860, 16), and such as had no connection with it (Ibn-Qutaiba, *Shi'r*, 414, 1, a Hudhailit). The word was in common use during the Umayyad period; e.g., Hind b. Zaid, a woman poet, says in respect of Ziyād, the viceroy in the 'Irāq of the caliph Mu'āwiya "*lahu min sharri ummatihi wazīru*," "He (Mu'āwiya) has a helper chosen from the worst people of his nation" (Cheikhō, *Khansā*, 187, 10=Ṭabari, 2, 146, 16), while another poet, Hāritha b. Badr, says, addressing the same man: "You (Ziyād) are his helper—and what an excellent helper you are!"<sup>2</sup> (Ṭabari, 2, 146, 15). The word was also used in later Umayyad times (Ṭab. 2, 778, 2) and, what is of special interest to us (see below, p. 258), in Khorāsān, immediately before the rise of the Abbasids, (Ṭab. 1936, 11) 'Alī, the son of the famous al-Kirmānī, being called *wazīr* of his brother.

At this juncture it may be opportune to leave the history of the word and return to the origin of the institution. When we open Zambaur's *Manual de Genealogie et de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, p. 6, sq., or similar books, we get the impression that an uninterrupted line of viziers following each other started with the reign of the first Abbasid caliph. In reality, things were quite different. It is true, we have a man termed vizier even before Abū'l-'Abbās, the first Abbasid, had been recognized as caliph. But it took a long time, before the office of the plenipotentiary minister came to be regarded as a permanent and indispensable institution of the Muslim state.

The vizierate originated in the days when the relatives of the Prophet, the Abbasids, previous to their rise to power, were busy organizing secret propaganda in many parts of the Muslim empire. The Abbasids lived at al-Ḥumaima, a lonely village in the desert south-east of Palestine, and were unable to lead their cause in person. They had a delegate chief of propaganda in the 'Irāq, whom an old source clumsily styles "*kāna yaktubu 'ala d-du'āt*," "the man who did the work of the chief scribe to the secret

1. I owe this and a number of the following quotations to the *Card-index of the Concordance of Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Poetry*, prepared by the School of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

2. It is, of course, incorrect to say, as Wellhausen, *Arabisches Reich*, p. 81, note 1, does with regard to this verse: "the title (vizier) is found here for the first time." Here, as in the other quotations, *wazīr* is used not in a technical sense, but in the general meaning of "helper." However, it is significant that the viceroy of the caliph is given this epithet by two poets.



agents." When this man died, his son-in-law, Abū-Salama Ḥaṣṣ b. Sulaimān, was made chief of Abbasid propaganda at his request and sent to Khorāsān, that north-eastern province of Iran, where, besides Syria, the most vigorous Muslim soldiers were found. There he was soon recognized by the troops rebelling in favour of the Abbasids, and the fifth part of all booty was secretly sent to him—the most conspicuous privilege of a Muslim ruler in that time (Jahshiyārī, 84-85). When, under the leadership of the extraordinarily gifted Abū-Muslim, the revolt finally succeeded, the Khorāsānjans hailed Abū-Salama as the legitimate representative of the House of Muḥammad. However, they stood before a constitutional puzzle: the Arabs did not owe allegiance to a state or even to a ruling family: the *Bai'ah* (oath of allegiance) was strictly personal and expired with the death of the ruler.<sup>1</sup> At that time, no Abbasid had yet been elected caliph, while any other than personal rule could not be imagined by the Muslims. In this perplexity, "they publicly recognized Abū-Salama and turned over the leadership to him, calling him "the Helper" (wazīr) of the House of Muḥammad. He took over the government and proclaimed the Hāshimite Imamate (caliphate) without nominating anybody as caliph. Abū-Muslim used to address him in his letters as follows: "To the Amīr Ḥaṣṣ...the Helper (wazīr) of the House of Muḥammad from...the Amīr<sup>2</sup> of the House of Muḥammad" (Jahshiyārī, 85-7).<sup>3</sup> Shortly afterwards, Abū-Salama went down to the 'Iraq, where he was also recognized, with the result that—when the Abbasids subsequently appeared there he showed no sign of willingness to relinquish his powers to them. It was only with the help of another Khorāsānī, Abū'l-Jahm, that they succeeded in proclaiming one of themselves caliph and in murdering Abū-Salama.<sup>4</sup>

The preceding account clearly indicates the circumstances in which the word wazīr was first applied to the designation of an office. The position held by Abū-Salama was something unheard of, and a new word had to be found to describe it. The word wazīr, "helper of one's case in his struggle against another," was very appropriate and, as we saw above, p. 257, in vogue in Khorāsān. How strange and novel the title sounded to Muslim ears at that time may be concluded from a famous stanza composed

1. Even a judgment passed by a caliph became void at his death, unless expressly confirmed by his successor.

2. According to the majority of the other sources: the Amin, the trustee, cf., especially *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, ed., De Goeje, p. 221, l. 4-6.

3. Similar narratives are found in other ancient sources, e.g., Ṭabarī, Section 2, Vol. 3, pp. 1916-17 and Mas'ūdi, *Murāj*, ed., 1346, Vol. II, p. 222, but they do not give the constitutional point of view so clearly as Jahshiyārī. For Abū-Salama's title, cf., Ṭabarī, 3, 1, 16, 14 and 20, 14.

4. It is extremely significant that a later source, the famous al-Fakhri, which had so great an influence on the European conception of Muslim history, describes these events with a slight, but very important alteration: Abū'l-'Abbās nominated Abū-Salama, vizier after his Coronation and then Abū-Salama was called "the helper (wazīr) of the House of Muḥammad." Al-Fakhri is obviously copying al-Jahshiyārī, but for the sake of uniformity he changes his original. He could not imagine a self-made vizier preceding his own caliph.

on the occasion of Abū-Salama's murder :

" Lo ! the Helper (wazīr), the Helper of the House of Muḥammad has perished. Thus the man who hated you was Helper ! "

(Ṭabarī, Section 3, v. 1, p. 60, l. 18. Mas'ūdī, *Jahshiyārī*, etc.).

I think there can be no doubt that the threefold repetition of the word " wazīr " and the ironical assertion that a man who hated the Abbasids was their " helper," prove that the poet and his contemporaries found it curious that " wazīr " should designate an office, and show at the same time that it was the original meaning of the word, " helper," which was familiar to everybody. In the whole matter I can see Iranian influence in one respect only : their predilection for pompous titles may have inspired the deeply Iranized Arabs of *Khorāsān*, while the Arabs in general, at that time, were slow in giving *epitheta ornantia*, cf. above p. 258.

Now we must not imagine that immediately after the fall of Abū-Salama another " vizier " was appointed by the caliph. Nothing of the kind is reported in the reliable old sources. Even the comparatively late al-Fakhrī, who cannot imagine an Abbasid caliph without a vizier, admits that there is a controversy as to who was Abū-Salama's successor, and mentions that according to one tradition 'nobody' assumed this title because of the bad omen adhering to it after Abū-Salama's murder. Some, he says, mention Abu'l-Jahm<sup>1</sup> (cf. above). Others, like Ṣūlī, prefer Khālīd b. Barmak.<sup>2</sup> Concerning him, however, we have the more detailed statement of *Jahshiyārī*, pp. 90-91, which says that he gradually succeeded in uniting various offices in his hand (e.g., the supervision of tax collection and military pay-rolls), until he was *like* a vizier (*ḥall mahall al-wazīr*, p. 91, 1), which can only mean that in those days there existed no established institution officially called by that name. This conclusion exactly corresponds to what is known to us about the inner policy of the early Abbasids. Far from consenting to govern by deputy, they murdered, one by one, all the able men who paved their way to power : Abū-Salama, Abū-Muslim and Abu'l-Jahm. As people born and bred in Arabia, they conceived the same form of government as the Marwānid Umayyads, coming fresh from Arabia, tried to establish : *family-rule*, the majority of the important posts being held by the brothers, uncles and cousins of the ruling caliph.<sup>3</sup> This is what we find under Abu'l-'Abbās and sometime

1. *Jahshiyārī*, p. 156, 2, calls him, in an informal way, the vizier of Abu'l-'Abbās. Cf. also the list in Ṭabarī, 3, 88, 11, who, however, mentions Abu'l-Jahm's appointment nowhere in his historical account. For other sources, cf. L. Caetani, *Cronografia Generale del Bacino Mediterraneo e dell' Oriente Musulmano*, 1923, pp. 82-4 (A.H. 136).

2. Mentioned in Ṭabarī, II, 840, 3, as the *Kātib* of Abu'l-'Abbās.

3. According to al-Haitham b. 'Adī, al-Manṣūr says the following to his son and heir in his political testament : " ... Give precedence to the members of your family, overwhelm them with benefits ... and appoint them to the important posts, for their being honoured is an honour to you " (Ṭabarī 3444, 7-10). The system, however, proved to be of little success, most probably because the members of the ruling family, as most of the caliphs themselves, were not gifted for administrative work. Obviously with regard to this state of affairs al-Haitham makes al-Manṣūr add to this part of his political testament to his son :—" But I am sure you will not follow my advice. "

after him. When he died, his cousin 'Isā b. Mūsā, not, as was the rule with later caliphs, a vizier or chamberlain, saw to it that the successor designated by him safely assumed authority. Al-Manṣūr, the second of the Abbasids and the real founder of their administration, was such an autocrat that Noeldeke<sup>1</sup> in his detailed biography of him does not even mention the question of the vizierate under his rule. In this omission Noeldeke's description reflects the old sources, so carefully studied by him. There is even some evidence that al-Manṣūr complained of his lack of a competent collaborator or representative. In three places of his *Ansāb al-Aṣhrāf*, al-Balādhurī<sup>2</sup> quotes the following words of al-Manṣūr: "Each of the great Umayyad caliphs had a man who did their work (*Kāfiya*)<sup>3</sup>, but I have nobody of this description (*wa'anā walā kāfiya lī*). These words of al-Manṣūr refer to the three famous viceroys of the 'Irāq under Umayyad rule.<sup>4</sup> There is another saying of al-Manṣūr which shows his want of a competent minister even more directly. Jaḥshiyārī, p. 81, makes him say: "I envy the Umayyads their scribe, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā." 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was the chancellor of Marwān, the last Umayyad, and had a function similar to that held by the later Abbasid viziers; for Marwān was fighting throughout his reign and had no time for the administration of his vast empire. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd seems to have been a man of ability and character, and some of his sayings are quoted in Muslim writings on statecraft. As we have seen, al-Manṣūr complained of not having found an assistant of this calibre. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the *Kitāb Ansāb al-Aṣhrāf* of al-Balādhurī, which often represents the oldest tradition known to us, does not mention viziers under al-Manṣūr, and, in a special chapter devoted to him, calls Abū-Ayyūb al-Mūryānī, the most conspicuous of al-Manṣūr's servants who are styled vizier by other sources,—simply *Katibū Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, "the scribe of the caliph" (*Ansāb al-Aṣhrāf*, MS., fol. 325a).<sup>5</sup> The same is done by Ibn-Kathīr in his *al-Bidāya wan-Nihāya*, Vol. X, p. 111, while reporting his fall in 154 A.H., where he had special reason to call him by his official title. If I am not mistaken, even Ṭabarī, who very often refers to Abū-Ayyūb, never speaks of him as vizier. On the other hand, Jaḥshiyārī mentions viziers under Abū'l-'Abbās, and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 231, l. 4 (ed. Paris 1871, v. VI,

1. In the book *Orientalische Skizzen*, translated into English under the name *Oriental Sketches*.

2. MS. fol. 311b, 583a, 585a. A full edition of this monumental compendium of Arabic historiography is in preparation by the School of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. So far, there have appeared Vol. 5 edited by the present writer and the Second Part of Vol. 4 edited by Dr. Schloessinger. Owing to war, the publication of a number of other volumes, partly printed or ready for print, had to be postponed.

3. According to Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 339, last line, *kāfi* was the title of the viziers of the pre-Islamic Arabic kings.

4. Cf. also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ed. 1346, II, p. 239, l. 22.

5. In Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 465, l. 4, in a note copied from *Al-Madā'inī*, Abū-Aiyub is called vizier. The note deals with the materials used in connection with the government stationery.

pp. 165-6) gives a list of viziers under al-Manṣūr, which is even expanded by *Kitāb al-'Uyūn, Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, 268-9. As we have seen, the name of a vizier appears in Ṭabarī in a list of officers under the first caliph.

But we must not attach too much importance to the occasional mentioning of the title of vizier at this early period or to its occurrence in schematical lists. All the historical records of the Muslims which have come down to us were compiled at a time when the vizierate had long been a well-established institution. It is no more astonishing to find writers of the third or fourth centuries of the Hijra ascribing the title of vizier to persons who may never have borne it, than to find historians of the fifth or sixth centuries speaking of the first Umayyads in Spain as caliphs,<sup>1</sup> although they were still far from assuming that dignity. What we have to look for are definite statements concerning the official use of the word vizier, and details about the origin, rise, and, particularly, the activities of the more important men who were known as viziers in the earlier days of the Abbasid caliphate.

The first<sup>2</sup> man who deserves our attention in this respect is Abū-Ayyūb al-Mūryānī, of whom we have already had occasion to observe that he is called a "scribe" and not a "vizier" in good sources.<sup>3</sup> Al-Mūryānī originated from *Khūzistān* in south-west Iran and served as secretary to one of the Umayyad governors. In this capacity he saved the later caliph al-Manṣūr from corporal punishment which was to be inflicted on him for participation in a *Hāshimit* conspiracy (*Jahshiyārī*, 103). Notwithstanding this, after the victory of the Abbasids he needed the recommendation of a noble Kindite to be taken by al-Manṣūr into his personal service (*Ansāb al-Ashraf*, fol. 325a). Al-Mūryānī said of himself that he was well versed in alchemy, medicine, astrology, arithmetic and sorcery,<sup>4</sup> but not in Muslim law (*Jahshiyārī*, 101). At first he served as an assistant to al-Manṣūr's secretary, 'Abd al-Malik b. Humaid al-Ḥarrānī,<sup>5</sup> and the two must have acted jointly during many years, for they often appear together as the advisers of al-Manṣūr in administrative and other public matters (Ṭabarī, 3, p. 273 and 291).

1. e.g., in *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, 225, 11.

2. In the places quoted above, al-Mas'ūdī and K. al-'Uyūn reckon Ibn-'Atīya al-Bāhilī, who is better known under the name Abu'l-Jahm (cf. above), as the first of al-Manṣūr's viziers. There exists a famous anecdote about his poisoning by the ruthless caliph (related by al-Fakhrī and others; the original in *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, fol. 311a), but nothing indicates that he held a position similar to that of a vizier with al-Manṣūr. Possibly there is a confusion with Abu'l-Jahm's service to Abu'l-'Abbas, cf. above.

3. The *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā* of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, ed. A. Eghbal, 1939, p. 17, l. 16 calls him 'the treasurer,' obviously in connection with the story reported of him in that book.

4. It should, of course, not surprise us to find alchemy and sorcery mentioned in the same category as medicine and arithmetic. On the other hand, it is worth noting how the writer describes his erudition as strictly secular.

5. Of Ḥarrān, the town of the 'star-worshippers.' Converts from this centre of secular learning and emporium of international traffic gave to Islam some illustrious scholars and men of affairs.

Abū-Ayyūb was of a more sociable character than his superior.<sup>1</sup> When the latter fell ill, he acted as his substitute and finally replaced him. The scope of Abū-Ayyūb's powers may be gathered from the appointments made by al-Manṣūr after his overthrow: in Abū-Ayyūb's place three persons were engaged, one for the seal, another for the caliph's general and confidential correspondence, and a third for the royal estates (Jahshiyārī, 139). From this and some occasional remarks of the historians, we may infer that Abū-Ayyūb did not have the supervision of tax collection and military pay-rolls, which was regarded as being so important an office as to make its holder "like a vizier" (cf. above p. 259). His was essentially the *personal service of the caliph*, including (a) the attendance on the caliph on public occasions (often in historical accounts), (b) service as his counsellor, (c) the conduct of caliph's correspondence, and, last but not least, (d) the administration of the royal estates,<sup>2</sup> a very important office, as the revenue from them seems to have been at that time one of the chief pillars on which the caliph's power rested. It is in connection with this part of Abū-Ayyūb's duties that the sources explain his success by his suppleness and personal charm.

Al-Rabī', the next man regarded as al-Manṣūr's vizier by many sources, appears as the caliph's personal attendant even more than Abū-Ayyūb. His origin was quite different from that of his predecessor. While Abū-Ayyūb came from Iran and had formerly served in the Umayyad administration, al-Rabī' was a slave and a descendant of freedmen,<sup>3</sup> who had lived for several generations in Madīna. An uncle of the first Abbasid caliph bought him, giving him then to his nephew, who was greatly pleased with his service (*fakhḍamahū waḥḥaffa 'alā qalbihi*). After the death of Abul-'Abbās, al-Manṣūr made al-Rabī' his chamberlain (*ḥājib*), under which title he is generally known in Arabic historiography. Some time after Abū-Ayyūb's fall, al-Manṣūr entrusted him with the supervision of the royal household (*naḥqātahu*)<sup>4</sup> and with 'ard alaihi, i.e., the act of submitting state affairs to the caliph,<sup>5</sup> services which were called "vizierate" by Jahshiyārī, cf. p. 140, l. 4, 10 and 16.

The origin of the vizierate from the *personal service of the caliph* can be gathered with full clearness from the way by which, under the caliphs following al-Manṣūr, many viziers arrived at their position. When al-Manṣūr appointed his son and heir al-Mahdī governor of the eastern

1. The smoothness of his character became proverbial. One writer speaks of "Abū-Ayyūb's Ointment," which is explained literally: he used to anoint his face with a certain oil before entering al-Manṣūr's presence, cf. his statement concerning his proficiency in sorcery, noted above.

2. Created by the confiscation of the lands belonging to the last Umayyad caliph and his followers, cf. Jahshiyārī, 92.

3. For this origin, cf. Jahshiyārī, p. 140, and especially the lengthy exposition of the matter in al-Fakhri.

4. According to *Ansāb al-Ashrafī*, fol. 329b, for sometime also with his correspondence; cf. Abū-Ayyūb's office described above.

5. Al-Rabī' shared this part of his office with another, less famous freedman, Jahshiyārī, 153, 7-8. Both appear together on public occasions as the caliph's attendants, ib. 157, 7.

provinces, he "joined to him" (*damma ilaihi*, *Jahshiyārī*, 141, l. 8) Abū-'Ubaidallah Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdallah as his scribe; with full liberty to dispose of public revenue (ib. 143, 4), the heir-apparent being then very young—about seventeen. Mu'āwiya's appointment was regarded as permanent. *Khālīd* b. Barmak says to him, (ib. 143, 9): "You prepare yourself for governing the caliphate" (*turashshihu nafsaka litadbiri'l-khilāfat*) and as soon as al-Mahdī became caliph, he appointed Abū-'Ubaidallah to the vizierate. In the same way, al-Mahdī gave a special adviser<sup>1</sup> to his son and successor al-Hādī (*khuṣṣa bi-Mūsā*, ib. 198, 4), a man who afterwards became vizier to his young ward (ib. 197, 10), while for his second son and successor Hārūn al-Rashīd, on the occasion of his being made governor-general of the western part of the empire, he appointed the famous secretary *Khālīd* b. Barmak as plenipotentiary adviser (*Wa-amara kātibahu Khālidan bitawalli dhālika kullihi wa-tadbirihi*). Hārūn al-Rashīd followed the same course with his two sons and successors: he gave al-Amīn to the charge of his subsequent vizier al-Faḍl b. Yaḥya (*Jahsh*, 234), while al-Mā'mūn, having at first been the ward of Ja'far the Barmecide<sup>2</sup> (ib. p. 258), received al-Faḍl b. Sahl as secretary and administrator of all his affairs (*alā kitābatihi wa amrihi kullihi*). The same al-Faḍl afterwards became his first and most famous vizier (ib. p. 337).<sup>3</sup> And what the fathers did for their sons, brothers did for brothers: after the death of *Khālīd* b. Barmak, al-Hādī nominated his son Yaḥyā b. *Khālīd* to be administrator of all the provinces of Hārūn and to be his kātib (ib. 200). The vizier of al-Mu'taṣim was the man who served as his secretary during the caliphate of his brother al-Mā'mūn (Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 356).

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(To be continued).

1. Ibrāhīm b. Dhakwān al-Harrānī, again a man originating from Harrān.

2. As al-Mā'mūn was born in 170/786 and Ja'far was killed by Hārūn in 187/803, the crown-prince must have been almost a child when he received his prospective vizier as tutor.

3. In later times we find the acting vizier charged with the education of the heir-apparent. Al-Mu'tazz was under the care (*fi ḥajr*) of 'Ubaidallah b. Yahya, his father's vizier. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 362.

# ISLAMIC MYSTICISM :

## TAŞAW-WUF IN THEORY AND IN PRACTICE

“Through the course of Islamic history, Islam’s culture was challenged, but never overpowered, for Şūfī and other mystical thought had always come to the rescue of its most dogmatic preaching and always given it that strength and power which no challenge could destroy,”—*Prof. Gibbs at the Oxford University Majlis, on February 3, 1942.*

IN my previous article called “Islamic Mysticism” in the April number of the *Islamic Culture* of 1941, I shewed how important Islamic Mysticism, Taşaw-wuf—often called Şūfī-ism—was for a clear and comprehensive understanding of Muslim culture and Muslim literature itself, whether Arabic, Persian or Urdu ; and I reviewed a book by Dr. Burhān Aḥmad Fārūqī, which in my opinion was the best introduction to Islamic Mysticism, Taşaw-wuf, that had appeared for the first time in the English language. In the following pages I complete that article by giving what I believe to be the *‘Itr* of the principles and practices of modern Taşaw-wuf. They are based on the Qur’ān itself and are quite consistent with the modern ideas and conclusions of science<sup>1</sup> so far as the Şūfī’s Ideal of God and Love of God<sup>2</sup> are concerned. By *‘Itr* I mean the essence which the alembic of my mind has distilled from the impressions of various aspects of Taşaw-wuf which it received from numerous talks and discussions with Mystics of all sorts and conditions during the last thirty years of my life.<sup>3</sup> My object in writing this Essay is not to inculcate or preach any special kind of Taşaw-wuf or Mysticism, but only to explain Taşaw-wuf in order to enable the readers of this Quarterly the better to understand Islamic culture, which is interpenetrated through and through by Islamic Mysticism.

Assuming the Universe (as the mind of man can conceive and

1. Such as, for example, that ours is a *real* Universe, an expanding (dynamic, not static) Universe, expanding at the rate of 28,300,000 miles per day (*Jeans*), that the particles of matter in it are  $10^{79}$ , i.e. the integer 1 followed by eighty ciphers (*Eddington*), and that the rest is “empty space,” about which no one can tell anything. I remember having read in the proceedings of a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science that a distinguished member suggested that the “empty space” in atoms as well as in nebulae might be assumed to contain the Energy (God) that controls all and is controllable by none.

2. Space has prevented me from writing anything on the Love of God which is an important part of the Şūfī theory and practice. It is however implied in the Realisation of the Ideal of God.

3. I cannot say that my view of the theory and practice of Taşaw-wuf is perfectly correct, but I claim that it is reasonably correct because it has been arrived at after searching enquiries, long discussions, and deep thought. I have referred less to books than to living Şūfis, Vedantis and other Mystics in order to clear away doubts and remove difficulties which I had in understanding Mysticism.

comprehend it) to be real in every sense of the word<sup>1</sup>, a modern Şūfī who lives in the days of wireless communication and aerial navigation would tell you that his one and only object in life is "to idealise the Real, in order to realise the Ideal, for the purpose of gaining bliss for oneself and imparting beatitude to mankind." This statement will carry little meaning to many people without a good deal of definition and explanation. I wish to escape long and learned discussions by concentrating attention on certain principal theories and practices of Muslim Mystics—Şūfīs as they call themselves—as briefly as possible, avoiding as much of the technical or metaphysical language as I can. In answer to a question on the B.B.C. Radio, a man of science as well as of letters, Professor Julian Huxley, remarked that mystics transformed human personality itself while statesmen and legislators dealt with mere questions of human nature as they arose. Of this more hereafter; I mention it here, in passing, as the reason why Islam is more akin to science and is better inclined towards Mysticism than any other religion of the world. But what is Islamic Mysticism or Şūfī-ism, better called, Taşaw-wuf تصوف? It is the result or consummation of Taş-weef, تصویف, viz., certain practices under particular circumstances whereby a man attunes<sup>2</sup> himself, his whole personality, to what he believes to be Reality, حقيقة, or حق, Truth. If you enquire of a Muslim Mystic what is the Reality or Truth he believes in, his answer will be but one word, هو HE! And if you bothered him to explain further, he would say that (تصوف ایک دوحی حال ہے زبانِ قال میں نہیں آسکتا),

Taşaw-wuf is but a mood of a man's self or soul (which he names "I"), and that it cannot be argued or explained either by word of mouth or in writing or even by signs and diagrams. "Get into the mood," he would say, "you will experience God, and enjoy the bliss resulting from the experience; it will do good not only to yourself but also to your circle of friends and neighbours." But the question of questions in Taşaw-wuf is:—How to get into that mood? The answer to this question is wrapt in mystery, and it could not be otherwise, as it will be found in the sequel. There is however no mystery in all other questions which arise in Taşaw-wuf, except perhaps in the mystifying terminology and poetical imagery which many a Şūfī poet has imported into it. My object is to describe as simply as possible (i) the foundations of Taşaw-wuf, (ii) its test of truth, its postulates and main theories, then (iii) to tackle the mystery of its method from the point of view of modern science, especially of modern psychology, and lastly (iv) to conclude with an analogical explanation of the mystery, followed by a word or two on the use and abuse of Taşaw-wuf.

1. Şūfīs treat the words Truth, God, Nature, Cosmos and Universe as synonymous and take them all to mean "the One and the Same," which they call Reality. To them nothing is real except God, who is حق, Truth, and who is ALL, همه اوست. What is meant by ALL will appear in the course of this Essay.

2. Thanks to the Radio, we are familiar with the meaning of "tuning in," and it is not difficult in these days to understand the meaning of "tuning with" or "to attune to."



In the previous article, I explained that the psychological basis of Taṣaw-wuf was the religious sentiment of mankind, and pointed out how one Ṣūfī's Idea of God or Reality seemed to differ from that of another Ṣūfī, according as the one or the other formed it exclusively from any one of the three different elements which constituted that sentiment, viz. the *Object* (the intuition of the One who controls all and is controllable by none), the *Emotion* (the feeling of entire dependence on that One), and the *Impulse* (to worship that One, i.e. to do something or other to be at one with Him). But, the religious sentiment being universal, any correct idea or Ideal of God founded on it could not be other than one and the same.

### I.—IDEALISATION OF THE REAL

MAN, who has a finite mind and lives in the realm of relativity, cannot know God, the Infinite and Absolute, in quite the same way as he knows his fellow-men or anything in his own surroundings called "environment." Nevertheless, no man can help forming some idea or notion of God when he looks around himself and observes changes, either quick or gradual, everywhere, in every thing, and in every situation in the world. He must needs satisfy his curiosity as to who or what it is that effects those changes. The traditional religion of the family in which he was brought up compelled him in his youth to entertain some idea of God—such as the idea of Father of fathers (Creator of the Universe), the King of kings (Ruler of the Universe) and so forth—who controls all and is controllable by none. The main object or aspiration of every Ṣūfī in all countries, throughout the ages during the last thirteen centuries, has ever been *to have as correct an idea or Ideal of God as possible* amid the science and culture of his own time, in order that he may concentrate his whole personality—his soul or self or what he calls "I"—on it *for the purpose of experiencing God by or in his own self*. The motive which impels him to form<sup>1</sup> a correct Ideal of God and to learn to live in that Ideal—in just the same manner as he lives in his own home—is of course to obtain bliss (فردوس, "Paradise") for himself. He is not, however, selfish or so centred in himself as to become useless to his neighbours or mankind. The Ṣūfī is not an Ascetic or Bunbasi. No, the moment he attains bliss for himself, he begins to spread it among his friends and neighbours by example and precept—less by precepts than by example. His life and conduct disclose his Ideal of God and the bliss he derives from "living" in it.

By the word "Ideal" the Ṣūfī means a composite idea, i.e., a main idea associated with and disassociated from several other ideas, positive or negative—ideas of what the main idea should be and what it should

1. Men sometimes talk as if God was a Grand Person who sat on his Throne ('Arsh), surrounded by prophets and saints of all ages and countries, with angels standing or hovering about Him coming with reports from several worlds and hastening back to carry out orders. That is *personifying God* for the purpose of talk to illustrate and explain any spiritual or moral principle, but it is certainly not *idealising God* or forming an idea of God for the purpose of contemplation and devotion. Personification is quite different from Idealisation. Neither process should, however, be carried too far.

not be. The main idea about "God" is a unique Power or Energy, which controls all and is controllable by none. With this main idea, as well as from it, other ideas are associated and disassociated so as to make it clear what He, هو, is and what He, هو, is not.

Now, what is the Şūfī's composite idea or Ideal of God? He derives it from the Qur'ān itself—from the Chapter named *Purity*, اخلاص, and certain verses from other Chapters. They suggest the correct Ideal which a Şūfī should entertain for the purpose of attuning himself—his "I," i.e. his whole personality—to it.

I venture to quote and translate the Sūra in the way a modern Şūfī would translate it into English. I quote also a part of آية الكرسي, the *Throne Verse*, and another verse from the Chapter named the *Merciful*, الرحمن. I have put in square brackets brief *nota bene's* to be expanded in the sequel. I trust the reader will forgive some repetition of words and ideas in order to drive home the essential meaning underlying the Ideal.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	In the name of God the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.
قل :	Say : [Direct people to conceive of God thus :]
( ١ ) هو الله احد	1) It is He who is the One and only One God ; [the One Whole without any Other].
( ٢ ) الله الصمد	2) He is the Eternal Becoming ; [the Unique Continuum of Creative Process].
( ٣ ) لم يلد ولم يولد	3) He begets not : neither was He ever begotten ; [He has neither parents nor children].
( ٤ ) ولم يكن له كفوا احد	4) And there cannot be any relative or any relation whatever to Him ; [He has no relatives—indeed no environment].
Qur'ān 112 : 1-4	
* * *	* * *
( ٥ ) الله لا اله الا هو الحى القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم	5) God ! There is no deity but He, who ever lives by Himself and ever sustains Himself by Himself. Neither fatigue nor sleep overtakes Him.
Qur'ān 2 : 255	
* * *	* * *
( ٦ ) يستلهم من فى السموات والارض كل يوم هو فى شان <sup>1</sup>	6) Every creature in the heavens and on earth seeks (its needs) of Him. In a new and splendid state does He shine every day [every small period of time].
Qur'ān 55 : 29	

1. بارمارا هر زمان نام و نشان ديگر است "كل يوم هو فى شان"، بك نشان ديگر است

The Sūra and verses quoted and translated reveal to the Šūfī what his Ideal of God should contain and what it should not contain—what his conception or notion of God should be and what it should not be. The main idea should be that He is One who controls all but is controllable by none, taking the word “control”<sup>1</sup> in the widest sense. This idea should not be overlaid by or associated with any idea that God is like any *person*, man or woman; because a “person” has relatives like father, mother, son, daughter, brother, uncle, cousin, etc., but God has none such. There cannot be any *relative* to Him. Nor indeed can there be any *relation* unto Him. There is nothing before or behind Him, neither anything above or below Him, nor is there anything to his right or left. He has no dimensions of length, breadth and height. In fact there is absolutely nothing beside Himself, هو هو.

Again, the Ideal should not contain any idea that God is or is like a plant or animal; because “God does not beget and is not begotten” (لم يلد ولم يولد). Plants grow out of seeds, and animals are born of parents, but God cannot be conceived of as having grown out of any seed or as having been born of parents. Neither could a Šūfī call God a *thing*; because every thing has some surrounding or environment, but God has no environment of any kind whatever. He is one without another; without any one as his partner (لا شريك له) or as his colleague (لا ندله); nor is there any one like unto Him (لا مثل له) nor is any one the opposite<sup>2</sup> of Him (لا ضده).

Lastly, the Šūfī's Ideal of God should not include in it or associate with it any idea that God is a *being* (هستی) or *existence* (وجود) in the sense of something standing-still, resting or stagnating; because every being or existence we know of is subject to fatigue and needs rest. But God is ever-alive (هو الحي), ever-moving, never-resting and self-sustaining (القيوم).<sup>3</sup> Never has He any fatigue nor does He go to sleep (لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم).

Well, if the Šūfī's Ideal of God does not include any idea that God is a *person* in the ordinary sense of the word; or that He is a *plant* or *animal*; or that He is any *thing* with environment; or that He is a resting being, or stagnating existence; what else is HE? He is the ONE (هو الله احد)—not the *one* which is divisible into parts or fractions, neither is He the *one* which could be resolved into factors, nor is He the *one* which is articulated by fitting parts like a toy or machine, nor is He the *one* like an

1. The word “control” in the mouth of a Šūfī connotes creation and protection as well as destruction or adjustment. See p. 270 below.

2. “Opposite” in the sense to be explained in section II: “There is no no-God,” says the Šūfī, “i.e. two negatives make one affirmative: there is God only and none else.”

3. The word القيوم should be taken to mean not any static (standing-still) thing but a continuum of process or movement. A river looked at from a distance appears to be a long sheet of standing water, it is nevertheless a *continuum* of moving water.

organized individual—organized by several organs like the body of a man. God is One Whole, greater than the sum-total of any parts—greater than the product of any factors. *He is the One Whole which contains all and excludes nothing* (هو الكل). He is the One Whole without any other to be compared with Him, in other words, He is the one Whole without any Environment whatever.<sup>1</sup> *He is All and there is no other "all" besides him.* If, as was pointed out above, this "Whole" or "All" is not a Being or Existence in the sense of a fatigued existence or a resting being, what else is this WHOLE or ALL? It is الصمد, the one unique, universal process of "Eternal Becoming." It is a misnomer to some extent to call God "the Supreme Being," because the word "being" imports the idea of fatigue or rest which is not applicable to God. But it is quite right to say that God is the *Eternal Becoming*; because the word "becoming" rejects any idea of fatigue or rest and connotes continuity and continuousness.

Moulānā Rūmī detected the universal evolutionary process *a priori* and sang:—

ازجمادی مردم و نامی شدم	From out the form of mineral I passed And as vegetable lived again;
وز نما مردم بچیان سرزدم	From out the vegetable form I died And lifted up a head as animal. <sup>2</sup>

Before him few Ṣūfīs could clearly grasp and understand the difference between "Being" and "Becoming," or correctly interpret the verse, کل يوم هو فی شان, "Every day in new splendour does He shine." The majority of Ṣūfīs took the word الصمد to mean "the One ever-moving Existence" or "the one non-resting Being." This was in a way a contradiction in terms. It led them into controversies regarding the Essence, ذات, and Attributes, صفات, of God. A small minority of Ṣūfīs,<sup>3</sup> however, brushed aside all controversies with the statement that no question of essence and attributes arises when the *ad hoc* Ideal of God is formulated as suggested by the Qur'ān itself, i.e. as the one and only *Process of Becoming*—the Continuum of Life, which is a universal process of folding and unfolding Movement—a process of Involution and Evolution.

In short, the Ṣūfī Ideal of God is that the Supreme Maker, (المحی), the Supreme Mender, (المهيمن) and the Supreme Ender (الممیت) is One Eternal Becoming, (الصمد). This is called an "*ad hoc* ideal;" because no idea, notion or concept of the finite mind of man can be God as He really is or continues to be, but only an ideal formed for a special purpose, the

1. In the Ṣūfī's conception God is the One Universal Process, Unique and Indivisible.

2. Quoted and translated by Dr. Bhagwan Das in his marvellous book, *Essential Unity of All Religions*

3. Some Ṣūfīs would not say God exists but only God lives, because existence might mean rest while life is continuous and continual movement.

purpose namely of realising, that is, "living in" or "experiencing," God by Intuition<sup>1</sup>—by an Internal Sense corresponding to the Outer Sense of Touch. I cannot digress here to explain how Intuition is the basis of the development of all Internal Senses : Inspiration, Vision, Clairvoyance, etc., الهام، مشاهدہ، کشف، وغیرہم، in the same manner as Touch is the basis of the development of all Outer Senses like Taste, Smell, Hearing, etc.

To summarise the *ad hoc* Ideal of God in a single sentence : It is the one and unique continuum of a never-resting but ever-moving process of tri-une nature, at once creative, protective and destructive, embracing all that a man can think, infer or imagine. This ideal being too abstract for ordinary men to comprehend rightly, the Šūfīs express and inculcate it by analogies ; two of them will be mentioned presently.

There are Šūfīs like Shāh Walī-ullāh of Delhi who reconcile both schools of Šūfī's—the Subjective School which asserts همه اوست "He is All" and the Objective School which affirms همه ازوست "All is from Him"—by saying that there is in fact no essential difference between them except in the words used by each school.<sup>2</sup> Such Unityists have explained the Ideal of the Eternal Becoming, الصمد، as One Continuum of two apparent processes, each process manifesting itself as the opposite of the other, one regarded conventionally as a *positive* process and the other as a *negative* process, named severally as assimilative (اجتماعی) and dissimilative (افتراق) or folding and unfolding, destructive and creative, merging and emerging processes. But a large majority of Šūfīs do not care for fine distinctions and differentiations. They leave these distinctions or differences to be quarrelled about by scholastics، متکلمین، and philosophers, saying with Moulānā' Rūmī—

ماز قرآن مغز را برداشتیم  
استخوان پیش سگان انداختیم

We have taken the marrow from the Qur'ān.  
We throw the bones before dogs (to fight over).

They are quite content to form in their imagination a picture of the Ideal of God—the Eternal Becoming—by a familiar analogy. They imagine *It* to be like a shoreless River that flows ceaselessly in a spiral without beginning or end. On its surface are imagined to be innumerable waves of ever-varying sizes and shapes, rising and falling in all directions. The waves are named "events." Each wave again has on its surface bubbles which appear and disappear ever and anon. The bubbles are named "indivi-

1. Some Šūfīs call Intuition, "Self-consciousness."

2. Compare what one of the most modern philosophers, Henri Bergson, says of the difference between Mind and Matter in his book *Creative Evolution*. Mind and Matter are two processes each in an opposite direction of the one identical movement. Before Bergson the famous Professor William James wrote that each percept is polarized into "subject" and "object"—into the mental aspect and the material aspect of the one identical state of consciousness.

duals." There are sub-flows, eddies, geysers, and what not, in the course of the River's flow. They are called "cataclysms," such as typhoons, earthquakes, rebellions, wars, etc. The one outstanding characteristic of the shoreless River, as well as of its innumerable rising and falling waves, and also of the appearing and disappearing bubbles, is that there is no two-ness (اثنييت) or duality between the River and its Waves or between its Waves and Bubbles. The River (Reality or God), the Waves (Events) and the Bubbles (Individuals) are all essentially one and the same. This imaginary picture is like the personification of God mentioned in the footnote to page 266 above, invented just to help us to understand and to inculcate some spiritual principle, which would not otherwise be understandable by man's finite mind in the world of relativity or inter-relations in which he lives.

The more intellectual among modern Şūfīs would explain the Ideal, viz., the Eternal Becoming both in the abstract and in the concrete, by the analogy of a certain continuum of movement which we call electricity, and which is not strange even to the man in the street nowadays. As a process in the abstract, electricity is a continuum of movement (technically called a circuit) of surging electrons on wires; it is "generated" by the movement of an armature round a "living magnet" or *vice versa*; it "flows" on the wires and gives us heat, light, and power wherever we take the wires with necessary relays, etc. But looked at in the concrete, electricity implies and includes coal, oil, plants, houses, poles, wires, bulbs, machinery, etc., as well as numerous men, women, boys and girls, and cattle that constantly work, repair, and protect the whole concern; not only that, but also innumerable daily relations and situations between any two of them and between each individual and the whole concern. In short, electricity is in the abstract, a continuum of movement and, in the concrete, it implies and includes lots of things and persons and their daily situations and relations. So, by an imperfect analogy, electricity resembles the Ideal which the Şūfī forms of God as Eternal Becoming. It is in the abstract, I repeat, a unique process or continuum of movement, but in the concrete it implies and includes an incalculably immense number of persons, things, and beings as well as conditions, relations, and situations—"space-time events and their mutual relations," as the scientist would call them; or "body-soul individuals and their situations," as the Şūfī terms them. Hence the Şūfī creed is: There is nothing Real except God and He is ALL, لا اله (لاحقيقة) الا الله وهو الكل. Of this more anon.

## II.—TESTS, DEFINITIONS, AND POSTULATES

I believe I have written enough on the cardinal *theory* of Taşaw-wuf, viz., the Idealisation of the Real. I have to go further and explain the cardinal *practice* of Taşaw-wuf, viz., the Realisation of the Ideal, which

is generally termed Annihilation or Extinction in God, فنا في الله. This is the supreme goal or the final end or the *summum bonum* which every Šūfī strives to attain by several methods, steps, stages, etc. In order to explain at least two or three of them it is necessary to refer as briefly as possible to certain tests and certain definitions and postulates as follows :—

(a) What is it which is called soul ? The Šūfī would answer quite simply : The soul is what every man calls “ I ” (انا-من-میں) and refers to as “ Me ” (انا-نیت), and he appropriates to himself persons and things by saying “ My ” or “ Mine.” “ I ” or “ Me ” is nothing more or less than *oneself*. The Šūfī would not trouble himself with any rigid, or definite, and much less any psychological definition of Self or “ I.” He would however say that the nature of all souls, whatever they be, is the same. Souls differ from each other in degree only and not in kind. *Life, mind, and soul* are names of but three principal degrees of “ Soul,” “ Self,” or “ I.” The test by which it can be ascertained whether a thing has any soul is : whether it responds to an appropriate stimulus. Sir Jagdish Bose, who was as great a Vedanti as he was a great man of science, proved that not only plants but also stones have souls ; because both plants and stones responded to some appropriate electric stimuli which he applied to them, just as a frog, of which the brain has been removed, responds to the touch of a live electric wire. Šūfīs, like Vedantis, believe that there is nothing which has not life, mind, or soul in some degree. Every thing without exception has both a soul and a body.

(b) Similar to Einstein’s “ space-time events ” are the Šūfī’s “ body-soul individuals ” : just as space-time events are inseparable twins, so are body-soul individuals inseparable from each other. In the same way as there can be no space without time, neither time without space, so there can be no body without a soul of some degree, neither can there be a soul without a body of some sort. A soulless body or a bodyless soul is unthinkable—therefore, does not exist. Even those who say that they see the soul of a dead man see it in some shape or other which is its body. The scientist’s space-time events are in fact, I repeat, the same as the Šūfī’s body-soul individuals. It should be noted that while bodies may differ from one another in degree as well as in kind, souls differ from one another in degree only and not in kind. In other words, all souls are of one kind only and differ from one another only in degree. The soul of a man and the soul of a protozoon are of one and the same kind, though the soul of a man is of an immensely higher degree than the soul of a protozoon ; while the body of the former differs from that of the latter apparently in degree of organisation as well as in the kind of organs.

(c) Writers on Logic call the opposite (contradictory) of “ horse, ” “ not-horse ”, and mean by it every animal in “ the universe of hoofed

quadrupeds " except the class of animals called " horse." But the Ṣūfī means much more than that by the term " not-horse." He means the *absolute opposite* of horse, viz., the whole Universe of all animals—bipeds, quadrupeds, centipedes and what not—all persons, all things, in fact, all beings except the beings called horse. In other words the Ṣūfī understands the term " not-horse " to mean the *whole* Universe of persons and things, their respective conditions, relations, and situations *except* the kind of animals called " horse." I have already pointed out that the soul is what every person—every " body-soul individual "—calls " I, " and the opposite of " I, " انا—the opposite of self or soul—are respectively " not - I, " لا انا and not-soul, غير روح, and they mean " the whole Universe except I, " and " the whole Universe except the particular soul, " respectively.<sup>1</sup> It may be noted here that the Ṣūfīs use the words : " Reality " حقيقة, " Truth " حق, " Nature " فطرة, " the Universe " العالم (all عالمين Universes taken together as the one Universe) as if all these words were synonymous : because in their opinion they all mean *God*, the one and only Reality. This reminds us of the Ṣūfī's Creed already mentioned, viz. *there is nothing real except God and He is All*. It is in order to explain the words " real " and " all " in that creed that I have taxed the patience of the reader with definitions, postulates, and a test of Truth, which is the Inconceivability of the Opposite.

(d) What is Reality, حقيقة or Truth, حق? The Ṣūfī's answer to this great question is very simple. It is the definition as well as the proof of Reality or Truth. It is that the absolute opposite of Reality or Truth, viz. " Not-reality " (Nothing) or " Not-truth " (Naught), is inconceivable and therefore does not exist. In other words Reality or Truth alone exists. It should be remembered that in the opinion of Ṣūfīs everything *moves* and nothing *rests*, therefore *exists* means *lives*.<sup>2</sup> Inconceivability of the Opposite was the test of Truth which Evolutionary Ṣūfīs like Moulāna Rūmī had adopted several centuries before Herbert Spencer and Henri Bergson. The latter in his *Creative Evolution* says, quite rightly, like the old Ṣūfīs, that if you say that a certain house is empty you mean empty only relatively : that the house has no occupants or furniture, and you do not mean that it is empty absolutely, for it is filled with air and cannot therefore be said to be quite empty. Hence if a man says that he can imagine an absolute void which he calls Nothing or Naught

1. I have explained and illustrated " I " and " not-I " fully in my brochure (of which one part is in English and the other part in Urdu). *The Philosophy of Faqirs*, second edition, published by Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf of Lahore, the enterprising publisher of the remarkable translation of the Qur'ān with notes and commentaries by 'Allama 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī, C.B.E., sometime Revenue Member of the Executive Council of Hyderabad.

2. See p. 269, n. 3.



he is quite wrong, because he is there gazing into his imagined void ! Thus the absolute Nothing or Naught—absolute “not-reality” or “not-truth”—the opposite of Reality, Truth, or God, never existed and does not exist—or rather, does not live. فقط “هـ” هـ “نہیں” نہیں ہے. “Only is exists, no does not exist,” as a reverend old Şūfī put it to me. He said that that was the meaning of the Arabic saying : لا ضلہ there is no opposite to Him, i.e., God or Absolute Reality—the Absolute Truth—has no opposite in the Şūfī sense of the word already explained.

After the very important words “Real” and “True,” which are considered synonymous, meaning the one and only living God, the most important of all words in the Şūfī creed (الكل همه اوست-هو الكل) is الكل or همه. All. What does it mean ? The nature of all has already been explained at great length as الصمد, the Eternal Becoming—the one Continuum of a unique, folding and unfolding (destructive and creative) Movement, under the heading which may be termed variously, the Notion of Reality, the Idea of Truth, or the Ideal of God. We have now to find the content of All, الكل, according to the Şūfī belief. The All consists of (firstly) body-soul individuals and (secondly) their situations with regard to one another and (thirdly) with regard to the Whole. We may note here the remarkable correspondence, or rather similarity, between the old old beliefs of the Şūfī and the most recent conclusions of science which I ventured to summarise at the outset in the first foot-note to page 1. The modern scientist says that in the expanding Universe there are particles of matter (duly counted and enumerated) and empty spaces in atoms and in nebulae, as well as between any pair of particles or groups of particles of big things. The Şūfī was convinced long ago that in the ever-moving and never-resting Universe called “Eternal Becoming”—which the scientist calls the Expanding Universe—there are body-soul individuals and the situations between any pair of individuals or any two groups of individuals ! What are the “empty spaces” of the scientist and the “situations” of the Şūfī ? They are the fields of unknown and unknowable controlling lines of forces, analogous, and only analogous, to the lines of force discovered by Faraday in the electric fields. Thus, as has already been pointed out, الصمد, the Eternal Becoming controls all and is controllable by none.<sup>1</sup>

### III.—REALISATION OF THE IDEAL

HAVING done with the theories and beliefs of Şūfis we come to their practices. As a rule, the Şūfis pay attention less to theory than to

1. Some Şūfis recite یا اللہ with every inhaling breath and الصمد with every exhaling breath, as a means of purifying their soul, براے ترکیہ نفس. I knew a man who recited them standing on his head or hanging with his feet up. Şūfis do not encourage such معکوس ذکر.

practice. As we have already noted, their practices are collectively called Taṣ-weef, تصوف, of which the result or fruit is Taṣaw-wuf, تصوف. This is generally named Realisation of the Ideal of God, called technically Extinction in God, فنا في الله, and commonly termed Experiencing God. There are, I believe, no less than a score of methods of making a man fit to experience God, i.e., to realise the Ideal of God, viz., الصمد the Eternal Becoming already explained at length. Although the methods are kept secret from common people lest they should misunderstand them, or be misled by them, the Ṣūfīs have no objection to communicating a method or two to educated people, who, they believe, will not misunderstand or be misled by them. There is no mystery in the method but there is certainly much mystery in making it effective and fruitful. That is simply because it cannot be made effective and fruitful by word of mouth and much less by any mark, sign, or writing, but only by direct communication from heart to heart—communication of one soul with another—communication of one whole personality (body-soul individual) with another whole personality—in order that the superior personality of the master, مرشد, may so transform and transmute the inferior personality of the disciple, مرید, as to make the latter fit to experience God, to realise the Ideal or to annihilate or extinguish himself in God. I may mention but two methods of making a man fit for such experience, one a Subjective Method and the other an Objective Method.

(1) The *Subjective Method* is based on “I,” انا, and its absolute opposite “not-I,” لا انا, that is, on the soul and her environment. This method may be best and briefly described by an imaginary conversation of a Master (M) with his Disciple (D).

M : You know we call God by numerous names of which the chief are the Universe, العالم, Reality, حقيقة, and Truth, حق. What does the Universe consist of ?

D : As you have taught me, it consists of my “I” and my “not-I,” and nothing more or less. That is to say, my I and my not-I exhaust the Universe and nothing else is included in it and nothing else is left over. I can write it down thus :—

$$\text{God} = \text{the Universe}^1 = \text{my I} \rightarrow \times \leftarrow \text{my not-I},$$

where the sign  $\rightarrow \times \leftarrow$  means indivisibly and indissolubly connected  $\times$  with each other and  $\rightarrow \leftarrow$  acting and re-acting on each other.

M : You mean by “my I” your soul, but what do you mean by “my not-I”?

1. The sign  $\times$  (into) is superimposed on the sign  $+$  (plus) to make it clear that the Universe العالم is not only the sum but also the product of all individual Universes, عالَمین. The Sūra-e-Fātiḥa calls God رب العالمین the Cherisher or Nourisher of all Universes.

D : I mean not only my primary environment, my body, but also my secondary environment, all that is outside the skin of my body, ranging from atoms of the surrounding air on earth to the nebulae and the vast empty spaces between them in the heavens.

M : What do you mean by the word "my" in the expression my I, my not-I, "my body" and "my body's environment"?

D : I mean that everything on earth and in the heavens belongs to me, is mine and nobody else's. For example, if you asked me, 'Who is that woman in your environment?' I would answer, "She is my wife's mother's cousin's daughter." She belongs to me, though not proximately like my wife, yet remotely, no matter how remotely. So she is a part of my not-I, my body's environment. So also the British Constitution belongs to me because it is my country's Rulers' Ally's Government's Form or Constitution! It belongs to me because it is an inseparable part, though a remote and intangible part, of my not-I, my Environment.

M : Then you understand that Truth, Reality, the Universe or God, is no more or less than what you would call "I and Mine," and you will write down :  $\text{Truth} = \text{My} \rightarrow + \leftarrow \text{Mine} = \text{My} \rightarrow \times \leftarrow \text{Mine}$ .

D : Yes, my dear Master, by your favour.

M : You are now fit to live in truth and love, in other words, to realise the Ideal—and I will teach you how.

Thus will the master initiate the disciple into the mysteries and transform and transmute his personality so that he may, if so disposed, cry out in ecstasy انا الحق, "I am Truth," like the martyred Šūfī Sarmad at Delhi in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzebe.

(2) The *Objective Method* is adopted generally by Šūfīs who would not say همه اوست, "He is All," but would say only همه ازوست, "All is from Him." In this method the disciple is made fit to experience God and "to live in truth and love" by three stages. Firstly, by influencing him spiritually (mystically) so as to make him think, feel, and act as if all his own and others acts افعال are acts of God only and of no one else. This stage is called فنا فی الافعال, "Annihilation in God in acts," so far as acts of oneself and of others are concerned. Secondly, by influencing the disciple spiritually (mystically) so as to make him think, feel, and act as if all his own qualities as well as the qualities of others are only of God and of no one else. This stage is called فنا فی الصفات, "Annihilation in God in attributes, i.e., so far as qualities, characteristics, and attributes are concerned. Thirdly and lastly, when the master is thoroughly convinced that the disciple has annihilated himself quite well in acts and in attributes of God, he is so influenced spiritually (mystically) as to make him think, feel, and act as if he is merged in Reality, Truth, or God Himself.

This supreme stage is called فنا فی اللہ, Annihilation of oneself in God Himself.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.—EXPLANATION OF MYSTERY BY ANALOGY<sup>2</sup>

I have said more than once that there is no mystery in Taṣaw-wuf (Muslim Mysticism) except in the manner in which one personality (body-soul individual) influences other personalities (body-soul individuals), so as to make them experience or "intuite" God, i.e., to feel that the self lives, moves, and has its being in الصمد, God, the Eternal Becoming. The ecstasy of the experience is the result of the consummation mentioned repeatedly as فنا فی اللہ, Annihilation or Extinction in God. *How* this comes about is the question. The answer is: By generating and using "the soul force" in a manner quite analogous to generating and using electricity.

Scientists believe that there are "empty spaces" in a nebula and between one nebula and another, as between protons and electrons in an atom and between one atom and another in a molecule, but Ṣūfīs assert that خلاصہ an absolute vacuum, is impossible but that the so-called "empty spaces," like electric fields, are filled with lines of divine force of energy, which "lines" control all movements from those of electrons to those of stars and nebulae. The scientists believe that lines of force in the electric field, when cut by the movement of an armature round a magnet (or a magnet round an armature), generate electricity. Similarly the Ṣūfīs believe that in a man, "a body-soul individual,"<sup>3</sup> the body and the soul act like armature and magnet, and moving round each other cut the subtle lines of divine energy<sup>4</sup> (lines of all-controlling energy)

1. The emotional school of Ṣūfīs attains Annihilation in God by way of Love and Devotion. Said one of the school: "I cannot love such an Ideal as the Eternal Becoming, but instead I love Muḥammad (Peace be on him!) as a fine product and therefore the best representative of that Infinite and Absolute Process. Our Prophet called himself عبد اللہ, 'Slave of God,' but I take the name to mean that he was neither God nor slave but one between the two, عبد, a perfect man." Others of this school assert عشق مجازی سے عشق حقیقی حاصل ہوتا ہے, that the love of the Ephemeral leads to the love of the Permanent or Real—resulting in Annihilation in God. *How?* and *why?* are mysteries communicated from soul to soul, from heart to heart, only an adept and his disciples know, but they cannot tell.

2. This section gives the gist of the opinion of the late Moulvi Mir Aḥmad Ḥussain Bil-Yamīn, a modern Ṣūfī who had several disciples among the professors and advanced students of the Osmania University.

3. Read my *Philosophy of Faqirs* for further details and explanations of Muslim Mysticism. It is enough to add here that the Ṣūfī theory of body-soul individuals does away with the difficulty of defining Matter and Mind and distinguishing each from the other.

4. What the famous American Physicist Dr. Robert Willikan calls "cosmic rays" might well be the Ṣūfī's "lines of divine force or energy." The Tata Trust gives an annual donation of Rs. 20,000 for three years for the investigation of the properties of cosmic rays. See *The Times of India* of March 28, 1942.

that fills not only the so-called "empty spaces" but also all spaces everywhere without exception. The cutting of *the divine lines of energy* by the body and the soul in each person (i.e., in each body-soul individual) generates *the soul-force*. And the soul-force of the master and the soul-force of the disciple act and re-act on each other so that both run in the same or similar groove or channel in the one and the same direction, just as an alternating current of electricity is converted to a direct current. Thus the master guides and enables the disciple to attain and pass out of the several stages in order to reach the supreme goal, the Extinction of Self in God, whom both conceive of as the Eternal Becoming.

When a Şūfī has fully entered into this realisation of his Ideal, this annihilation or extinction of himself in his own idea of God, he is in a position to mould his own circumstances, to transmute all evil into good, and to weave with a master hand the fabric of his own destiny and to some extent that of his neighbours too.

I would say in conclusion that even if one be unable to concur with the high-sounding claim of modern Şūfīs, none can demur to Prof. Gibb's statement that Taşaw-wuf has ever been a tower of strength to Islam throughout its history. Since, according to Dr. Julian Huxley, the Şūfī transforms personality itself, I have no doubt that a million true Şūfīs spread over the face of the globe would suffice to usher in the millennium on earth. But the total number of such true Şūfīs is unfortunately very small, and the "experiences" which some of them have of God are, like visits of angels, few and far between. Nevertheless true Şūfīs, like the disciples of Jesus, are the salt of the earth. . . . . So much *for* the use of Taşaw-wuf, but a lot more can be said *against* the abuse of it by false Şūfīs. Their name is legion. They are undoubtedly the curse of the earth. I do not wish to disfigure this essay by an enumeration of the abuses of Taşaw-wuf. They are but too apparent. Not a few Muslims in India have a lively sense of the curse when the so-called Şūfīs and Faqīrs have troubled them with subtle requests for money or money's worth by attempting "to put some fear of God into them."

A. H. AMIN JUNG.

## INSHA'-I-MAHRU OR TARASSUL-I-'AIN-UL-MULKĪ

THERE are very few official documents, collections of private letters, or memoirs relating to the history of the pre-Mughal period. Memoirs, autobiographies, diaries, etc., must have been written during this period, but war, political revolutions, neglect, and the climatic conditions of our country have led to the disappearance of most of them, with the exception of a few historical works that have escaped the ravages of man and nature. The only treatise on *Inshā'* or collection of specimens of epistolary style well known to the student of history and literature is the famous *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī*. This voluminous and abstruse collection of epistles is not an official history or even a collection of official documents but is "professedly written to demonstrate his (*Khusrau's*) powers of rhetoric and his skill in the use of words ;" but, in spite of its grandiloquent style, a careful perusal of the book yields "interesting and instructive information of a varied character, besides many graphic descriptions of various social phenomena and references to manners and morals." Another such collection of letters and official documents which, if carefully examined, can yield much information of a social, political, military and economic nature is the little known *Insha-i-Māhrū*, or *Tarassul-i-'Ain-ul Mulki*, of 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī, who figures so prominently as a soldier and statesman during the *Khilji* and the *Tughlaq* periods. A rare but imperfect manuscript of this work is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The manuscript belonged originally to the library of *Tipū Sultān*, and after the extinction of that kingdom found its way to the library of the College of Fort William at Calcutta. The manuscript consists of about 270 folios. I have not yet examined the original manuscript but have studied the transcribed copy in the Allahabad University Library, which was lent to me through the courtesy of Dr. R. P. Tripathi. The transcribed copy is very defective and appears to have been carelessly made, and no attempt seems to have been made to correct the obvious mistakes of the *Munshī*. The headings of some of the letters are given in red ink, but are omitted in many cases or are incomplete and vague towards the end. It is difficult to make an analysis of the documents without detailed study, and I propose to prepare at a future date a detailed

subject-index and an analytical summary, with translations of some of the most important letters in this unique collection. The following extract from the descriptive note on the *Insha'* will give a fairly good idea of its character.

"An interesting and apparently rare collection of official documents and private letters dating from the end of the 8th/14th century. They were primarily intended by the author to serve generally as models for elegant official correspondence, and therefore some of them are either sufficiently vague, stating no definite facts, or the names and the dates of persons and places are intentionally omitted. But in spite of this the collection as a whole contains a great number of interesting allusions and references to many people who played a prominent part in the history of India in the second half of the 8th century A.H. The student of the Indian life of that period could here find much information, especially with regard to conditions in Sind.....

"Of this work apparently no other copies are known... It is very defective at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end.....

"There are 124 letters in all, arranged more or less systematically : first are given the documents issued by the central government, and then the author's own letters ; (a) addressed to divines, Šūfis, Qādis, etc.; (b) to princes, noblemen, officials ; (c) to friends, relatives and subordinates."

As is stated above, the collection consists of 124 letters in all. In the beginning is a collection of documents issued from the central government and relating to appointments of governors, wazīrs, dādbēgs, muhtasibs, etc., and grants for the maintenance of *khanqāhs*, letters to Hindu chiefs, etc. Of the first fourteen letters some are of considerable interest, as they supply information on subjects on which the contemporary historians are either silent or tantalisingly vague and indefinite. The letters to the Hindu chiefs are valuable as showing the relations between the central government and the feudatory Hindu chiefs. Another document is a proclamation addressed to the A'imma, Sādāt, Mashā'ikh, Khāns, Maliks and to all the Ra'iyats and the general public of Lakhnauti. There is further a draft of an oath of allegiance which the noblemen were apparently expected to take, and which is a valuable aid to the understanding of the relations between the Sultān and his officers and enables us at the same time to reconstruct the theories held so far about the spirit and the structure of the Oudh Sultanate.

I have not come across any references to the *Inshā'-i-Māhrū* in the works of the contemporary historians except that of Shams Sirāj 'Afif, who speaks of the *Tarassul-i-'Ainul Mulki* as one of the many literary works of Māhrū which was extensively read and held in high esteem in his times. The book appears to have been eclipsed by the works of Abul-Faḍl and his contemporaries, whose *Inshā'* have served as models for many a century. No other work of Māhrū is known to exist at present in any library.

It is very difficult to reconstruct the life and career of 'Ain-ul-Mulk

from the meagre information that is available. Contemporary records give him a good character and present him as an eminent and capable soldier, statesman and scholar. He is mentioned as 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī, or Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk, by the contemporary historians, but his full name is not given by them. His name and official titles are given in the *Inshā* in letter no. 3, appointing him to the governorship of Multan, which was perhaps his last official appointment. The dates of his birth and death are unknown, but the fact that he was a distinguished Malik at the court of Jalāl'uddīn Fērōz and 'Alā'uddīn *Khiljī* and lived through the difficult and stirring times that followed the death of the latter, and attained distinction in the time of Fērōz *Shāh Tughlaq*, shows that he must have lived to a ripe old age, honoured and respected by his Sultān and his contemporaries.

'Ain-ul-Mulk was probably born in Multan, and his family might have settled there with the first wave of immigrants who made Multan a premier Muslim town in the 11th and 12th centuries; or if he was an Indian by birth his ancestors were converted to Islam during that century. In his reply to the letter of Malik *Ghāzī* from Dipalpure requesting him to join him against the upstart of *Khusrau*, he asserts that for ten generations his family had professed Islam. He is identified with the Indian Muslim noblemen who asserted their right to posts of power and wealth after the *Khiljī* revolution, and came in conflict with the foreigners in the time of *Mohammad Tughlaq*.

Barnī mentions the name of Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī amongst the officers of Jalāl'uddīn Fērōz *Khiljī*, but not amongst the favoured few who were appointed to distinguished offices on the accession of that monarch. Probably he was attached to the staff of 'Alā'uddīn when the latter was appointed governor of Karra. 'Ain-ul-Mulk however does not appear to have been associated with those who planned the murder of Jalāl'uddīn. In the time of 'Alā'uddīn he first appears at Rantambhor amongst those young officers who chalked out the policy and programme of that monarch. Barnī speaks well of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, but places him amongst the notables of the "second generation," who came to prominence in the time of 'Alā'uddīn. In 1300 Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk *Shihāb Sultānī* was sent against Malwa to "extirpate the rebels of that country." He was later sent to suppress the rebellion in Gujarat. When *Khusrau* ascended the throne 'Ain-ul-Mulk was at Delhi. *Ghāzī* Malik wrote to him to join him, but he played a waiting game and, to save his life, showed the Malik's letter to *Khusrau*, but at the same time promised the Malik to stay out of the struggle and join the *Ghāzī*. He again figures amongst the prominent officers of *Muhammad Tughlaq*, during whose reign he held Oudh and Zafarabad.

When in 747 A.H. (1346-47) *Mohammad Tughlaq* led his forces towards Hindustan, he was joined at Swargdwarī by 'Ain-ul-Mulk. *Mohammad Tughlaq* wanted to send him to Daulatabad with his cavalry, retainers, and brothers. 'Ain-ul-Mulk had previously been joined by a large number of writers from Delhi who had been accused of embezzlement, and he had the armies and resources of the Doab at his command.



He got suspicious of the Sultān and fled from Swargdawari and was joined by his brother Shākirulla. A battle was fought at the ford of Lidbah. Shahr-ul-Mulk was drowned, and 'Ain-ul-Mulk was taken prisoner. Bare-headed, he was mounted on an ass and taken to the emperor, who kept him a prisoner for some time but restored him to favour later on. Ibn-Baṭūṭa, who was present at this campaign, has given a detailed account of this incident. 'Ain-ul-Mulk appears to have wavered again in his loyalty to Delhi after the death of Moḥammad Tughlaq, and immediately after his accession Fērōz sent his forces against him. The latter, however, soon after discovered which was the winning horse, went over to the side of Fērōz, and sent him the letter of Khawaja Jahān inviting him to join forces against Fērōz. 'Ain-ul-Mulk was appointed Mushrif-i-Mamālik by Fērōz, and according to Nizām'uddīn he was made Mustaufī and Mushrif of the Dīwān.

Shams-i-Sirāj Afif gives a detailed notice of 'Ain-ul-Mulk and I reproduce it in full here :

" 'Ain-ul-Mulk was called 'Ain Māhrū. In the beginning of his reign, Sultān Fērōz appointed him Ashraf-ul-Mamālik at the ministry. 'Ain-ul-Mulk was an intelligent, accomplished, and learned man, and unsurpassed in wisdom, ability and judgment. From motives of political expediency Sultān Moḥammad bin-Tughlaq Shāh had in his reign visited 'Ain-ul-Mulk with moanavi punishment (?), because of the improper and unlawful behaviour of his brothers. But after some days Sultān Muḥammad held a public court, and a small carpet was placed next to the throne. He summoned to this court all the Qādis, 'Alims, Shaikhs, Khāns, Maliks, notables, and the general public from all directions. When the well-wishers of the court had assembled in a short time, rubbed their foreheads on the ground in humble submission, and with all reverence stood in their respective positions, Sultān Muḥammad commanded all the courtiers to be brought before him. When they came near him, he said, 'I put to you a question :—If a man should lose a priceless gem, and after some time find it lying in dirt, should he pick it up or leave it there ?' The nobles and officers of the empire replied, 'It should be picked up. It would not be wise to leave it there.' On hearing this answer the Sultān pointed towards 'Ain-ul-Mulk and said, 'That gem of mine is 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who had the misfortune to be found among his slovenly brothers. I picked him up and have found in him my gem.' It was commanded that 'Ain-ul-Mulk be seated on the carpet referred to above. He was the author of several works of learning in the reigns of Muḥammad Shāh and Fērōz Shāh, one of them the well-known Tarassul-i-'Ain-ul-Mulkī.

" On receiving the office of Ashraf-i-Mamālik in Fērōz Shāh's reign 'Ain-ul-Mulk occupied his seat in the ministry and began discharging his duties with great zeal, checking the accounts of the maqtas. But, under Divine will, differences arose between him and Khān-e-Jahān, the minister, several times. Owing to the extreme bitterness that existed between them they made sarcastic remarks against each other. Their quarrel reached

such a pitch that while they occupied their seats in the office in front of the door of the palace they freely indulged in raillery and exchanged insolent remarks ; their altercations exceeded all bounds. One day, while discussing the duties of Ashraf, the minister said to 'Ain-ul-Mulk, 'What has the Mushrif to do with the register of expenditure, that he should take it into his head to demand those details from maqtas ? The Mushrif is in charge of the income. The duty of verification of expenditure belongs to the Mustaufi.' Ain-ul-Mulk retorted : , 'What concern has the Mustaufi with the detailed register of income ?' Both went, debating and exchanging abusive language, before the Sultān to seek his decision regarding the duties of the Mushrif and the Mustaufi. Sultān Fērōz thereupon passed an order to the effect that the maqtas and other officers of the empire should be instructed to furnish the details of income and a brief account of expenditure to the Ishrāf office ; details of expenditure and a summary of income to the Istifā' office ; and details of both income and expenditure to the office of the ministry. From that time up to this day that ordinance of Sultān Fērōz was issued to the ministry ; while before that, under the former Sultāns, the officers used to send detailed descriptions (both of income and expenditure) to all the three offices. The contention of the two parties reached such a height, that often, in the course of conversation, Khān-e-Jahān openly used harsh language in the face of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who also replied in a similar strain, without observing the slightest delicacy.

" It has been related to the writer that once Sultān Fērōz went out of Delhi on a hunting expedition, accompanied by Khān-e-Jahān Maqbūl and the impertinent 'Ain-ul-Mulk. The emperor had encamped at a place. At mid-day 'Ain-ul-Mulk suddenly rode from his tent. On reaching the entrance of Khān-e-Jahān's camp, he alighted from his horse and entered. The Khān's attendants informed him of 'Ain-ul-Mulk's arrival, but before he had come out of his tent to receive Malik one of 'Ain-ul-Mulk's companions pointed out that the camp they had entered was Khān-e-Jahān's. 'Ain-ul-Mulk thereupon reprimanded his men and said, 'O absent-minded fellows, why did you not tell me when I had alighted before the minister's camp ?' Saying this the Malik turned back without seeing Khān-e-Jahān and proceeded to the royal camp to see the Sultān. When Khān-e-Jahān learnt that 'Ain-ul-Mulk had returned without seeing him and had gone to the royal camp, he also rode to the Sultān and complained of the Malik's discourtesy. Fērōz Shāh called 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and smilingly addressed him thus, ' Khawajā 'Ain-ul-Dīn, what was the reason for your entering Khān-e-Jahān's camp, and then returning without seeing him ? You ought to have seen him at least !' 'Ain-ul-Mulk touched upon secrets of government (?) in replying : 'This servant had not intended to go to Khān-e-Jahān's camp. I was coming to the royal camp, but alighted at Khān-e-Jahān's door by mistake. This error was due to the fact that there was apparently nothing to distinguish the two camps. The king has the red tent, and the minister has also the red tent ; the king has the reception-tent, the court-tent and the sleeping-

tent, and the minister also has similar tents ; elephants stand before the minister's door just as they stand before the king's door.' When the ambitious 'Ain-ul-Mulk had finished his perverted speech, Khān-e-Jahān retorted, 'My stay in this country is no longer possible, and I will now proceed to the holy Ka'ba. For up to this day contention between us was concerned with money ; in whatever fashion it could be possible we carried on. But now the mischievous 'Ain-ul-Mulk has caused a rift between me and the emperor and my life is no more secure. Travelling provisions may be given to me for my journey to the holy Ka'ba !' The Sultān rose and retired into privacy, meditating on the discord between the two officers.

" The dispute continued unabated, and it is not possible to describe all that passed between the minister and the Mushrif. One day both were sitting in the ministry, exchanging extremely bitter remarks, when, suddenly, the minister said to the face of the Mushrif—'You villain ! rascal !!' 'Ain-ul-Mulk replied insultingly, and used foul language. His Majesty was then in his private chambers, whither the minister repaired. On finding him extremely excited, the Sultān enquired, 'Khān-e-Jahān ! what is the matter ?' that is, what had brought him there in the Sultān's hours of retirement. The minister replied, 'This villainous 'Ain-ul-Mulk sitting in the ministry, has used improper language to the very face of this servant of the lord of the world. His Majesty, having favoured his servant, has exalted him to the dignity of minister, and, trusting in him, has placed him on the masnad. If anybody enviously insults me at that place, what prestige will be left to me ? When His Majesty's trusted servants lose their dignity, they also lose credit among the people. Orders may graciously be issued for the bestowal of the masnad on 'Ain-ul-Mulk.' After some reflection the Sultān replied, 'Khān-e-Jahān, I have placed the ministry under your charge. All its officers are your subordinates. Whomsoever you keep, he remains ; whoever is removed by you, is dismissed. If 'Ain-ul-Mulk treats you with contempt, remove him from the Ishrāf office and appoint somebody else in his place.' At the same time Khān-e-Jahān also received royal robes, and returned home, rejoicing and triumphant. He sent the superintendent of the ministry to 'Ain-ul-Mulk with orders for his dismissal from the Ishrāf office. How splendid ! Whose gifts are these ! The magnificence, dignity, and power of Khān-e-Jahān ! Whenever the king returned to the city from a hunting expedition and Khān-e-Jahān fell at his feet for the first time, the king alighted from his horse, embraced Khān-e-Jahān and made many enquiries about him. So long as the Khān lived, there was nothing to distinguish between him and the king. Returning to the subject, when the order of dismissal was delivered to 'Ain-ul-Mulk and he was removed from the office of Ishrāf, he did not come to the palace for three days. After the third day he saluted the Sultān from the place of obeisance. Sultān Fērōz called him near and said, 'Khawāja 'Ain-ud-Dīn, listen ! Countries are ruined by dissensions, and people, young and old, are driven to despair. As under Divine will differences exist between you and Khān-e-Jahān, the iqṭas of Multān and

Bhakkar and Siwistan are conferred on you. Go to the iqṭas and assume charge.' The Malik frankly remarked, 'When I carry on the administration of those lands and collect revenue, it will not be possible for me to render accounts to the ministry : I will present them before Your Majesty.' ' Khawja 'Ain-ud-Din, I remove the iqṭas of Multan ( &c.) from the jurisdiction of the ministry,' said the Sultān, adding , 'Whatever you have to say about your work in the iqṭas of Multan ( &c.) will be attended to. A note from you will be enough.' On these terms 'Ain-ul-Mulk accepted the iqṭas of Multan.

" God be praised ! A wonderful story which deserves a place in history is told of 'Ain-ul-Mulk. The dismissal of 'Ain-ul-Mulk on account of Khān-e-Jahān alarmed the trusted courtiers of Fērōz Shāh, who all assembled at a place and passed the following resolution :—' It is not a fortunate occurrence that 'Ain-ul-Mulk should have been dismissed on account of Khān-e-Jahān. For if this has happened to 'Ain-ul-Mulk today, the same thing might happen to any of us tomorrow !' They all (continued and at last) turned his heart from Khān-e-Jahān, and tried to bring the Khān into disfavour. Fērōz Shāh was a sagacious and discerning ruler. He remarked, 'If Khawja 'Ain-ud-Dīn had been here, his opinion would have been taken about the matter.' The Malik had already started for the iqṭas of Multan. When he had reached Ismā'il, 24 karohs from Delhi, he received a farman from the king directing him to leave his baggage there and hasten back ; he was wanted on an urgent matter, and should return when he had heard it. When he arrived in Delhi the Sultān held a private council with him and the other courtiers. Every one of the faithful councilors expressed his opinion in the light of his mature experience, that it was not expedient to give the minister such a long rope, and that his actions needed to be watched. The Sultān turned to 'Ain-ul-Mulk for his opinion, which was full of political wisdom : ' A measure like this may shake the foundations of the empire ; whoever plans to do things of this sort cannot be a well-wisher of the state. For Khān-e-Jahān is a wise and incomparable minister. Who knows what might follow if things went on at this rate ? Can this make for the stability of the empire ? No, on the other hand the ship of state will founder and this may bring about a disaster to the empire ! (Do not draw the sword on the throat of a well-wisher for every fault that he commits).' The Emperor was immensely pleased with the words of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and further consulted him as to the course to be followed. The faithful Malik continued, ' It is not possible that the minister should not have been secretly informed of these proceedings. He may be sent for and informed (of the decision), so that all fear and apprehension may be removed from his mind. He should be perfectly reassured, so that he may pursue the duties of state without any anxious cares. Otherwise, because of the apprehensions that already exist in his mind, he may always consider his life to be in danger and consequently may not be able to discharge his arduous duties properly. In course of time the affairs of government will take their normal course.' Some persons who had taken part in these

proceedings have informed the writer that the Sultān at once sent for Khān-e-Jahān. When the courtiers brought in the Khān and informed him of all that had passed in the meeting, he was lost in amazement and sat down, melancholy and dejected. As the Sultān saw that the faithful minister was overwhelmed with grief, he gave him assurances of his pleasure and, clothing him in his own royal robe, sent him back with every mark of honour and favour. The minister returned, pleased and satisfied, and, taking 'Ain-ul-Mulk in his embrace, said, 'I never knew that you had such a great regard for me! I was wrong to have entertained unkind feelings about you.' 'Ain-ul-Mulk candidly replied, 'You should not think that I expressed a favourable opinion for your sake. The enmity and ill-will that existed between you and myself still exist. All that I said was for the safety of His Majesty's dominions and power!' Although Khān-e-Jahān insisted that 'Ain-ul-Mulk should come with him to his house, the Malik would not agree. Aye, strange are the secrets written on the tablet of empire! When the Sultān was informed of this, he read the verse: '(A wise mortal enemy is better than a foolish friend!).'

"Nothing is heard of 'Ain-ul-Mulk after this. He is known to have lived up to 1362 A.D. and probably died soon after."

I give below a translation of three letters of Māhrū. Some of the passages in this mutilated manuscript are difficult to decipher and where the text is obscure or apparently incorrect and incomplete I have given a free translation.

# I.

*This Mandate was issued for the Administration of Justice in the Province of Multan.*

The aim in sending prophets and apostles (May God bless them!) and in appointing Imāms and Wālīs is to safeguard the welfare and the rights of the life and property of Muslims, so that there is a saying of the Amīr of the Faithful, 'Omar (to this effect), "Does not a ruler prohibit that which the Qur'ān prohibits?" that is, the prohibitions of a ruler are mostly the prohibitions of the Qur'ān; and it is said that this saying is derived from the verse of the Qur'ān, wherein God says, "You are certainly greater than Allāh in being more feared in their hearts."<sup>1</sup>

The Qur'ān is understood by a select few, who understand its meaning and deliberate over it and follow the truth (of these teachings), but if the people at large who do not fear the wrath of God Almighty were not to entertain any fear of the king or the Wālīs, there would be highway-robbery and murders; the life, property, and well-being of the Musalmans would be given over to destruction. Since this is an immutable law according to the Sharī'at, and since men of wicked nature are overcome by sensual desires, it is incumbent that such people should be admonished and

1. Sūra Haṣhr, part XXVIII, Sec. 2, 13.

prevented (from their evil actions), so that such practices as are commendable may take a turn for the better and the administration may be conducted according to the Shari'at. It was for these reasons that the administration of justice and Ihtisāb of the province of Multan were entrusted to such and such a person, so that he might engage in this noble cause and religious affairs, and should traverse the path of Shari'at and justice. With those persons who transgress the bounds of Shari'at and act in a manner which is against the precepts of religion, he should be able to deal firmly and in a proper manner and make them refrain from such actions. Especially some villagers of Multan take as wives women who have not yet been divorced by their previous husbands, and this practice which is held illegal by all religions is rife amongst them ; he should punish those who are guilty of it or warn them in a suitable manner as becomes a Qāḍī ; and when God Almighty has made legal marriage a means of the strengthening of one's self, and procreation of children, and propagation of race, and the continual existence of this world, and based it on a pure practice, he should communicate the sinfulness of an adulterer to the ears of wisdom, according to the Qur'ānic verse, " And go not high to fornication ; surely it is an indecency and evil is the way,"<sup>1</sup> and admonish them with the pearl-scattering saying of the Prophet that has become brilliant and widely known, viz. " Nikāh (legal marriage) is my Sunnat," and notify throughout the village of Multan this sinful action, so that they may desist from this practice current amongst them, that their religious beliefs may be correct and they may turn to God who is the creator of the world and shows the path that is right and that which is wrong. And if they say, "Surely we found our fathers in this course, and we are followers in their footsteps,"<sup>2</sup> that they follow in the footsteps of their parents, understand that they who have done so were misguided, except those who by the grace of God died as Muslims ; so it is imperative that they should divorce the women whom they have kept in their houses and should observe the period of 'Iddat, so that the children that are born to them should be deemed legitimate, and they may save themselves from the fire of hell. Give them a period of one month to mend their ways as mentioned above, and to desist from illegal things by following the legal path and turn from sin to obedience ; and if, after this, any person's inclination to this evil practice is complained of to you, and it is proved, he should be adequately punished.

## 2.

*This Royal Mandate was issued with the purpose of conferring the Deputyship or Viceroyalty of the Multan Province upon me who am the servant of the throne.*

[It is our pleasure to] confer greatness and express kindness in the case of loyal persons who are the creatures of our Court and have attained

1. *Sūra Banī-Isrā'īl*, part XV, 4, 32.

2. *Alzakhraf*, part XXV, section 2, 23.

to high rank under us, and to favour the great Amīrs and famous Wazīrs who on account of their knowledge and loyalty have attained to positions of trust, and on account of their true faith have secured a central position in our confidence, and whom, because of their brilliant intellect and soundness of judgment that unravels difficult problems, we consider to be the means of managing the affairs of the country and the nation, and the cause of (securing) the good things of religion and this world. We have considered it our foremost duty to train these officers of State, who by the antimony of their skill have illumined the pupil of the country, and have made the garden of religion blossom into splendour through their honesty. On account of this we have this day showered our bounties on the Lord of the East, the Wazīr 'Ain-ul-Mulk, Amīn-ud-Dawla-wad-Din, the Conqueror of Infidelity and Infidels, the Destroyer of Wickedness and the Refractory, the Mine of Greatness, the Uniter of the Sword and the Pen, the Master of Knowledge and Fortitude, the Commander of the Persians, the Grandee of the Universe, 'Abdullah Māhrū, the Chosen One of God, whose countenance is adorned with greatness and zeal and who excels on the field of bravery and chivalry. And, prompted by generosity, we have permitted him to undertake the government of Multan and its affairs, and have conferred on him powers to unloosen or to tie, to confiscate or to give away, to appoint or to remove and to bestow or take away from people, so that he may, by his experienced judgment and bright vision, see to the efficient execution of the affairs of the state. And he will display these faculties in the building of cities, in the affording of comfort to the public and the welfare of the common people, with whose safety and welfare we have been entrusted in this world, and about whom we shall be addressed and questioned in the next world. Therefore, he should act according to the dictates and requirements of knowledge, wisdom, intelligence and power, and make justice, favour, beneficence and liberality his guiding principles, because they constitute pillars of state and are the strengtheners of the foundations of the kingdom; and he should obey the Qur'ānic verse, "Surely Allah enjoins the doing of justice and the doing of good (to others)." And the instructions to be followed by Maliks and Amīrs of that iqtah and others, such as the councillors, the clerks, and other workers, and the inhabitants of that place, are that they should render strict obedience to the orders contained in this mandate, so that in time they may become content, by the grace of God and His help.

## 3.

*Agreement to be executed by the Maliks, Prominent Amīrs and Khāns, Well-Wishers of the Court, and Officers of the State.*

The institution of executing bounds and firm agreements has been prescribed by the Almighty Master of the World and His Apostle and

from ancient times adherents and servants of kings who are religious minded, have always taken an oath of allegiance as an expression of their loyalty and their (personal) nobility. On this account I tender submission voluntarily and with pleasure, and with honest intention and in good faith I declare, in the name of the God of the Universe, the God of the heavens and the earth, God of the heavenly throne, God of men and of genii, God on whose pavilion of splendour the dust of change does not settle, God whose perfection the eye of deliberation cannot comprehend, since his determination is free from uncertainty of accident, his pure personality without partnership or a partner ; God who has dinned into the ears of the faithful the word : " You who believe ! fulfil the obligations ;"<sup>1</sup> God who has made it obligatory for men to keep their promises, according to the verse of the Qur'ān, " And fulfil the covenant of Allāh when you have made a covenant and do not break the oaths after making them fast ;"<sup>2</sup> and by the name of God who is Powerful, the Summoner, the Master of the World, the Immortal, I, from this moment, declare that I have bound myself to this agreement, have strengthened it with oaths, the breaking of which would be infidelity, I bind myself, to be obedient and a well-wisher of the King of the world, the Deputy of the Amīr of the Faithful, the Caliph of the Cherisher of the World, the King of Kings, Al-Wāthiq by help of the Merciful God, Abul-Muzaffar Fērōz Shāh, who (possesses the kingdom), may God ever preserve his kingdom and his suzerainty, his commands and his dignity ; who, in accordance with the law of the Shari'at and the mandate of the Imām of the land, is vested with absolute sovereignty, and submission and obedience to whom is obligatory and binding on all. With steadfastness and purity of heart and pure faith, and without doubt, (I bind myself to be) a well-wisher, and sincere and unswerving (in my loyalty), and to regard his (the king's) friends as my friends and the enemies of his kingdom as my enemies. I will abide by these conditions throughout my life, and on no account and under no circumstances will oppose the armies, or the retainers or well-wishers or adherents or servants of the court. And by God I swear that I shall not waver from loyalty to the orders of the king, will never make friendship with the opponents of the throne, will never befriend the ill-wishers of the king, will never either overtly or covertly or by words, action, or by writing oppose the throne, and will never think of doing ill to the king, and never entertain evil in my mind against the king in rendering whatever submission, or loyalty, or proper service may be within my power or ability. I will further render obedience and submission and conform to orders throughout with sincerity, with my heart and soul, secretly and publicly, and will never come forward in opposition to the king, even if, which God forbid, my sons and brothers should be involved. I would leave them and try to punish and extirpate them and consider it to be my duty in accordance with the commands of God Almighty, as laid

1. Part XIV, Sec. 13, 91.

2. Part V, Section 8, 59.



down in the verse of the Qur'ān, "Obey Allāh and obey the Apostle and those in authority from among you."<sup>1</sup> I render thanks, to the extent of my power and ability, to the Court for its bounties ; and in serving the king will refrain from adopting the attitude of contumacy or opposition, the fruit of which is eternal wretchedness. And if, God forbid, I were to transgress this agreement and were to act against all these conditions and oaths, or even against one of them, I should be breaking this covenant of mine with God, and on the Day of Judgement may I be set amongst those about whom the Qur'ānic verse has spoken, "Who break the covenant of Allāh, etc."<sup>2</sup> And may I turn away from the unity of Godhead, the reality of the Apostleship of the Prophet Moḥammad, and all other Prophets, the angels, the Day of Judgement, the four religions, and the Holy Books ; and whatever women I have or wish to have shall be, without any pretext or interpretation of the Sharī'at, divorced from me, and every time that I contract defective marriage by pretence or by decree of the Qāḍī of the Shāf'īte sect, the Nikāḥ will not be valid. And every slave that I have or buy shall forthwith be free. I have admitted all the above conditions and covenants in the presence of God Almighty, who is a sufficient witness, and his angels, and have taken as witnesses those who are present. So that henceforward this covenant may be a proof of the oath of allegiance taken by me.

SH 'ABDUL-RASHĪD.

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1. Part I, sec. 3, 27.

## IQBĀL'S CONCEPTION OF GOD

**I**QBĀL<sup>1</sup> is a philosopher and a poet. It is not easy to decide whether he is a poet-philosopher or a philosopher-poet. We have more poetical writings<sup>2</sup> of his than purely philosophical ones, and while much of his poetry is highly finished, of his philosophical works, which are only two, one<sup>3</sup> is mainly historical and the other<sup>4</sup> is scholastic in conception and, though exhibiting complete unity of thought, lacks unity of treatment. These facts might lead one to think that he is first a poet and then a philosopher.

But this may not be a correct estimate of Iqbāl. In him philosophy and poetry seem to be indissolubly blended as they have never been before in any great thinker—not even in Dante. His poetry and philosophy are both great. Perhaps his poetry is so because of his philosophy and his philosophy because of his poetry. In the development of his mind neither element lagged behind : there was a balance or rather a blend of both throughout.

This article however has nothing to do with Iqbāl's poetry. Its scope is definitely confined to his philosophy, and in this only to his conception of God. Iqbāl's philosophy, and equally his idea of God, passes through three periods. From the nature of the case it is impossible to draw a clear line between these periods. Nevertheless, each period, taken as a whole, bears a few features by which it is definitely distinguishable from the remaining two.

In the first period, which extends from 1901 to about 1908, Iqbāl conceives of God as Eternal Beauty, existing in independence of, and prior to, particulars and yet being revealed in them all. He reveals Himself in the heavens above and the earth below, in the sun and the moon, in the

1. Sir Moḥammad Iqbāl, M.A., Ph.D., (1873-1938), one of the two renowned philosophical poets of Modern India, the other being Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

2. The following are Iqbāl's poetical works :—

i. *Bāng-i-Darā* (The Caravan Bell), ii. *Asrār-i-Khūdī* (the Secrets of the Self) translated into English by Prof. R. A. Nicholson, iii. *Ramūz-i-Bekhūdī* (The Mysteries of Selflessness), iv. *Payām-i-Mashnq* (The Message of the East), v. *Bāl-i-Jibrīl* (The Wing of Gabriel), vi. *Zabūr-i-'Ajam* (The Testament of Iran), vii. *Jāved Nāma* (The Book Abiding), ix. *Armughān-i-Hijāz* (The Gift of Hedjaz), x. *Musāfir* (The Traveller), xi. *Pas Chih Bāyed Kard* (What then Must be Done ?).

3. *Metaphysics in Persia*.

4. *Six Lectures*, 1930 ; Revised ed. under the new title *Religious Thought in Islam*, O. U. P., 1934.

rise of the stars and the fall of dew, in land and sea, in fire and flame, in stones and trees, in birds and beasts, in scents and songs ; but nowhere does He reveal Himself more than in the eyes of Salima, even as for Dante He is revealed nowhere more than in the eyes of Beatrice. Just as iron filings are attracted by a magnet, so also are all things attracted by God. Thus God as Eternal Beauty brings into existence all movements of things. Force in physical objects, growth in plants, instinct in beasts, and will in man, are mere forms of this attraction, this love for God. Eternal Beauty is, therefore, the source, the essence and the ideal of everything. God is universal and all-inclusive like the ocean, and the individual is like a drop. Again, God is like the sun and the individual is like a candle, and the candle ceases to burn in the presence of the sun. Like a bubble or a spark, life is transitory—nay, the whole of existence is transitory.<sup>1</sup>

This in brief is Iqbāl's conception of God in the first period of his thought. It does not seem difficult to trace its source. It is fundamentally Platonic. For Plato also regards God as Eternal Beauty, as a universal nature which is prior to particulars and is manifested in them all as form. He also regards Him as an ideal to which we are all moving, and he also divorces love from sex implications, giving it a universal import. This Platonic conception, as interpreted by Plotinus, adopted by the early Muslim scholastics and adapted to pantheism by the pantheistic mystics, came down to Iqbāl as a long tradition in Persian and Urdu poetry, and was supplemented by his study of the English romantic poets. In his first idea of God, therefore, he cannot be considered to have been very original. He is simply conveying to us in beautiful words what he has received as a heritage of history. Nevertheless, he uses this idea of the Godhead as material for his poems in a hundred and one novel ways. By 1908 he was already recognised as one of the foremost poets of India, and his creative genius had already given to the world some immortal verse.

The second period of Iqbāl's mental development may be dated from about 1908 to 1920. The key to the understanding of this period is Iqbāl's change of attitude towards the distinction he draws between beauty as revealed in things on the one hand, and the love of beauty on the other. To begin with, as we have noted, he regards beauty as eternal and as the efficient and final cause of all love, all desire and all movement. But in the second period there is a change in this position. First a doubt and then a kind of pessimism has crept into his mind about the eternity of beauty and its efficient and final causality. *Jalva-i-Husn*, *Haqīqat-i-Husn*, *Shabnam-our-Sitāre* and the second part of the first verse of *Sitāra*, give expression to this attitude. Side by side with it there is now a growing conviction of the eternity of love, desire, pursuit or movement.

From 1905 to 1908 Iqbāl studied under McTaggart and James Ward at Cambridge. During the same period he made a deep study of Rūmī<sup>2</sup> in

1. *Bāng-i-Darā* (The Caravan Bell), pp. 73, 84, 107, 117, 118, 122, 127, 128 and 191.

2. Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī, the well-known Iranian philosophical poet of the thirteenth century. His chief work, *The Mathnawī*, is translated into English by R. A. Nicholson.

connection with his Cambridge thesis. The influence of McTaggart and James Ward on Iqbāl failed to make itself felt till after his return from England : while he was there, he remained a pantheistic mystic. This is corroborated by McTaggart in his letter to Iqbāl on the publication of Nicholson's English translation of his "*Secrets of the Self*." "Have you not changed your position very much?" enquires McTaggart, and adds, "Surely, in the days when we used to talk philosophy together, you were much more a pantheist and mystic?" The fact that this remark of McTaggart's has been quoted by Iqbāl himself in one of his articles<sup>1</sup> without any challenge, proves that he regarded it as true of his position. In about 1908, however, Iqbāl began to appreciate McTaggart's conception of personal immortality. He also began to see an identity between the theistic pluralism of Ward and the metaphysical position of Rūmī, and soon became a theistic pluralist himself. A little later Rūmī was adopted by him as his spiritual leader. It seems, however, that Rūmī was adopted by Iqbāl as a spiritual leader not only because he was a kindred spirit, speaking the same tongue<sup>2</sup> and sharing with him a mystic philosophy, a poetic genius, an intense religious temper, a firm belief in God, and a deep love of the Arabian Prophet. These merits could perhaps be found also in others. Iqbāl took Rūmī as his life-long guide because, and perhaps chiefly because, Rūmī anticipates some of the fundamental ideas of his two new finds—Nietzsche and Bergson.

Though Iqbāl had a working knowledge of German and could read German authors in the original, the translation of Nietzsche's entire works into English between 1907 and 1911 made these works even more accessible to him. Between 1910 and 1915, Bergson's books were translated into English by Wildon Carr, Slosson, Hulme, Mitchell, Pogson, Paul and Palmer ; and Iqbāl, who did not know French, had access to these also.

Now he discovered that besides Rūmī's affinity with Ward, there is also affinity between him on the one side and Nietzsche and Bergson on the other. Rūmī, like Nietzsche, believes in evolution, in the freedom, possibilities and eternity of the self, in the will to power, in the value of super-egos, and in the destruction of the old for the construction of the new. And like Bergson he believes in movement as the essence of reality, and in intuition as the source of knowledge.<sup>3</sup> This vitalistic position was reinforced in Iqbāl's mind by the influence of Macdougall's *Social Psychology* and *Outlines of Psychology*, published in 1908 and 1910 respectively. In these works life is identified with Bergson's *élan vital* and the sentiment of self-regard is regarded as the core of human personality. All these ideas form the key-notes of Iqbāl's philosophy in the second period.

Thus, under the leadership of an old oriental philosopher and with the aid of several modern European thinkers, Iqbāl began to develop his own

1. Iqbāl, *McTaggart's Philosophy*, in the *Journal of the East India Society* ; reprinted in *Truth*, Lahore, July, 1937.

2. Much of Iqbāl's poetry is written in Persian.

3. Cf. Rūmī *The Mathnavī*, translated by R. A. Nicholson.

philosophy, which, in view of its most prominent feature during this second period of his thought, may be called the philosophy of the self.

It is in the light of this philosophy that one must understand Iqbāl's ever-increasing emphasis on the efficiency and eternity of will and his ever-decreasing belief in the efficiency and eternity of beauty—a change in his attitude which takes him far away from Platonism and pantheistic mysticism.

Iqbāl formulates his new philosophy in the later poems of *Bāng-i-Darā*, in *Asrār-i-Khūdī* and in *Ramūz-i-Bekhūdī*. His thought is now guided by the concept of the self, which is regarded as a dynamic centre of desires, pursuits, aspirations, efforts, resolves, power and action. The self does not exist in time, but time is dynamism of the self. It is action and, like a sword, carves its way through all difficulties, obstacles or hindrances. Time as action is life, and life is self; therefore time, life, and self are all three compared to a sword.

The so-called external world with all its sensuous wealth, including serial time and space, and the so-called world of feelings, ideas and ideals, are both creations of the self. Following Fichte and Ward, Iqbāl tells us that the self posits from itself the not-self for its own perfection. The sensible world is the self's own creation. All the beauties of Nature are, therefore, the creatures of our own wills. Desires create them, not they desires.

God, the ultimate reality, is the Absolute Self, the Supreme Ego. He is no longer to be conceived as Eternal Beauty—as block reality. Plato and poets like Hāfiz who hold such a view are all to be condemned. God is now regarded as Eternal Will, and beauty is reduced to the position of an attribute of His, an attribute which covers now both the æsthetic and the moral value. Instead of God's beauty, His unity is now emphasised. Belief in unity is shown to have high pragmatic value, for it gives unity of purpose and strength to individuals, nations, and mankind as a whole; enhances power; creates ever-increasing desires, hopes and aspirations; and removes all cowardice and all fear of the other-than-God.

God reflects Himself, not in the sensible world but in the finite self and for that reason approach to Him is possible only through the self. Search after God is therefore conditional upon a search after one's self. Again, God is not to be sought by begging and beseeching, for that shows weakness and helplessness. Nearness to God must be consistent with the dignity of the self. Man should seek Him by the strength of his own will. He should rather capture Him in much the same way as a hunter captures his game. But God is anxious Himself to be captured, being as much in search of man as man is in search of Him. Having found God, one is not to allow oneself to be absorbed in Him and be thus annihilated. On the other hand one should absorb God within oneself—absorb as much of His attributes as one possibly can, and there is no limit to this possibility. By absorbing God within itself the ego grows. When it grows into a super-ego, it rises to the rank of the viceregency of God.

Such in brief is Iqbāl's conception of God at this second period of his thought.

The third period of Iqbāl's mental development extends from about 1920 to the date of his death. If the second period be regarded as a period of growth, this should be taken as a period of maturity. Iqbāl has already accepted the influences which his genius has allowed him to accept. He has collected the elements of his synthesis and now elaborates them into an all-round system. This he does in eight works which were brought out in rapid succession between 1923 and 1938. His philosophy in this period may be aptly described as the philosophy of change. The idea of Reality as self is still prominent, but that of change is more so.

Since the scope of this paper is confined to Iqbāl's conception of God, all other aspects of his system are ignored, and a brief account is now given of his views about God in their final form.

God is "Reality as a whole," and Reality as a whole is essentially spiritual—spiritual in the sense of being an individual and an ego. He is to be regarded as an ego, because like the human self, He is "an organising principle of unity, a synthesis which holds together and focalises the dispensing dispositions of His living organism for a constructive purpose." He is an ego also because He responds to our reflection and our prayer; for "the real test of a self is whether it responds to the call of another self."<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, He is not an ego, but the Absolute Ego. He is absolute because He is all-inclusive and there is nothing outside Him.

The Absolute Ego is not static like the universe as conceived by Aristotle. He is a creative spirit, a dynamic will or living energy, and, since there is nothing besides Him to put a limit to Him, He is an absolutely free creative spirit. He is also infinite. But He is not infinite in the spatial sense, for spatial infinities are not absolute. His infinity is intensive, not extensive, and consists in the infinite inner possibilities of His creative activity. His being a free living energy with infinite creative possibilities means that He is omnipotent.

The Ultimate Ego is then an omnipotent energy, a free becoming, a creative movement. It may be said that to think of movement which is not the movement of some objects is impossible. To this Iqbāl's answer is that things can be derived from movement, but movement cannot be derived from immobile things, that movement is original, static things are derivative, and that they become static because they are derived from movement by finite thought working with static concepts. And he finds enough support for his view in modern physics, which reduces all physical things to mere centres of energy.

If then the Ultimate Ego is an all-inclusive movement, is He not constantly changing? No, and yes. No, because, according to Iqbāl, change cannot be predicated of Him in the sense in which it is predicated of us, as a serial change—a succession from situation to situation, determined by our pursuits within the limitations of a nature surrounded by obstructing

1. Iqbāl, *McTaggart's Philosophy*, as above.

environment. Yes, because change is an attribute of His in another sense.

In our case serial change implies want, limitation; imperfection. The Absolute Ego is the whole of Reality. He is not surrounded by an alien Universe. Therefore, change as a movement from one imperfect state to a relatively more perfect state, or vice versa, is inapplicable to Him. The conception of serial time does not apply to Him. He is a continuous creation, and therefore changes only in the sense in which a continuous creation or continuous flow of energy can be said to change. But change as continuous creation does not imply imperfection. We should not repeat the mistake of Aristotle and Ibn-Hazm<sup>1</sup> and conceive perfection as a final stage of completion. Such a stage must be characterised by inaction. To think of the Ultimate Ego as perfect in this sense is to make Him "an utterly inactive, motiveless and stagnant neutrality—an absolute nothing." A perfect individuality means to Iqbāl, as to Bergson, an organic whole of which no detached part can live separately. The Ultimate Ego is perfect in this sense but not only in this sense. His perfection also implies "The infinite scope of his creative vision." His "not-yet," therefore, means the infinite creative possibilities of his being. He is perfect then as an unfailing being which retains its all-inclusive wholeness throughout, and the vision of which has infinite creative possibilities.

From the perfection of the Absolute Ego's individuality it follows that there is no reproduction in Him, for reproduction is building up a new organism—a duplication—out of a detached fragment of the old. He, as a perfect ego, as absolutely unique, cannot be conceived as procreating His own equals and "harbouring His rivals at home." He, therefore, has no progeny.

If God or the Absolute Ego or the whole of Reality is a freely, infinitely and perfectly creative, all-powerful movement, are we to say, with Browning, that he is also all-good, or, with Schopenhauer, that He is all-evil? "The issue," says Iqbāl, "cannot be finally decided at the present stage of our knowledge of the Universe." The fact of moral and physical evil stands out prominent in the life of nature. But evil arises from the conflict of opposing individuals, and is therefore relative to finite beings. Again "good and evil, though opposites, must fall under the same whole." "But here," we are told, "we pass the boundaries of pure thought and can see our way only by faith in the eventual triumph of goodness."

The Absolute Ego is also omniscient, but His knowledge is not, like the knowledge of a finite being, discursive—always moving round a veritable "other." Since there is no other for Him, His knowledge cannot be considered as having the same perspective as human knowledge.

Nor is it right to think with Jalāl-ud-Dīn Dawwānī,<sup>2</sup> 'Irāqī,<sup>3</sup> and

1. A Spanish Muslim philosopher of the eleventh century.

2. A Muslim thinker of the sixteenth century; author of the celebrated work *Akh̄lāq-i-Jalālī*.

3. *Fakhr-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm of Hamadān*, better known by his poetical *nom-de-guerre* of 'Irāqī, a poet, mystic and philosopher of the thirteenth century, pupil of Muḥiyyud-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī and author of *Lama'āt* (Flashes).

Royce that the knowledge of the Absolute Ego is a single indivisible act of perception, grasping the entire sweep of history, regarded as a sequence of events. This would be attributing to Him a kind of passive omniscience—a mere awareness of an already finished structure. His knowledge is not like a mirror-reflection of His all-inclusive being. If it be regarded as a mirror-reflection of a preordained order of events, then no scope is left for initiative, novelty and free creativeness. We must therefore conceive of His knowledge as a perfectly self-conscious, living, creative activity—an activity in which knowing and creating are one. Unfortunately we possess no words to express the kind of knowledge which is also at the same time creative of its own object. His activity is at once the knowing and the creating of the object of knowledge.

Bergson is wrong in taking Reality as a mere free creative vitality of the nature of will, in regarding it as split into plurality of things by thought, and thus in creating a dualism of thought and will. He is right in holding that intellect is a spatialising activity of the finite self. But it is not only that. Thought is also a feature of the life of the Ultimate Ego. He is not pure will. He is a *conscious* organic growth—a *consciously* free becoming, a creative movement in which thought and being are really one. His thought and being are one, the future itself is nothing but the open possibilities of creation.

This discussion leads us to the question of the relation of time with the Ultimate Ego. He is eternal, but, as has been said before, not so in the sense in which a thing is supposed to last for all time. This implies a wrong view of time. It makes time external to Him. He is constant movement, constant change, and change is indeed unthinkable without time. But His time is not a serial time to which the distinctions of past, present, and future are essential; it is change without succession. If we were to imagine time as applied to Him as a line, then it is not a line already drawn for Him to move on. It must be imagined as a line-in-the-drawing, no part of which can be thought of as untraversed future. But it is wrong to imagine the time of the Ultimate Ego in spatial terms. It is pure duration. But what is pure duration? The nature of pure duration is "revealed by a deeper analysis of our own conscious experience." Ordinarily we take our experiences to be in serial time. But "it is in the moments of profound meditation that we sink into our deeper self and reach the inner centre of experience. In the life-process of this deeper ego the states of consciousness melt into each other. The unity of this ego is like the unity of the germ in which the experiences of its individual ancestors exist, not as a plurality, but as a unity in which every experience permeates the whole. There is no numerical distinctness of states in the totality of the inner ego. "There is change and movement, but this change and movement are indivisible. Their elements interpenetrate and are wholly non-serial in character." Pure time of our own true self then is not a string of separate instants. It is time regarded as prior to the disclosure of its possibilities. "It is time as felt, not as thought and calculated." It is not something



outside in which the ego moves ; it is " its inward reach, its realisable possibilities which live within the depths of its nature, " and are being actualised in a free creative movement. It is intensive time, not extensive. It is not prior to self, as Bergson wrongly thinks. Neither pure time nor pure space can hold together multiplicity. It is the act of the self which can seize it in an organic wholeness of synthesis. " To be in pure duration is identical with being a self. "

The time of the Ultimate Ego, on our own analogy, is also pure in the above sense. It is His creative movement, regarded inwardly as the infinite inherent possibilities of His nature, unfolding themselves in ever-new creations. He is pure duration, in which thought, activity, and purpose interpenetrate to form a unity—a unity in which the past is rolled into the present and the future exists in the form of open possibilities.

According to Iqbāl, Bergson rightly holds that experience is the past moving along and rolling into the present, but he is wrong in denying the teleological character to reality on the ground that " the portals of the future must remain wide open to Reality. " Bergson's objection, says Iqbāl, is sound if by teleology be meant the working out of a preordained end. Such a view, however, would make the temporal order of things a mere reproduction or an imitation of an already determined and completed eternal mould. It would make pure time inapplicable to Reality. The Ultimate Ego is devoid of purpose, if by purpose is meant a foreseen end—a far off fixed predetermined destination to which He is moving.

The Ultimate Ego is purposive, but not in the above sense. He is purposive in the sense in which our own consciousness is purposive. Our unity of consciousness does not only fold within itself the past but has a forward movement also. It has reference to a purpose, and purpose cannot be conceived without reference to the future. Purpose is really nothing but a forward movement in consciousness.

Remembering and anticipating both operate in our present state of consciousness. On the analogy of our own consciousness, the Ultimate Ego is through and through purposive in the sense that in bringing Himself to each fulfilment by preserving and supplementing the past He has a forward movement. It further means that He is not a mere vital impulse, but is selective and is capable of ideas as living parts of His organism, rich with the wealth of possibilities, the very thinking and selecting of the details of which would mean their creation. Thus He holds up as a present reality not only the entire past within His unity throughout His movement but also the entire possibilities of His not-yet-determined creative knowledge or conscious creation.

This is a brief account of Iqbāl's conception of God in its final stage. His studies in Western Philosophy for his M.A. degree in India and his research work in Muslim philosophy in England and Germany prepared the ground for Iqbāl's philosophy in general and the problem of Divine reality in particular ; and his early religious training supplied the seed, out of which has grown a beautiful plant of the root of which I have given a

rather dry and colourless account. As a result of the inner possibilities of the seed itself, the richness of the soil, the suitability of the climate or the temper of contemporary thought, the plant began to grow vigorously. But it was trained to take its final shape by the philosophies of Rūmī, McTaggart, James Ward, Bergson and Nietzsche. Whatever the influence of others in other directions, with regard to the solution of the problem in hand Iqbāl's thought was moulded chiefly by Ward.

Nietzsche's philosophy is Godless. His obsession with the idea of the superman makes his ideas of society and reality sink into insignificance. Bergson's "creative impulse" is very much like Schopenhauer's unconscious purpose. The ultimate reality for Iqbāl on the other hand is God as conscious and personal. McTaggart finds the destiny and goal of the self in eternity<sup>1</sup> and not in serial time, but he is an atheist.<sup>2</sup> Rūmī has very much in common with Iqbāl, yet much of his thought can be interpreted in pantheistic terms. The case of Ward is however different. His influence on Iqbāl is greater. To measure this influence one has only to see the common elements in their respective views about the problem in hand.

Both of them, after the manner of Kant, reject the three notorious arguments for the existence of God, discard Platonism, Pantheism, and Absolutism, and object to regarding omniscience as fore-knowledge of a preordained reality and to applying the idea of serial time both to God and to the finite self—and all this for exactly the same reasons. Both are Pluralist, Theist, and Spiritual Monists. Both hold Panpsychism against Berkley's occasionalism, and windowed monadism against Leibnitz's windowless monadism. Both believe in the creative freedom and immortality of the individual. For both the sensuous world is due to interaction between egos, the body is created by the mind to serve its own purposes, and serial time is only an act of the mind. Both hold on exactly the same grounds and in exactly the same sense that God is an infinite, conscious, omnipotent and omniscient spirit, which is immanent in the finite egos and yet transcends them just as every organism is immanent in its parts and yet transcends these parts. For both He is a perfectly free creative spirit that limits its own freedom by creating free finite egos, and for both this internal limitation is not inconsistent with His own perfect freedom. According to both, God is perfect throughout his creative progress, for this progress is progress *in* perfection, not *towards* perfection. Both hold that God's will functions through the will of the finite egos. Both believe with Wundt that reason can prove the necessity of faith, but cannot turn faith into knowledge. Both agree that belief in God is ultimately a matter of faith, though of a rational faith, that conviction or complete certitude about Him comes not from reason but from living, that direct communion with Him is gained only through *rapport* or love, and that is only through love for Him that Immortality is achieved by the finite self.<sup>3</sup>

1. Cf. McTaggart, *The Nature of Existence*.

2. Cf. McTaggart, *Some Dogmas of Religion*.

3. Cf. James Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism and the Realm of Ends*.

From all this Iqbāl's indebtedness to Ward is obvious. Perhaps with full justice one can regard him as Ward's disciple, but it will be a mistake to think that Iqbāl does not go beyond Ward's conception of God. He certainly does, and that also in a very important respect. Ward regards God as eternal, but fails to explain eternity, chiefly because he has no idea of time as non-serial. Iqbāl, taking his clue from a saying of the Prophet of Islam in which time is identified with God, accepts Bergson's theory of pure duration with some modifications, and thereby succeeds not only in explaining Divine eternity, but also in laying greater emphasis on the dynamic aspect of reality. Again, Iqbāl's idea of perfection is not the same as that of Ward. It is partly Bergsonian and partly his own.

When we compare the methods of Ward, Bergson and Iqbāl, we find that, like the Neo-Idealists of Italy, all three of them start from the individual experience. There seems to be nothing wrong with this procedure. Since we are certain before all other things of our own experience, it is much the best procedure, though, as Iqbāl himself thinks, not the only right procedure, to make this experience the starting-point in our search for the Ultimate. Nevertheless, there is one great danger in this our best method of study. This danger lies in the pitfall of viewing everything anthropomorphically, and to me it seems that both Ward and Iqbāl have fallen into this pitfall. It is true that we cannot interpret the sensible world save in terms of our own experience. Even the electron as a unit of energy cannot be conceived save on the analogy of our own sense of effort. It is perhaps equally true that we cannot conceive of God except in terms of our ideals. Nor can we say that this interpretation of things in terms of our experience of facts and ideals is essentially false, without bellying our emotional and volitional demands and without falling into extreme pessimism. We therefore seem to be justified in regarding our anthropomorphic conception of God as being in harmony with, or as a limited vision of, reality as a whole. We are perhaps also justified in thinking that this partial vision is capable of further development. Nevertheless, it seems to me clear that what reality is as a whole must for ever remain hidden from the finite self, for how can the part with all its limitations comprehend the whole, which essentially goes far beyond its compass ?

M. M. SHARIF.

# CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

(Continued)

## مفتاح

آدم کبیر See "The Universal Spirit." ('A. M., p. 68). مفتاح وجود

مفرش (mifrash) : "Flooring, pavement." (M., I., 420).

خود کد امین خوش که آن ناخوش نشد یا کدا مین سقف کان مفرش نشد

What is there pleasant indeed that does not become unpleasant ?  
What roof is there that does not become (as) a pavement ?

[i.e., in the course of time the roof falls].

مقتضی (muqtaḍī) : "Conveying," (e.g., a certain meaning). (Passim).

## مقصود

"The quality of being the object or purpose in view." (M., II, 321).

سنگ و آهن زین جهت که سابقست در عمل فوق این دو لایقست  
و آن شرر از روی مقصودی خویش ز آهن و سنگست زین رویش پیش

The flint and steel for the reason that they are precedent in action,—  
the higher position of these two is proper.

But these sparks in consideration of their possessing the quality of  
being the objects in view,—on this account are far superior to the flint  
and steel.

مکابرہ : "Over-assumption." (Lit., aiming at being superior). (D. Sh.,  
147).

اما بعضی از اکابر و فضلا بر آنند که از نازکیهای شیخ سخنهاى او از سوز و نیاز بر طرف  
ساختم و این مکابرہ است چه با وجود نازکی و دقت سخن شیخ عارفانه و پرحالست.

Some of the great and learned are of opinion that through the subtleties  
of the Shaikh his poetry has been excluded from (the quality of) passion ;

but this is over-assumption, for, notwithstanding the subtlety and abstruseness of the Shaikh's poetry, it is that of Şūfic and full of ecstatic feeling.

[The Shaikh spoken of, is the poet Kamālu'd-Dīn of Khujand. I have omitted او قصیده های after از نازکیهای شیخ as a possible error].

مکاره pl. of مکرهت (makrahat).

مکاره (makārih): "Things objectionable though not illegal." (*Pas-sim*). (cf. مکروهات).

ملق (malaq): "Cajolery, flattery, deception." (M., III, 55).

مرغ پندارد که جنس اوست او جمع آید بر درد شان پوست او  
جز مگر مرغی که حزمش داد حق تا نگردد گیج آن دانه و ملق

The birds think that (the decay) is of their own kind; they collect round, and it is the cause of their destruction.—

Except, per chance, the birds to which God has given caution, so that their heads are not turned by the grain and deception.

[The second hemistich of the first distich means literally, "and it tears their skins." The T. Com. mistranslates, evidently reading "pūst-eū" for the pūst ū "required by the rhyme].

ملک (milk).

ملکی: "Possessed by, in the possession of." (Ch. M., p. 228).

نسخه ملکی پرفسور برون که از روی نسخه اسلامبول . . . . . استنساخ شده است  
چهار سال دارد و درسه نسخه دیگر . . . . . چند سال دارد.

The copy (of the *Chahār Maqāla*) in the possession of professor X which was copied from the Constantinople MS., has "four years," but the other three copies have "several years."

من: (man, for A. Mann, a "maund").

من سختن: "To weigh by the 'man,' to weigh." (*Sh. N.*, IV, 1840).

دو برد یمانی همه زر بفت بستند هر یک بمن بود هفت

Two (bales) of striped garments of Yamān all woven with gold they weighed by the "man," and each one came to seven.

مناخ (Munākh) : A "session," a "meeting." (M., II., 336).

زین سبب تو از ضریری مهتدی      روی خود بر تافقی تنگ آمدی  
کاندین فرصت کم افتداین مناخ      توز یارانی و وقت تو فراخ

For this reason you turned away your face from a blind man and were annoyed at him : a man who had been led into the way of salvation ;

Saying (to him), "Such a meeting seldom happens so opportunely and conveniently ; (whilst) you are of (my) friends, and your time is abundant."

منافست (with در of the thing) : "Contending" (as to the possession or use of a thing). (Ch. M., p. 101).

ونامه های او که در نهایت حسن و کمال بلاغت بود به بخارا می رسید و مردم در آن منافست نموده دست بدست می بردند.

His letters, which were extremely fine and eloquent, used to reach Bukhārā, and people would contend for the use (perusal) of them, and pass them from hand to hand.

منتهی (muntahī) ; (with به) : "Going back" (to) ; (as in genealogy). (Ch. M., pp. 255-6).

شیخ الاسلام عبدالله انصاری . . . . . نسب وی بابی ایوب انصاری از مشاهیر صحابه حضرت رسول منتهی می گردد.

Shaikh u'l-Islām 'Abd u'llāh Anṣārī—His lineage goes back to Abū Aiyūb Anṣārī, one of the most renowned of the Companions of his Eminence the Prophet.

[The sentence is entirely Persian, and therefore we should have بابو ایوب and not بابی ایوب].

بدمنش (manish) : See منش.

منصرف (munṣarif) (with به) : "Referred, directed" (to). (Ch. M., p. 109).

وزیر شهنشاه بود --- مقصود از شهنشاه یا موید الدوله دیلمی یا برادرش نغر الدوله است و این تعبیر ناقصی است چه شهنشاه لقب یکی است از ایشان بالخصوص نبوده است تا اطلاق این لفظ منصرف بدو شود.

He was the Vazīr of the Shahanshāh (King of Kings).—The person meant by "Shahanshāh" is either Muaiyid u'd-Daula Dailamī, or his brother Fakhr u'd-Daula ; but this is an insufficient designation, since

Shahanshāh was not a special title of either of them to be applied (in particular) to him.

[Lit., "that the application of this word should be directed to him"].

منظور : An "object of sight."

منع (man').

منع کردن (with از) : "To restrain" (from). (D. Sh., p. 17).

اما چون ملك اكاسره و عجم بدست عرب افتاده و آن قوم مبارك بدین و ظاهر کردن شریعت می کوشیده اند و راه و رسم عجم را می پوشیده اند می شاید که منع از شعر نیز کرده باشند.

But when the sovereignty of the Kisra's and Persia fell into the hands of the Arabs, and that holy people exerted themselves on behalf of the religion and the publication of the sacred law and obliterated the manners and usages of the Persians, it is probable that they also restrained them from (writing) poetry.

[Highly improbable. The Arabs translated Persian works].

منفصل (munfaṣil) : "Removed from office." (Redhouse).

منقول ("copied").

منقولات : "Copies" (of written matter).

موجه (muvaṣṣah) : "Applicable."

Cf. موجه (mutavaṣṣih), a synonym of موجه ('A. M., p. 376).

موزون : "Well-regulated, calculated," (as movements). (M. U., 497).

جنبشی بینی بدانی زنده ایست      این ندانی که ز عقل آکنده ایست  
تاکه جنبشهای موزون سرکند      جنبشی مس را بدانش ز رکند

You see a movement, and you know (consequently that) there is a living being ; (but) this you do not know that it is a being full of intellect.

Until weighed and calculated movements are shown, and a movement, by wisdom, turns copper into gold.

[I conjecture جنبشی for the reading جنبش which is probably incorrect].

— "Orderly, correct, proper," (in conduct). (M., I, 478).

باز باخودگفته فرعون ای عجب      من نه در یاربنا ام جمله شب  
در نهان خاکی و موزون میشوم      چون بموسی می رسم چون میشوم

Again, Pharaoh said to himself, "Strange it is indeed? Am I not engaged all night in invoking God?"

In private I am humble and correct (in attitude), but when I come before Moses, how am I?

مهر (muhr): "The impression made by a seal on wax." (M., II, 210-11).

دل بدست او چو موم نرم دام      مهر او که ننگ سازد گاه نام  
مهر موش حاکی انگشتر است      باز آن نقش نگین حاکی کیست

Hearts in his hands are like soft and yielding wax: his seal gives sometimes disgrace, sometimes fame.

The impression on his wax speaks of the seal-ring. Of what, again, does the engraving on the stone of the ring speak?

[Or, "are yielding like soft wax."

The person spoken of is Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn Farīdūn, Rūmī's fellow-disciple and subsequently his assistant. "His wax;" i.e., the hearts of his disciples].

—"The inscription on a coin." (Sh. N., IV, 1858).

آنجہ از طیسفون .. ..  
بیابید ازین مایہ دیبای دوم      کہ پیکر بریشم بود زرش بوم  
فخرید تا آن دوم نزد شاه      برند و کند مهر آن را نگاہ

Whatever Grecian brocade with silk design and golden ground you find in Ctesiphon to the value of this (coin)

Buy, that they may take the coin to the King, and he may look upon the inscription on it.

[Bahrāmechūbīn is coining money in the name of Khusrāu Parvīz].

مهر (muhra): The sense, a "smith's hammer" of F. and Steingass is disproved by Shl. by the very quotation used to support it, where it really has an ordinary sense, a "glass head." (See Vullers).

میان

در میان نهادن : "To expose to danger." (Sh. N., IV, 2036).

زن و کودک و بوم ایرانیان      باندیشه بد منه در میان

Do not by evil thoughts expose women and children and the land of the Persians to danger.



[Admonition of Khusrau Parvīz to his son Shīrūya].

میانہ : “ Moderation, a middle course.” (Sh. N., III, 1409).

میانہ گزینی بمانی بجای خرد مند خواندت پاکیزہ رای

(If) you choose moderation you will remain in a happy condition ; and the wise will call you a man of good judgment.

[In the maxims of Ardashīr-e Bābakān on government].

میزان : A “ measure, criterion.” (M., II, 260).

آن عطارد را ورقها جان ماست آن سپیدی و آن سیہ میزان ماست

Our souls are that Mercury's leaves : the whiteness and the blackness on them are the measure and criterion of us.

[“ That Mercury,” (the Writer of the Sky), means here the Shaikh or spiritual guide. Through his displeasure souls are darkened by the absence of spirituality, and when he is pleased they are brightened by its presence].

می گسار : A “ cup-bearer.” (as ساقی). (Sh. N., I, 344).

یکی جام می خواست از می گسار نکرد ایچ رنجہ دل از ڈر زاد

He demanded a cup of wine from the cup-bearer ; he did not trouble his heart at all about battles.

## ن

ناز : “ Delight.” (H. P., p. 65).

چند از این داستان طبع نواز گفت و آن نازنین شنید بنواز

Many such soothing words he spoke, and she, delightful fair one, heard them with delight.

— “ Recreation, relaxation, pleasure.” (H. P. p. 66).

می خر امید روزی از سرناز در رہی خالی از نشیب و فراز

One day for pleasure by a road he went, a road devoid of incline and decline.

ناز نمودن (as نازیدن) : “ To dissemble,” (as lovers). (H. P., p. 65).

ناز با او نمود و با این خفت جگر اینجا و کوہر آنجا سفت

With one he dissembled, and with the other slept ; here was a heart pierced, there a pearl was pierced.

نازیدن (with به) : “ To delight or glory ” (in), “ to be proud ” (of). (Sh. N., IV, 1783).

سپاسم یزدان که فرزند هست خرد مند و دانا و ایزد پرست  
و ز ایشان بهرمزد نازانترم برای و بهوش فرازانترم

Thanks be to God I have sons, wise, learned and pious ;

But among them, I am proudest of Hurmuzd : I think more of his judgment and intelligence.

[Nūshīrvān is speaking to his Vazīr, Buzurjmīhr].

ناسزا وار (as ناسزا) : Unmerited.” (Sh. N., IV, 2055).

شب تیره و روز دینار داد بسی خلعت ناسزا وار داد

He gave away gold coins by night and in the day ; many a robe of honour unmerited he gave.

[Speaks of Gurāz, a worthless King of Persia].

ناشناس : “ Unknown, strange.” (M., II, 241).

چون رود خواجه بجای ناشناس در غلام خویش پوشاند لباس  
او بیوشد جامه های آن غلام مر غلام خویش را سازد امام

When a master goes to a place where he is unknown, he puts (his own) clothes on his slave.

He himself puts on his slave's clothes, and makes his slave leader.

[This, of course, is in furtherance of some plan].

ناکار دیده زدنج : “ Uninjured, intact, unused.” (Lit., “ Inexperienced as to injury ”). Sh. N., IV, 1788.

زدیبای چینی و زرد بفت پنج بیارید ناکار دیده ز رنج

Take five (yards) of Chinese Brocade and gold tissue, unused and intact.

نام

“ To attribute to.” (L. A., I, 214).

و گر زمانه قصائد بنام من خواند بحز دفاتر مدح و ثنات کی خوانم

And if Fortune attribute Qaṣīdas to me, how should I recite aught but volumes of praise of you ?

[From a Qaṣīda by Shams-e Daqā'iqī].

ناموزون : “ Absurd,” (as words). (Cf. نابرجا and نافر جام).

نیبه : A “ descendant.” (Sh. N., IV, 1790).

پس از وی زتویک نیبه بود      که با پیل و کوس و تبیره بود  
سپاهی بتازد برو از حجاز      اگرچه ندارد سلیح و جهاز

After him a descendant of yours will come—one with the elephants and drums (of war).

And army from Hījāz will assail him, though without arms and military equipment.

نخستین : “ The first time that.” (Sh. N., II, 363).

کسی کو بکشتی نبرد آورد      سر مهتری زیر گرد آورد  
نخستین که پشتش نهد بر زمین      نبرد سرش گرچه باشد بکین  
اگر بار دیگرش زیر آورد      .. ..  
دوا باشد ار سر کنند زو جدا      بدین گونه بر باشد آیین ما

He who wrestles in strife, and brings down the head of a chief in the dust,

The first time that he puts his back upon the ground, would not cut off his head, although a foe.

If he bring him down a second time,

It will be right then if he cut off his head—such is the usage among us.

ندود (nudūr) : “ Rareness.”

علی الندود : “ Rarely.” (‘A. M., p. 28).

نزد (nazd-e) : “ In comparison with.” (Sh. N., IV, 1930).

جهاندار چون نامه‌ها را بخواند      مراورا بکرسی زرین نشاند  
بدو گفت ای مرد بسیار دان      تو بهرام را نزد ما خوار خوان

When the King had read the letters, he seated (the envoy) on a golden seat.

He said to him, “ O man of much knowledge, call Bahrām, in comparison with me, of slight importance.”

[Bahrām-e Chūbīn has written letters to Khusrau Parvīz’s generals which come to the hands of Khusrau].

بنزد (ba-nazd-e) : (as "nazd-e"). Sh. N., IV, 1856).

ز پرویز خسرو میندیش نیز      کزو یاد کردن نیززد پیشیز  
بدرگاه او هرکه مهتر بود      بنزد برادرت کهتر بود

Think not either of Khusrau Parvīz, for to mention him is not worth a mite.

The greatest man at his court is only a minor person in comparison with your brother.

[Galān Sīna, a Persian hero who is with Bahrām-e Chūbīn on a campaign, is speaking with the latter's sister Gurdiya in favour of her brother's assuming sovereign power].

نژند (nizhand) : "Depressed," i.e., "evil," (as fortune). (Sh., N., I, 457).

دل شاه ازان کار شد درد مند      پراز غم شد از روزگار نژند

The King's heart was afflicted by that matter; he was full of grief at evil fortune.

[Garshīvaz has been vilifying Siyāvash to Afrāsiyāb, his brother].

#### نسبت

نسبت دادن (with به of the person) : "To attribute" (to). ('A. M., p. 9).

و متشبه مبطل آنکه بافک و بهتان دعوی نبوت کند و بکذب و افترا وحی را بخود نسبت دهد.

And the false imitator is he who lyingly lays claim to prophecy and untruthfully attributes inspiration to himself.

— (with دا of the person and به of the thing) : "To accuse" (a person of). (L. A., p. 324).

دزی (Dozy) نیز در ذیل قوا میس عربی . . . . استناداً بترجمه همر (Hammer)

این کلمه را قدح بفتححتین خوانده و مصحح کتاب نفع الطیب را . . . . قدح (qidh) خوانده تخطئه می کند و از این بالاتر قدم گذارده کمیت (kumait) شاعر غل عرب را نیز نسبت بغلط می دهد.

Dozy, also, in his *Supplement to the Arabic Dictionaries*, relying upon Hammer's translation, reads the word as "Qadah;" and not only charges the editor of the *Nafḥu't-Ṭīb*, who reads "Qidh," with error, but going beyond this, also accuses a great Arabic poet like Kumait with blundering.

نسبت کردن (with acc. of one thing and اضافت of the other): "To compare" (one with another). (L. A., I., 225).

ایزد آن عمر دهادت که بقای ابدی گرکنی نسبت آن جامه کم از یک تارست

God give you such life that if a garment be compared with it, eternity would be only a ring to thread of that garment.

[From a Qaṣida by Raḍīy u'd-Dīn of Nīshāpūr].

#### نشان

نشان : "The assigned place." (Sh. N., I, 475).

پیاده همی برد مویش کشان چو آمد بدان جایگاه نشان  
ببفگند پیل ژیان را بخاک نه شرم آمدش زان سپهد نه باک

(Garūy` dragged him along on foot by the hair ; when he reached the assigned place,

He threw the formidable and mighty (Prince) to the ground, having no shame or fear before that leader.

[Garūy, a kinsman of Afrāsiyāb, has been deputed by Garsīvaz, the latter's brother, to murder Siyāvash, the son of Kai Kā'ūs].

نشان بردن (with سوی) : "To indicate" (to), "to inform." (Sh. N., I, 365).

ازان نامداران گردن کشان کسی هم برد سوی دستم نشان  
که سهراب کشته است و افکنده خوار همی خواست کردن ترا خواستار

Of those proud famous heroes some one will surely inform Rustam

That Suhrāb has been killed and wretchedly cast down—he intent upon seeking him.

[Suhrāb is speaking to Rustam whom he does not recognize, and by whom he has just been mortally wounded].

A "saddle horse." (Sh. N., II, 516).

بدید آن نشست سیاوش پلنگ رکیب دراز و جناخ خدنگ  
همی داشت بر آنخورد پای خویش از آنجا که بد پای نهاد پیش

The saddle-horse of the hero Siyāvash saw the long stirrups and the pommel of white poplar.

It kept standing at the watering-place, and advanced not from where it was.

[Kai-Khusrau is trying to secure the horse of his dead father Siyāvash which is running loose in the wilds].

نشسته (with كة) : "Settled in the belief, persuaded" (that). (M., II, 368).

علم تقلیدی و بال جان ماست عاریه است و مانسته کان ماست

Conventional, imitative knowledge is injurious to our souls : it is (only) a temporary, borrowed thing, but we are persuaded that it is ours.

نشوة (nashvat) : "Intoxication." (cf. نشو).

نشیب (archaic, nishēb).

نشیب گرفتن : "To decline," (as fortune). (Sh. N., IV, 2039).

درستست گفتار فرزنانگان جهان دیده و پاک دانندگان  
که چون بخت بیدار گیرد نشیب زهر گونه دید باید نهیب

True are the words of the wise, those of full knowledge, who have seen the world,

That when wakeful fortune is on the decline, anguish of every kind must be endured.

نظر (naẓar).

علوم النظر : "Speculative sciences." (Ch. M., p. 115).

ولم تزل بخارا مجمع الفقهاء و معدن الفضلا و منشاء علوم النظر.

And Bukhārā continued to be the meeting-place of theologians, a mine of the learned, and the spring of the speculative sciences.

[From Qazvīnī's *Āthāru'l-Bilād*.

The passage is, of course, Arabic, but the same term would be used in Persian, in a similar one, such as علوم نظریه].

To keep in view." (L. A., I, 325).

این را نیز باید در نظر داشت که مقتضای اعراب جرالامام و قسیمه است تا بدل یا عطف بیان از  
الناصرین باشند و لکن بجهت مراعات سجع با سقیمه باید آن دورا منصوب خواند بتقدیر اعنی .

It should also be kept in view that the laws of inflection require <sup>الامام</sup> <sup>الناسرین</sup> to be in the genitive to make them in opposition to <sup>سقیمه</sup> <sup>ساqīmahu</sup> but that in order to preserve the rhyme with <sup>سقیمه</sup> (saqīmahu) they must both be read as accusatives, the expression "I mean" being understood.

نفاذ (nafādh) : "Influence." (*Passim*, and *M.*, II, 510).

چون نفاذ امر شیخ آن میردید زآمد ماهی شدش وجدی پدید

When the nobleman saw the influence of the Shaikh's command, a state of ecstasy came upon him at the coming of the fish.

[The Shaikh is Ibrāhīm-e Adham who has performed a miracle in the presence of a noble man].

نفس (nafas).

نفس : "Association." (*Sh. N.*, I, 436).

سیاوش به پیران نگه کرد و گفت که فرمان یزدان نشاید نهفت

.. .. .

ولیکن مرا با جریره نفس به آید نخواهم جز او نیز کس

Siyāvash looked at Pīrān and said, "The command of God cannot be ignored ;

But association with Jarīra suits me well, I wish for no one besides her."

[Pīrān, the Vazīr of Afrāsiyāb, has proposed that Siyāvash should marry the latter's daughter].

نفس شمردن : "To take cognizance of the shortness of life." (*Sh. N.*, IV, 1796).

چنین است گیهان پردرد و رنج چه تازی بنام و چه یازی بگنج

که این روزگار خوشی بگذرد نفس مرد دانا همی بشمرد

Such is (the practice of) the world, which is full of pain and trouble—why rejoices in fame or aim at wealth ?

For this time of pleasure is evanescent ; the wise man takes cognizance of the shortness of life.

—"To afford but a short life." (*Sh. N.*, IV, 1881).

زخشنودی ایزد اندیشه کن خردمندی و راستی پیشه کن

که این برمن و بر تو هم بگذرد زمانه دم ما همی بشمرد

Think of the contentment (and approval) of God ; make your practice wisdom and rectitude,

For (all) this will pass away from me and you : Fortune affords us but a short life.

## نقش

نقش : “ The letter ” (of a story, as opposed to معنی “ the spirit ”). (M., II, 550).

ور ندیدش از برون نی از درون      از حکایت گیر معنی ای زبون  
نه چو آنکه افسانه ها بشنیده بود      همچو شین بر نقش آن چسپیده بود

And if she saw her neither without nor in her own mind, pay attention, simpleton, to the spirit of the story ;

(And be) not like him who heard some stories, and like “ shīn ” stuck to the “ letter ” of them.

[Like “ shīn ; ” i.e., as the letter shīn ( ش ) sticks to the word نقش ].

## نگه or نگاه

نگاه کردن (or نگاه ) (with acc.): “ To fix upon.” (Sh. N., IV, 1913).

چو گشت از نوشتن نویسنده سیر      نگاه کرد قیصر سواری دلیر

When the Secretary had finished his writing, the Qaiṣar fixed upon a bold cavalier (as envoy).

— (with در or اندر ): “ To fix ” (upon), “ have recourse ” (to). (Sh. N., I, 475).

نگه کرد گرسیوز اندر گروی      گروی ستمگر نه پیچید روی

Garsivaz had recourse to Garūy (for the deed) ; Garūy, cruel wretch, had no aversion.

[Concerns the projected killing of Siyāvash at the command of Afrā-siyāb].

## نگون

نگون اندر آمدن (nigūn andar āmadan): “ To fall headlong down.” (Sh. N., IV, 1829).

چنان زار و نومید بودم ز بخت      که دشمن نگون اندر آمد ز تخت

I was so afflicted and hopeless, when (lo !) my enemy fell headlong from his throne.

[Rejoicing of King Hurmuzd at the defeat of Sāva].

نگ (as غیرت ): “ A sense of honour.” (Sh. N., I, 468).



چو تاج بزرگی بچنگ آیدش      بکین دست یازد که ننگ آیدش

When the crown of majesty comes to his possession, he will turn his hand to vengeance (for me) in his sense of honour.

[Siyāvash, anticipating his death, is speaking of the vengeance, a yet unborn son of his will exact].

نو (nau).

نو شدن (with به) : “To be unexampled” (in or for). (Sh. N., IV, 2047).

سدیگر که بالا و رویش بود      بپوشیدگی نیز خویش بود  
بدانکه که من جفت خسرو شدم      بپوشیدگی در جهان نو شدم

The third (qualification is) that she should be tall and beautiful, and that her temperament should incline her to seclusion.

For seclusion, when I became the consort of Khusrau Parvīz, I was unexampled in the world.

[Shīrīn is speaking of the qualifications required in the wife of a king].

نور “light.”

نور دل : “The light of the heart ;” i.e., “The intellectual faculty.” (M., I, 252).

نور نور چشم خود نور دلست      نور چشم از نور دلمها حاصلست

The light of the light of the eyes is the light of the heart : the light of the eyes accrues from the light of hearts.

[The T. Com. says, نور دل که قوت عاقله در].

نوش : “Subsistence, living.” (M., II, 502).

چشم نهادست حق در کور موش      زانکه حاجت نیست چشمش بهر نوش

God has not put eyes in the male, because eyes are not needed by it for (the gaining of) a subsistence.

[T. Com.: “It has no need of eyes for (gaining) food and drink”].

نو شنیدن (for نویشن) : “To hear.” (M., II, 550).

تا همی گفت آن کیلیله بی زبان      چون سخن نوشد ز دمنه بی بیان

So that he said, “How should Kalīla ungifted with language hear words from Damna who was not endowed with the power of expression ?”

نَویدن (navīdan): "To bend down" (neuter). (cf. نوان Glos. Sh. N.)

نهادن

نهادن (with بر): "To decide" (upon; e.g., a course). (Sh. N., IV, 1780, and 1886).

برین بر نهادند و گشتند باز همه پاک بردند پیش نماز

1780:

They decided upon this and returned, all paying him sincere homage  
[The Greek envoys have agreed upon the tribute and indemnity to be paid to Nūshīrvān].

برین بر نهادند یکسر سپاه که یک تن نگرده ز فرمان شاه

1886:

The army all decided upon this, that not a single man would turn from his allegiance to the King.

[i.e., the King Khusrau Parvīz, who is opposed by the ambitious general Bahrām-e Chūbīn].

—"To conclude, to come to the conclusion." (Sh. N., IV, 1882).

چو پیروز گشتی تو بر ساوه شاه بران بر نهادند یکسر سپاه  
که هرگز لبیند یکسر شکست چو از خواسته سیر گشتند و مست

When you gained the victory over King Sāva, the army all came to the conclusion

That they would never suffer defeat, satiated and intoxicated as they were with plunder.

[Khusrau Parvīz is speaking to the rebellious general Bahrām].

فرو نهادن (with از): "To exempt" (from). See, (under فرو),

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued).

# MUSLIM CONDUCT OF STATE

(Continued)

## CHAPTER V

### *Laws of Neutrality according to Jurists*

FROM the foregoing Chapters it must have been clear that the notion and the fact of neutrality were not unknown to early Muslims. As the Muslim jurists do not treat the question in a separate chapter, but describe its provisions partly in the laws of peace and partly in the laws of war, it is not easy to glean all that is relevant to our purpose here. It must be admitted that the laws of neutrality had not so much developed in olden times as during the last fifty years, apart from the fact that the mighty onslaught of Nazi Germany has again thrown these laws of neutrality into the melting pot.<sup>1</sup> Still the few passages I came across in the writings of Sarakhsiy, the great commentator of Shaibāniy, may be reproduced here with profit. They were gleaned in a hasty perusal, and can by no means be considered as the only passages to be found in his writings or the writings of other jurists.

It is to be pointed out that these few random quotations cannot be expected to construct a whole system of laws of neutrality, namely the rights and obligations of neutrals *vis-à-vis* States actually engaged in a war.

(a) If a State has contracted a treaty of peace with the Muslims and is attacked by a third State which made prisoners (and enslaved them), and subsequently the Muslims waged an independent war against this latter State and captured the prisoners of their friendly State, they would be slaves of the Muslims. For the third State had not violated the jurisdiction of the Muslim State in capturing them.... If the third state secures its capture, it will become the rightful owner of the same.<sup>2</sup>

That is to say, it will not be an infringement of neutrality to appropriate the property of a friendly state if it was duly acquired by a third state from whom it passed lawfully to the Muslims.

(b) If a Muslim citizen is staying in a foreign country which has purchased the booty captured by a third state from a fourth one, the

1. Not to utilise a neutral territory as a base of operation and not to prepare there a warlike expedition—such are the two basic principles of modern international law on neutrality. It is to be noted that even in the presence of the League of Nations, England required mandated 'Irāq and protected Egypt to concede to her the right of maintaining troops in and transit through their territories before she could recognise their independence, in disregard of the basic principle of neutrality. German pressure on neutrals for passage was therefore not a lead but only it followed the precedence of the neutral 'Irāq and Egypt in the World War of 1939. Cf. also the treaty of Irān and Russia, invoked during the same war.

2. Sarakhsiy, شرح السير الكبير, IV, 134-35.

Muslim citizen may lawfully purchase that property (in spite of the fact that his State had remained neutral in that war). For the ownership did vest in the capturing country, and foreign countries do plunder each other and acquire ownership of persons and properties. Therefore it is lawful for the Muslim resident to purchase this booty just as any other property owned by the country where he is residing.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, if the country of residence of the Muslim citizen had captured that booty from a third state, he may purchase that booty. For the ownership was vested in it on account of securing that booty. . . . . If the Muslims had entered into a treaty of friendship with a non-Muslim country, which was attacked and plundered by a third state, the Muslim citizen residing in the former may lawfully purchase booty from the latter.<sup>1</sup>

(c) If Muslim citizens are staying in a foreign country which is attacked by a third state, they must not fight against that third state (which is at peace with the Muslim State). . . . except when they find their own selves in danger. In this case they may fight against that third state in self defence (not in breach of the neutrality of their own Muslim State) . . . . The precedence is provided by Ja'far, the cousin of the Prophet. He had taken refuge in Abyssinia when that country was attacked by a neighbouring monarch. Ja'far was prepared to take up arms in favour of the Negus, because he was afraid that the new ruler might not offer him the same asylum.<sup>2</sup>

(d) If the subjects of a foreign country come to the Islamic territory by permission and intend to proceed to a third state at war with the Muslims, in order to join forces with them against the Muslim State, passage will be denied them. For the passport secured for them only freedom of stay and freedom of return to their own country. Beyond this, the Muslim State is right in denying them all that is harmful to the Muslims . . . . No doubt if one or two of them want to proceed to the third state for commercial purposes, this may not be denied them. But the case is different when they are a formidable force.<sup>3</sup>

(e) A case of something like *benevolent neutrality*, permitting public armed forces of one state to pass through Muslim territory seems to be mentioned in the following quotation :

If they are a formidable force, and enter Muslim territory by permission in order to cross to another territory to fight their enemies, and they were attacked, while in the Muslim territory, by an enemy, the Muslim State is not obliged to come to their rescue even when it is in its power. The case is different when non-Muslim subjects of the Muslim State are attacked by foreigners when it is the duty of the Muslim State to protect them.<sup>4</sup>

1. Sarakhsīy, الميسوط, X, 97.

2. Ibid., X, 97-98.

3. Idem, شرح السير الكبير, IV, 121-22.

4. Idem, IV, 109.

\* \* \*

Here ends my humble investigation in the theory and practice of Muslim Public International Law. Although I have spent several years on the subject, yet I, more than anybody else, am conscious of many of its shortcomings ; and I know that many more things are to be read before exhausting even the material existing and known to me. In the course of one's daily reading, many important works, not known before, come to one's knowledge, but seldom is it possible to consult them in our Eastern surroundings, especially when they concern old and out of print Continental works. Diffidence would have prevented me from publishing this monograph even after these dozen years of writing and re-writing, but at last the consolation came to my mind, that—

کار دنیا کسی تمام نکرد  
فالسعی منا والایتمام من الله

## APPENDIX A.

*Instructions to Commanders.*

## I. BY THE PROPHET.

## (a) General :

## TRANSLATION :—

Whenever the Prophet appointed a commander over an army or detachment, he enjoined upon him to fear God regarding himself and regarding the treatment of the Muslims who accompanied him. Then he used to say :

Fight in the name of God and in the path of God. Combat those who disbelieve in God. Fight yet do not cheat, do not break trust, do not mutilate, do not kill minors.

If thou encounterst an enemy from among the Associators (infidels), then offer them three alternatives. Whichever of these they may accept, agree to it and withhold thyself from them :

So call them to embrace Islam. If they accept, then agree to it and withhold thyself from them. Then ask them to immigrate from their territory into the territory of the migrants<sup>1</sup> (i.e., Muslim State), and inform them that if they do that they will have same rights as the migrants and same obligations as they. If they refuse to migrate, then inform them that they will be considered as bedouin (wandering) Muslims, the same Divine laws being obligatory on them as on other Believers, except that they will not benefit by booty and other State income unless they join forces and fight along with the Muslims.

If, however, they refuse, then call them to pay the *jizyah* (protection tax). If they accept, then agree to it and withhold thyself from them.

If they refuse, then seek help from God and combat them.

If you besiege the people of a fortress and they agree to submit on the condition that you assure them by the pledge of God and the pledge of His Prophet, then do not do that ; but assure them by your own pledge and the pledge of your companions. For it is much less grave if you violate the pledge of yours and of your companions than the pledge of God and that of His Messenger.

If you besiege the people of a fortress and they agree to surrender on the award of God, then do not let them surrender on the award of God but on your own award. For you cannot be sure whether you have acted regarding them in conformity with the award of God or not.<sup>2</sup>

1. For its significance and a detailed description of the colonial policy in the time of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs, cf. my article "هجرت" in the quarterly سياست, July 1940, Hyderabad.

2. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, 139-40.

(b) *To 'Abdar-Raḥmān-ibn-'Awf :*

## TRANSLATION :

Then the Prophet ordered Bilāl to hand over the banner to him. He did so. Then the Prophet eulogised God and asked for His mercy upon himself, and said : O son of 'Awf ! Take it. Fight ye all in the path of God and combat those who do not believe in God. Yet never commit breach of trust nor treachery nor mutilate anybody nor kill any minor or woman. This is the pact of God and the conduct of His Messenger for your guidance.<sup>1</sup>

(c) For instructions on other occasions, by the Prophet, cf. Tirmidhīy, 14 : 14, 19 : 2 and 48 ; Ibn-Mājah, 24 : 38 ; ad-Dārimīy, 17 : 8 ; Mālik, 21 : 11 ; Ibn-Ḥanbal, I, 300 ; III, 440, 448 bis ; IV, 240 bis ; V, 276, 352, 258 ; Zaid-ibn-'Aliy, No. 820.

## 2. BY ABŪ-BAKR.

(a) *To Usāmah, while proceeding against Palestine :*

## TRANSLATION :—

Then Abū-Bakr went and met them (in the camp), ordered them to proceed, and accompanied them on foot while Usāmah (the commander) was riding and Abū-Bakr's camel was being conducted by 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān-ibn-'Awf. Usāmah told him : "O Successor of the Messenger of God, either you should ride or I shall alight." He replied, "Neither shall you alight nor I ride. What does it matter if I walk awhile, for every step of the warrior of God merits him seven hundred pious deeds, raises him seven hundred grades and effaces for him seven hundred sins." After reaching a certain distance, he said : "If you can spare 'Umar to help me, then do that." And he did. Then Abū-Bakr said :

"People! stop. I enjoin upon you ten commandments. Remember them : Do not embezzle, do not cheat, do not break trust, do not mutilate, do not kill a minor child or an old man of advanced age or a woman, do not hew down a date-palm nor burn it, do not cut down a fruit-tree, do not slaughter a goat or cow or camel except for food. May be you will pass near people who have secluded themselves in convents ; leave them and their seclusion. And it may be that you pass near people who will bring to you dishes of different foods. If you eat one after the other, then utter the name of God over them. And you will meet people the dressing of whose hair looks as if the devil has made a nest on the top around which they have something like turbans. So pierce them with swords.

1. *Sirah of Ibn-Hishām*, p. 992.

“ March, in the name of God. May God reward you by lance and plague !”<sup>1</sup>

*Another transmission of the same :*

Then he stood in the army and said :

“ I enjoin upon you the fear of God. Do not disobey, do not cheat, do not show cowardice, do not destroy churches, do not inundate palm-trees, do not burn cultivation, do not bleed animals, do not cut down fruit-trees, do not kill old men or boys or children or women ” . . .<sup>2</sup>

(b) *To the Commander Yazīd-ibn-Abī-Sufyān :*

TRANSLATION :

When Abū-Bakr ordered Yazīd-ibn-Abī-Sufyān to proceed to Syria, Abū-Bakr accompanied him giving him instructions. Yazīd was riding and Abū-Bakr was on foot. Yazīd said :

“ O Successor of the Messenger, either you shall ride or I will alight. ”

He replied :

“ Neither shall you alight nor I ride. I reckon these steps of mine to be in the path of God. ”

“ O Yazīd, You will soon arrive in a country where people will bring to you all kinds of food, so utter the name of God at the beginning and at the end. Further, you will come across people who have secluded themselves in convents ; leave them and their seclusion. But you will also come across people on whose heads the devil has taken his abode—that is the *Shamāmisah*—so strike their heads off. But do not kill any old man or woman or minor or sick person or monk. Do not devastate any population. Do not cut a tree except for some useful purpose. Do not slaughter any animal except for some useful purpose. Do not burn a palm-tree nor inundate it. Do not commit treachery, do not mutilate, do not show cowardice, and do not cheat. God shall surely give victory to those who help His cause and also to His Messenger, for God is Strong and Powerful. ”

“ I commit you to the care of God, and bid you farewell. ”  
Then he returned.<sup>3</sup>

(3) BY ‘UMAR.

TRANSLATION :

Whenever ‘Umar despatched armies, he enjoined upon their comman-

1. *Hist. of Tabariy*, p. 1849-50.

2. *Kanzul-'Ummāl* by 'Alīy-al-Muttaqīy, Vol. 2, No. 6261, on the authority of Ibn-Zanjūh.

3. *Idem*, Vol. 2, No. 6259, on the authority of al-Baihaqīy. Regarding the faithful observance of these instructions, cf. De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, 2nd ed., pp. 104-106.



ders to fear God, and then used to say, at the time of handing over the colours :

"In the name of God and with the help of God. March with the assistance of God and victory. Persevere in right conduct and endurance. Combat, in the path of God, those who disbelieve in God; yet do not transgress, because God does not love those who transgress.

"Do not show cowardice in an encounter. Do not mutilate when you have power to do so. Do not commit excess when you triumph. Do not kill an old man or a woman or a minor, but try to avoid them at the time of the encounter of the two armies, and at the time of the heat of victory, and at the time of expected attacks. Do not cheat over booty. Purify Jihād from worldly gain. Rejoice in the bargain of the contract that ye have made [with God], and that is the great success."<sup>1</sup>

#### (4) BY 'ABBASID CALIPHS.

Qudāmah-ibn-Ja'far (d. 310 H.) gives the forms of instructions issued in his time to the commanders of land and sea forces. I reproduce them from the unique copy of his *Kitāb-al-Kharāj* in Istanbul, without, however, trying to translate them. For, though they are in beautiful language, there are comparatively more words than substance and orders more regarding internal administration of the army than external treatment :

##### (a) *To the Commander of the Land Forces.*

##### نسخه عهد بولاية المعونة والحرب

هذا ما عهد به امير المؤمنين الى فلان بن فلان حين ولاه الحرب والأحداث بناحية كذا .  
 امره بتقوى الله وخشيته في سر أمره وعلايته والاعتصام به والعمل بطاعته وإصلاح ما بينه  
 وبينه بالعمل الركي والخلق الرضى . و امره ان يتعهد نفسه في تطهير مذهبه والمحافظة على دينه و  
 امانته والعلم بانه لاحول ولا قوة الا بالله في جميع تصرفه وسائر قلبه .  
 و ان امير المؤمنين لم يولّه ما ولاه الا رجاء ان يكون عنده من الضبط والكفاية والذب والسياسة  
 ما يراب به اهل العبث والفساد وتصلح معه الرعية والبلاد .  
 و امره ان يتجنب مساخط الله ومحارمه ويتعدى مناهيه ومأثمه وكف من معه من الخند والحاشية  
 عن الخطي الى ظلم احد من الرعية او مساءتهم باذية . ويحضهم على لزوم الاستقامة وسلوك نهج الطاعة  
 ومقارعة اعداء الله في البلاد ، والتصنع لهم بافضل العدة والعتاد . و امره ان يحسن صحبة من تبعه  
 من الجنود بتعهدهم في البعوث وان يكثر عرضهم ويتفقد دواهم واسلحتهم . واخذهم باستجاداتها  
 والنيقة فيها فان ذلك مما يزيد الله اهل السلامة تمسكها و اهل الدعارة تنأيا عنها .

1. Ibn-Qutaibah, عيون الاخبار , I, 107-8, ch. "War," cf. also Abū-Manṣūr-ath-Tha'libiy, (MS. No. 1808, As'ad Efendi, Istanbul).

وامره ان يعرف لقواد امير المؤمنين و شيعة حقوقهم ، ويتزلم منازلهم ويزيد في اكرامهم و رفع مقاديرهم فان ذلك مما يشحذ نياتهم ويزيد في بصائرهم .  
وامره ان لا يأخذ احدا بقرف أو تهمة دون ان يكون من اهل الريب والظنة ، و ان لا يعاقبه بشبهة دون ان تظهر له الدلائل البينة والعلامات الواضحة ، و ان لا يأخذ اهل التصون والسلامة بجرائم الدعار وذوى المفسدة .

وامره ان يبسط الامان لمن اتاه سلا ولا يجعل ذلك الى الغدر بهم سلا .

ويحذر ان يسمع عنه من استعمال الحيل والموارية ما يقابل عليه بالرواغ من واجب المطالبة .  
وامره ان يتعهد ثغوره و فروجه و اطرافه ومصالحه ويحترس من اختلال يقع فيها . ويوليها من له الحنكة والتجربة بمثلها . وامره ان يكثر مطالعة اعماله بنفسه وثقات من تبعه ، و ان يتيقظ في ذلك تيقظا يزيل الريبة ويمنع الغفلة ويصد عن الغرة .

وامره ان لا يمضى حدا او ينفذ حكما في قود ولا قصاص الا ما استطلع فيه رأى امير المؤمنين وانتظر من الاجابة ما يكون عليه عمله و عنده وقوفه .

وامره ان يمنع الجند من التنزيل على احد من الرعية في منزله و ان يشاركوه فيه مع اهله الا ان يكون ذلك باذنه و طيب نفسه ، و ان يتخطوا الزروع ان يطأها احد منهم بدابته او يجعلها طريقة في مقصده .

والأ يأخذ الاتيان من اهلها الا بالاثمان و رضا اصحابها .

وامره ان يتعهد من في حبوسه ويعرضهم ويفحص عن جرائمهم التي من اجلها وقع حبسهم بمشهد من قاضى البلد و نفر من اهل الثقة والنظر . فمن كان بريئا او جرمه لا يوجب اطالة حبسه اطلقه . ومن كان من حقه ان [يكف] بالحبس عن الناس اذاه و شره تعمد في السجن مصلحته . و من اشكل عليه امره انهى خبره الى امير المؤمنين ليصدر اليه من الرأى ما يكون عمله بحسبه .  
وامره ان ينظر فيما لم يكن عهد فيه اليه شيئا مما قبله فليجاريه و يستطلع في ذلك من الرأى ما ياتيه الجواب عنه بما يمثلله .

وامره ان يقرأ عهده هذا على من قبله و يعلمهم حسن رأى امير المؤمنين فيهم وتوخي صلاحهم و ايثاره الاحسان اليهم و العدل عليهم و رفع الضيم عنهم و المجاهدة لعدوهم والمراعاة دونهم .

هذا عهد امير المؤمنين اليك وامره اياك فافهمه . . . . . [بياض بالاصل] عنده واتبع مواقع الارشاد منه وكن عند ظن امير المؤمنين بك و تقديره فيك و مارجاه عندك من النصيحة و تأدية الامانة و مقابلة الصنيعة . و امير المؤمنين يسئل الله توفيقك و ارشادك و احسان معاونتك في جميع ما اسنده اليك من امر حربه و عمله قبلك .

و كتب فلان بن فلان باسم الوزير و اسم ابيه في وقت كذا .

( كتاب الخراج و صنيعه الكتابة لابي الفرج قدامة بن جعفر الكاتب ، المنزلة الخامسة من ورق

١٣ ب الى ١٤ من الخطية المحفوظة في مكتبة كوبرلو في استانبول تحت رقم ١٠٤٦ ) .

## (b) To the Commander of Sea Forces.

## نسخة عهد ولاية ثغر البحر

هذا ماعهد امير المؤمنين الى فلان حين ولّاه الثغر الفلاني و بحره و مراكبه :-  
امر بتقوى الله و طاعته و الحذر من عقابه و اتباع مرضاته و ايثار الحق في جميع افعاله . فان الحق  
أحرز عصمة و وزر و اصل مويل و عصر . و امره بتعهده نفسه حتى يقسم اودها و ينفي بذكر الله  
الهُوى و زيف الشيطان عنها و ان يزكى سجيته و يطهرها و يهذب سيرته و يثقفها ، و يكون لمن معه من  
الجند و سائر الاولياء في الخير اماما و معلما ، و يشد على ذوى المعصية ، و يعطى على كل حال قسطها  
من النصفة و المعدلة .  
و امره ان يكون الاذن عليه لمن معه من الجند مبذولا و الوصول اليه من ذوى الحاجات و الظلمات  
سهلا يسيرا .  
و امره ان يستعمل على شرطته من يرضى عقله و عفافه و يثق بحزائنه و صرامته و شدته على اهل  
الريب و الدعارة .  
و امره ان يديم عرض جنده حتى يعلم علمهم و يطلع على حقيقة امرهم و يلزم مراكبهم ، و امره ان  
يشرف على مراقبه و محارسه حتى يحكم امر المرتبين فيها و يدبر عليهم ازقاتهم و لا يتأخر عنهم شئ منها .  
و امره ان يتفقد امرا المراكب المنشاة حتى يحكمها و يمجود آلاتها و يتخير الصنائع لها و يشرف على ما  
كان منها في الموانى و يرفعها من البحر الى الشاطئ في المشاق و هيج الرياح المانعة من الركوب فيها .  
و امره ان يكون نواشير و عيون الذين يبعث بهم ليعرف اخبار عدوهم من ذوى الصداق و النصيحة  
و الدين و الامانة و الخبرة بالبحر و موانيه و داخلاته و مخايبه حتى لا يأثروا الا بالصدق من الخبر  
و الصحيح من الاثر . و ان دهقهم من مراكب العدو مالا قوام لهم به انجازوا الى المواضع التي يعرفونها  
و يعلمون النجاة بالانحياز اليها .  
و امره ان لا يدخل في النفاطين و النواتية و القذايق و لا في غيرهم من ذوى الصنائع و المهن  
في المراكب الا من كان طبيا ماهرا حاذقا صبورا معابا . و ان يكون من يحمله معه في المراكب أفاضل  
الجند و خيار الاولياء اصدق نية و احتسابا و جرأة على العدو و ارتكابا .  
و امره ان ينظر في صناعة المراكب نظرا استكشف به آلاتها من الخشب و الحديد و المشاقة و الزفت  
و غيره حتى يحكمها و يجيد بناء المراكب و تاليفها و قطفتها و تركيبها ، و يستجيد التاثير و يتخيرها  
يتنقى الصواري و القلوع و ينتخبها ، و يميز النواتية و يعتمد من له الحذق و الدربة منهم و الحنكة  
و التجربة من جميعهم حتى لا يدخل فيهم من لا يصلح دخوله و لا يخطب بهم من يكون غيره احق بالعمل منه .  
و امره ان يحترس من ان تنفذ العدو حيلة في اجتناء الاسلحة او شئ من ادوات الحرب و الكيد  
من ارض الاسلام او ان يطلق لأحد من التجار حمل شئ اليهم او اقامة الطريق الى بلدهم ، و من وجده  
قد اقدم على هذا و ما جاسه من الناس جميعا عاقبه عقوبة موجعة و جعله نكالا و عظة .  
و امره ان يضم المراكب في الموانى التي ترسى فيها و يولى مراعاتها من يثق بنصيحته و شهامته  
حتى لا يخرج منه مركب الا بعلمه ، و يشرف عليها في كثير من الاوقات حتى يكون على هيتها مجلوة

مسنونة مقومة موضونة متعاهدة مصونة الى وقت الحاجة اليها والعمل بها ، ويشرف على ما فيها من النفط و اللسان والحبال وغيرها من سائر الالات حتى يحتاط في ظروفها و اوعيتها و يأمن الفساد والتغير عليها .

وامره بشدة الحذر من جواسيس العدو و عيونه ، وان يوكل لكل مدينة من يعلم حالها و لا يطلق لأحد من البوابين والحرس ان يدخلها الا من يعلمون حاله وسبيل مدخله وصورته ومغزاه و ارادته . هذا عهد امير المؤمنين اليك وامره اياك . فافهم واعمل بما حده و رسمه و كن عند حسن ظنه بك في جميعه و هو يسأل توفيقك و ارشادك الى ما فيه الخير في جميع ما اسنده اليك واعتمد فيه عليك . و كتب فلان بن فلان .

( كتاب الخراج لقدامة ايضا ) .

## APPENDIX B.

*Bibliography*

## I. ARABIC, URDU, PERSIAN AND TURKISH WORKS.

N.B.—The subject requires an exceedingly wide range of sources : all the works on the exegesis of the Qur'ān, on Hadīth or records of the sayings and doings of the Prophet, on Islamic history, political science, law, tactics and strategy, and many other branches of Muslim lore. We give first the more important Arabic manuscripts followed by printed works in Oriental languages :

(a) *Arabic MSS.*

احكام اهل الذمة لشمس الدين ابن القيم (المتوفى ٧٥١) الجزء الاول في كتب خانة سعيديه  
 حيدرآباد و لم نجد لها اثرأ غير هذه النسخة الوحيدة المكتوبة سنة ٨٦٩ في ٢٨٦ ورق .  
 احكام السلاطين والملوك لعمود بن احمد بن محمد المجاور بمكذ (نخط المؤلف) ، خطية عارف حكمت  
 بك في المدينة رقم (١٣) تاريخ .  
 الادلة الرسمية في التعابي الحربية لعمود بن منكل (تأليف سنة ٧٠٠) خطية آيا صوفيا رقم (٢٨٣٩).  
 الاسرار في الفروع لابن زيد الدبوسي (المتوفى سنة ٣٣٠) خطيات عارف حكمت بك في المدينة و  
 ولي الدين و داماد زاده و سليم آغا في استانبول .  
 الاصل للامام محمد بن الحسن الشيباني (المتوفى سنة ١٨٩) ، خطيات آيا صوفيا و عاطف افندي  
 في استانبول و كتب خانة آصفيه في حيدرآباد .  
 الاعلام عن الحروب الواقعة في صدر الاسلام ليوسف بن ابراهيم الاندلسي ، خطية المكتبة الملكية بمصر  
 البحر المحيط وهو انتخاب كتب الامام محمد الشيباني ، خطية ولي الدين في استانبول رقم (١٣٠).  
 تاريخ الاسلام الكبير لشمس الدين الذهبي (المتوفى سنة ٧٥٣) خطية المكتبة الملكية بمصر و آيا صوفيا  
 في استانبول و ثلاث مجلدات عندي قابلها سبط ابن الجوزي .  
 تأويلات القرآن للامام الماتريدي (المتوفى ٣٣٣) خطية لاله في استانبول .  
 تخریج الدلالات السمعية على ما كان في عهد رسول الله من الحرف والصنایع والمعاملات الشرعية  
 لابن الحسن الخزاعي المولفة سنة ٧٨٠ ، خطيه شهيد على پاشا في استانبول رقم (١٨٥٣) و خطية ناقصة  
 في الزيتونة بتونس .  
 تقييد العلم للخطيب البغدادي المتوفى ٣٦٣ خطية برلين .

الخراج و صنيعه الكتابة لقدامة بن جعفر (المتوفى ٣١٠ او ٣٣٠) خطية ناقصة في كوبرولوف  
استانبول ونقل انتخاب هذه الخطية في باريس و ورقة واحدة في بودليان باوكسفورد و هي منسوبة  
الى قلاقة هناك سهوا .

الذخيرة البرهانية لبرهان الدين المرغيناني ، خطية يكي جامع في استانبول .  
كتاب الردة للواقدي المتوفى سنة ( ٢٠٤ ) خطية بانكي پورني الهند .  
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و كتب خانة سعديه في حيدرآباد .  
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بمليار في الهند .

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فقه الملوك <sup>على خزائن</sup> كتاب الخراج لابي يوسف الفه عبدالعزيز بن محمد الرجبى خطية لالهلى  
شرح  
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دائرة المعارف بحيدرآباد .  
المحيط لرضى الدين السرخسى (المتوفى ٦٨١) ، خطية ولى الدين في استانبول .  
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المعارف بحيدرآباد .  
كتاب في الجهاد والغازى لمولف مجهول خطية المكتبة الملكية بمصرفل التاريخ رقم (٨٠٤٥) .

### (b) Printed Works in Oriental Languages.

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تحت الطبع في الجامعة العثمانية .

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والقسطلانى والزرقانى والشامى وابن سيد الناس وكرامت على وموسى بن عقبة (ف ١٣١) المطبوع

في برلين جزء من مغازيه .

ابواب السير والجهاد في كتب الفقه والفتاوى خاصة المجموع للامام زيد بن الامام زين العابدين

(ف ١٢٢) ، والموطا للامام مالك (ف ١٤٩) ، والمبسوط للسرخسى (ف ٣٩٥) ، والامام الشافعى

(ف ۲۰۴) ، والمدونة لسحنون (ف ۲۳۹) ، والمختصر للقدوری (ف ۴۲۸) ، والهدایة للمرغینانی (ف ۵۹۳) وشرحه فتح القدير لابن الھام (ف ۸۶۱) ، وبداية المجتهد لابن رشد (ف ۵۲۰) ، وفتاوى قاضی خان (ف ۵۹۲) ، و الفتاوى الهندية العالمکیرية ولها ترجمة هندية وبدائع الصنائع للکاسانی (ف ۵۸۷) . شرح السير الكبير للإمام محمد الشيباني الفه السرخسی (ف ۴۸۳) مطبوع في حیدرآباد في ۴ مجلدات وله ترجمة تركية لعینتابی مطبوع في استانبول قبل طبع الاصل العربي بمائة سنة تقريبا .  
الشرع الدولي في الاسلام لنجيب الادمنازی طبع دمشق ۱۳۴۹ .  
صبح الاعشى للقلقشندي (ف ۸۲۱) .  
الطرق الحکمية لابن القيم (ف ۷۵۱) .  
کتاب الطهارة لابن مسکويه (ف ۴۲۱) .  
العقد الفريد لابن عبدربه (ف ۳۲۸) .  
عيون الاخبار لابن قتيبة (ف ۲۷۰ او ۲۷۶) في ۴ مجلدات راجع ابواب السلطان و ابواب الحرب .  
الفخری لابن الطقطقي (الفه في سنة ۷۰۱) .  
نظام الحكومة النبوية المسمى التراتيب الادارية و العالات و الصناعات و المتاجر و الحالة العلمية التي كانت على عهد تأسيس المدينة الاسلامية في المدينة المنورة العلية لعبد الحی الكتاني طبع برباط في مراکش في مجلدين و هو شرح تخریج الدلالات للخزاعي المذكور في المصادر الخطية .  
الوثائق السياسية للعهد النبوی والخلافة الراشدة ( مع خرائط و فوتوغرافات ) لمحمد حميدالله  
نشرة لجنة الترجمة و التأليف والنشر بمصر سنة ۱۳۶۰ هـ .

### بالغة الهندية

الجهاد في الاسلام مؤلفه ابوالاعلی مودودی ، مطبوعه دارالمصنفين اعظم گڑھ ، (ابتداء اخبار الجمعیة دھلی میں اس کا بڑا حصہ بالافراط چھپتا رہا) سنہ ۱۳۴۸ هـ .  
تحقیق الجھاد مؤلفه چراغ علی ، حیدرآباد سنہ ۱۹۱۳ ع .  
دنیا کسب سے پہلا تحریری دستور از محمد حمید اللہ مطبوعہ مجلہ طیلسانین حیدرآباد جولائی ۱۹۳۹ ع .

شہری مملکت مکہ از ایضاً ، مطبوعہ معارف اعظم گڑھ جنوری و فروری ۱۹۴۲ ع .  
عدل گستری ابتداء اسلام میں از ایضاً مطبوعہ مجلہ عثمانیہ حیدرآباد مارچ ۱۹۳۸ .  
عرب اور حبشہ از ایضاً در کتاب ” حبش اور اطالیہ “ نشریہ انجمن ترقی اردو ، ( نیز عربی حبشی تعلقات اور زودستیاب شدہ مکتوب نبوی بنام نجاشی ، مجلہ نظامیہ حیدرآباد ربیع الانور ۱۳۶۱ هـ .  
عربوں اور یزنطینیوں کے تعلقات از ایضاً مطبوعہ مجموعہ تحقیقات علمیہ جامعہ عثمانیہ حیدرآباد سالنامہ سوم .

عهد نبوی کی سیاست خارجہ کا شہ کار ( صلح حدیبیہ ) از ایضاً ، مجلہ سیاست حیدرآباد ، اپریل



- عهد نبوی کی سیاست خارجہ کے بعض اصول (تالیف قلبی) از ایضا مطبوعہ مجلہ نظامیہ حیدرآباد ربیع الاول ۱۳۵۷ھ .
- عهد نبوی کی سیاست کاری کے اصول از ایضا 'مجلہ سیاست حیدرآباد' جنوری ۱۹۴۰ع .
- عهد نبوی کے میدان جنگ از ایضا باتصاویر و نقشہ جات مطبوعہ مجموعہ تحقیقات علمیہ جامعہ عثمانیہ حیدرآباد سالنامہ ہفتم .
- عهد نبوی کے عربی ایرانی تعلقات از ایضا معارف اعظم گڑھ جولائی ۱۹۴۲ع .
- قرانی تصور مملکت از ایضا 'معارف اعظم گڑھ دسمبر ۱۹۴۱ع .
- ہجرت (یا نوآباد کاری) از ایضا 'مجلہ سیاست حیدرآباد جولائی ۱۹۴۰ .
- قانون بین الممالک کے اصول اور نظیرین (کتاب) از ایضا .

### بالغة الفارسیة

- ازالة الخفاء عن خلافة الخلفاء از شاه ولی اللہ دہلوی (ف ۱۱۱۰) ، (ترجمہ اردو ہم دارد) .

### بالغة التركية

- تاریخ حقوق بین الدول ، مولفی ابراہیم حتی ، استانبول ۱۳۰۳ھ (فصل اول - ۳ : اسلامیت) .
- تورکیہ جمہوریتی و سیاست ملیہ و اقتصادیہ ، مولفی دو قنور لطفی ، استانبول ۱۳۳۰ھ

## 2. WORKS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

N.B.—Just as regards works in Oriental languages, so, too, here only a select list is given. I have come to know a few works only recently, and hence I was not able to utilise them, e.g., those by Goadby, Redslob, Schulthess, Struppe.

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(k) *Universal.*

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HOLTZENDORFF  
OPPENHEIM

.. *Handbuch des Völkerrechts*, 1889 et seq., 4 vols.  
.. *International Law*, Vol. I, see also its bibliography.

M. ḤAMĪDULLĀH.

(Concluded)









# CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

## FOREIGN COUNTRIES

### *Discovery of another Original of a Letter of the Prophet.*

IN a note published in the *Islamic Culture*, October, 1939, p. 429, in an article on "Some Inscriptions of the Early Years of Hijrah," it was mentioned :—

"Prof. Margoliouth was kind enough to draw my attention and introduce me to a Scotch Orientalist Mr. Dunlop, who has acquired the pretended original of the letter of the Prophet addressed to the Negus of Abyssinia. Mr. Dunlop assures that he is going shortly to publish the document in the *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*. He has sent me a hand-written copy of the contents of the letter, and has very obligingly promised to furnish me soon with a photographic copy of the same. It would not be courteous on my part either to utilise this photo or to express my opinion on it before Mr. Dunlop publishes his promised article along with the document."

The promise was fulfilled in the January issue, 1940, of the *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 54-60. In the above-mentioned article on the inscriptions of Madīnah, our readers have seen the photographs of the original letters of the Prophet addressed to the Muqawqis and to Mundhir ibn Sāwā and have as well perused the pros and cons as to their genuineness. Regarding the new interesting discovery, the following extracts from the article of Mr. Dunlop would interest our readers :—

It is a parchment, some 9 inches wide by 13½ inches long. The letters are rounded, and being large are not difficult to read. The ink used is brown. There are 17 lines of the text and at the end a circular seal mark, 1 inch across, with the legend reading from below محمد رسول الله, each word having a line to itself. The text is as follows :

- |  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| ١ - بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم             | ٦ - القدوس السلام المؤمن المهيمن      |
| ٢ - من محمد رسول الله الى النجا        | ٧ - واشهد ان عيسى بن مريم روح         |
| ٣ - شى عظيم الحبشة سلام على من         | ٨ - الله وكلمته القاها الى مريم البتو |
| ٤ - اتبع الهدى. اما بعد فاني احمد اليه | ٩ - ل الطيبة الحصينة فعملت بعيسى من د |
| ٥ - ك الله الذى لا اله الا هو الملك    | ١٠ - وحه ونفخه كما خلق آدم بيده. و    |

- ١١ - انى ادعوك الى الله وحده لاشرف  
 ١٥ - دك الى الله عزوجل . وقد بلغ  
 ١٢ - يك له و الموالاة على طاعته و ان  
 ١٦ - ت ونصحت . فاقبلو ( sic ) نصيحتى والسلام  
 ١٣ - تتبعنى و توقن بالذى جاءنى فانى ر  
 ١٤ - على من اتتبع ( sic ) الهدى . الله  
 ١٥ - سول الله . وانى ادعوك و جنو  
 رسول  
 محمد

The document was obtained in Damascus in October 1938, and was taken by me to England. It was seen at the British Museum by Messrs. H. I. Bell and A. S. Fulton, and after it had been seen by Prof. Margoliouth, Mr. Robson of Glasgow, and other Arabists, it was taken back by me to its owner, a private person in Damascus.

It remained to examine the document palæographically. The British Museum authorities have no doubt that it cannot be as old as it claims to be. When was it fabricated? Several of those who have seen it have suggested that it is early rather than late. It may, indeed, be an early forgery. Mr. Ḥamīdullāh, the author of *Documents sur la Diplomatie musulmane à l'époque du Prophète et des Khalīfes Orthodoxes*, thinks that there may have been an original Prophetic letter, or one regarded as such, in the library of the present Negus of Abyssinia. According to the account of the present owner of the document, he got it in Damascus some years ago from an Abyssinian priest. It is therefore conceivable that it was previously in the imperial library, and during the recent war [*i.e.* Italo-Abyssinian] it came somehow in the possession of a priest, who later visited Syria.

Personally I cannot help thinking that it is recent in spite of the impressive appearance of age presented by the parchment. One may therefore suppose that the present document originated either at or about the same time as the other letter to the governor of Bahrain [*i.e.* 1863], and in any case after Barthélemy's find of the letter to the Muqawqis [*i.e.* 1850].

The detailed analysis of all the arguments put forward by Mr. Dunlop to prove the forgery of this letter should preferably be given and criticised in the *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society* itself where his original article has appeared. A resumé would suffice here:—

1. That the very fact of sending of epistles by the Prophet to foreign princes is legendary. Mr. Dunlop has given no argument of his own but has only referred to some older European writers. These latter have suggested that since the tradition of sending of epistles is connected with a miracle of the over-night learning by the emissaries of the languages of the countries to which they were directed to go, and since this miracle is plagiarised from the life of Jesus Christ, the whole story seems to have been fabricated by the Muslims to glorify their Prophet.

These scholars have based their arguments on a passage of Wāqidīy where some lines seem to have been omitted by some copyist. The complete version is preserved by Ibn-Hishām and Ṭabarīy, who say, on the

other hand, that once when the Prophet decided to send letters to foreign princes inviting them to embrace Islam, he first invoked the story of the apostles of Jesus and then admonished his emissaries not to hesitate in the manner of the Christian apostles ; and thereafter he gave instructions regarding each messenger.—There is neither anything legendary in this story nor any plagiarism or glorification at the expense of the apostles of Christ.

2. That regarding previous finds of originals, scholars have raised objections which apply to the present case as well. Mr. Dunlop does not go into any details but only makes a passing reference to some of these objections. In the article referred to above, which appeared in the *Islamic Culture*, October 1939, all these objections have been dealt with in detail, and need not be repeated now.

3. Although the parchment seems to be "early rather than late," some of the authorities of the British Museum do not think it dates back to as far early as the time of the Prophet. The conjectures in such matters are notorious. Certainly there can as easily be found other equally competent authorities who would not hesitate to concede to the present parchment the necessary antiquity. Not having seen it personally, the present writer does not want to express any opinion on this least strong argument.

4. The text preserved by Muslim chroniclers varies slightly from the one in the document. This is a very strong point, but let us see what this variance is :—

(a) The word *توقن* instead of *تومن* in our histories.

(b) *اتتبع* instead of the regular *اتبع* ; and *فاقبلوا* instead of *فاقبلو*.

(c) The histories have recorded certain passages, chiefly regarding the hospitality accorded to the Muslim refugees in Abyssinia, which are missing from the document.

Apart from this the text in the parchment is identical with the one preserved by historians.

As to (a), both the words convey the same sense, and even graphically and phonetically resemble so much that a mistake on the part of chroniclers can easily be pardoned.

The argument (b) supports rather than refutes the arguments for considering the document as genuine. At a later epoch, when grammomania ruled supreme, to write *اتتبع* (with two ت) would have been impossible, but at the time when Arabic orthography was in its infancy, such anomalies could not only be possible but it could even be shown that they were in vogue. We find in the *Qur'ān* (51 : 47) : *والسما بنيناها بأيد* : *بأيد* is the canonical orthography to this day instead of the logical *بأيد*. The same anomaly was found in the original letter of the Prophet addressed to Mundhir-ibn-Sāwā, where *غيره* was written instead of the regular



غيره. Even at a later time, an inscription of Palmyra bore آمين instead of آمين, as was pointed out in the *Islamic Culture*, 1939. As for فاقبلوا instead of فاقبلوا, scores of parallel instances are found in the Qur'ān to justify the former form. Mr. Dunlop has recognised that the seal marked in the present document is identical with the one in former finds of the original letters. The difference in handwriting has rightly been explained out by him to be due to its writing by a different scribe.

As to (c), it may be pointed out that for a long time scholars have been agreed that the extant version of the text of the letter addressed to the Negus should constitute an amalgamation of two different letters. For, they say, (cf. Hamīdullah, *Document sur la Diplomatie musulmane*, I, 38, nota 5), that the letter is unanimously dated by Muslim historians to the year 7 A.H., and a sentence like :—

“ I have sent to you my cousin Ja'far along with several Muslims, and when they come to you, receive them with hospitality ”

could not be written in the year 7 H., when almost 15 years had elapsed since the arrival of the refugees in Abyssinia and when they were actually on the verge of returning to Madīnah. Rather, such a sentence must occur in a letter of introduction at the time of the departure of the refugees from Mecca to Abyssinia. Some Arab historians have mentioned that the Prophet addressed letters to two different Neguses. Led by the identity of some of the phrases in the introductory and the missionary letters, or by some other similar reason, the chroniclers had confused and amalgamated the two texts. [A parallel was discovered by the author of the *Diplomatie musulmane*, (I, 99) regarding Dumatuljandal].

The present discovery completely supports this suggestion of the amalgamation, and this strengthens the argument in favour of the present parchment.

5. Lastly, in spite of the very old appearance of the parchment the suggestion that it dates back to only 80 or 90 years is a proposition which need not be taken seriously.

M. H.

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*Summary of a paper entitled Avempace Botanico by Miguel Asin in Al-Andalus, Revista de las Escuela de Estudios Arabes de Madrid Y Granada, Vol. 5, Fasc. 2, pp. 255-299.*

Abū-Bakr ibn al-Šāig is known among Arabs under the nickname of Ibn-Bāyya, and among scholastics under the name of Avempace.

Brockelmann in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (I, 460) mentions the existence of 24 short works of Ibn-Bāyya, which are collected in two Arabic codices preserved at Berlin and Oxford.

Most of Ibn-Bāyya's works have perished ; among them there were various books on plants which were of constant reference among contemporary writers. Ibn al-Baitār alone mentions him over 200 times and such references, according to Meyerhof, show the vast knowledge Ibn-Bāyya had on botanical subjects.

The present work, in spite of its shortness, is of great importance as it supplements our knowledge of Spanish-Arabic Botany.

The style of the book is dry and matter-of-fact ; but one has to remember that such books were meant not for the general public but for philosophers and specialists.

Ibn-Bāyya first sets down the general characteristics that apply to the whole of the plant kingdom, and then describes the primary differences which occur in plants within the general characteristics of the kingdom. This classification is perhaps the most interesting part of the whole treatise, since large number of plants are mentioned and this is of great help to complete the medieval lists of plants which have come down to us.

On the basis of anatomy, physiology and habitat, Ibn-Bāyya divides plants into various groups : plants with and without roots, independent plants and parasites, terrestrial and aquatic plants, marine and marsh plants, plants from steppes, hills, meadows and river banks, plants from hot and temperate climates, wild and cultivated plants, etc. Coming to more particular divisions, Ibn-Bāyya distinguishes new groups, the basis of such classifications being various plants with long roots and small stems and *vice versa*, presence or absence of stem and its quality, *i.e.* whether it is erect or procumbent, simple or branched ; annuals or perennials, with leaves or without them, etc. Plants can also be divided according to their use, and thus plants according to Ibn-Bāyya are totally or partially edible, with pleasant or unpleasant taste ; nutritive, poisonous or medicinal ; this last group of medicinal plants is again subdivided into cooling and calorific, laxative and diuretic plants, or plants for a specific limb or part of the body or for a particular disease, as antidotes, etc.

Such a catalogue does not yield on orderly grouping of plants ; but this fault is unfortunately common to all medieval writers on plants. Perhaps such a disorderly arrangement is to be attributed to the fact that the present work is only a draft or sketch of an unfinished work which might have perished in the course of time.

A large portion of the treatise is given to the study of the characteristics common to the whole of the plant kingdom. A plant stands out on account of its nutritive power, but this is also found in the animal kingdom ; Ibn-Bāyya distinguishes plants from animals by the power of local motion and irretibility which is found in animals and not in plants. Plants do not move locally as they are fixed in the soil and derive their nourishment from it ; plants do not show voluntary movements or symptoms of sensation. Ibn-Bāyya recognizes the daily movements in aquatic plants like those of *Nymphæa* but he attributes such movements to physico-chemical causes. He goes so far as to doubt whether there is any real difference

between plants and animals, but he does not answer the question, and in consequence, Ibn-Bāyya cannot be included among the precursors of the Evolution Theory. In this connection one may well note his references to the mutability of species, *e.g.*, wheat changing into oats, etc., but from this we cannot draw any conclusions as to his ideas on transformism.

When speaking of plant reproduction, he is not sufficiently clear. He admits sexual reproduction in plants, but only in an equivocal sense, though he does not deny, as Aristotle did, sexuality in plants. Ibn-Bāyya recognises the existence of male and female plants, *e.g.* among palms, or among some fig trees, but such a difference bears no relation to fertilisation proper, but only to the ripening of the fruit.

In the discussion on the general characteristics of plants, Ibn-Bāyya pays particular attention to the problem of nutrition ; but this part of the treatise offers no novelty, as he follows the common Aristotelian doctrine on the subject.

The treatise occupies thirteen pages in the Arabic text as reproduced by Miguel Asin ; the Oxford codex has been followed throughout, but when this differs from the Berlin codex, the author marks differences and corrections in footnotes.

The translation is enriched with abundant footnotes where one cannot fail to be impressed by the deep knowledge the author has of Arabic and Greek literatures ; this is particularly marked when the author analyses the meanings of Arabic plant names.

H. S.

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*Ars Islamica* (Michigan U. S. A.) Vol. VII.

Under the heading of the *Syrian Caravanserais of the Middle Ages*, Monsieur Jean Sauvaget discusses in French language the caravanserais belonging to the Mamelouks as in the last issue of the same Journal he had dealt with those of the Ayyubids. The writer has based his studies on the inscriptional evidence available on the monuments. Up to now only thirty-three such caravanserais, found in and around Syria, have been brought to light. The account has been fully illustrated with useful scale drawings and other necessary photographs. Considerable pains have been taken in the transcription of the Arabic text of the inscriptions. All this has enhanced the scientific and cultural value of this effort.

Amy Briggs writes an authoritative paper on the *Timurid Carpets* (*Geometric Carpets*). Though the carpets belonging to the period earlier than that of the sixteenth century of the Christian era are very rare, yet they have been well-depicted in the Persian miniature-paintings which we generally get from a unique manuscript of the poetical works of Khājū Kirmānī in the British Museum (Add. 18,113) which was copied at Baghdād and illustrated by Junaid Naqqāsh Sultānī. These miniatures with

representations of rugs used as archæological evidence are sufficient to prove their reliability and their actual use in those days in the royal palaces. The miniatures which contain rugs have other decorative details also and their architectural ornament is a truthful representation of contemporary forms. Even the Chinese porcelain represented in the miniatures stands the test of comparison with contemporary pieces still in existence today, although they do not give any clue as to the weave. With the exception of a few rugs in miniatures attributed to Bihzād, in which arabesque forms are used, the border is invariably composed of forms derived from Kūfic inscriptions. Amy Briggs has ably classified the geometric Timurid carpets as type I based on squares ; type II on stars and crosses ; type III on octagons ; type IV on hexagons ; and type V on circles. She has illustrated her thesis with a number of diagrams in which several of these types have been interrelated with particular types of carpets as represented in various miniatures. She thinks that the vitality of the design is heightened in Timurid carpets by the avoidance of absolute symmetry although geometric plan is never neglected. In an appendix to the monograph a detailed list has been given of those fifty-seven illustrated MSS. from different collections which contain the miniatures bearing the representations of the Timurid carpets with geometric patterns.

Mary E. Crane has discussed in an illustrated note a *fourteenth century mihrab from Isfahan*, which has been recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art. She has applied herself to its detailed study and compared it with other such pieces of art. In this connection some historical aspects of Isfahan monuments with reference to Persian mediæval architecture, particularly that of *Madrassa-Imami*, Isfahan, have come to light, which help to complete the chronology of the dated examples of faience mosaics from 716 A.H. to 778 A.H.

German scholar Kurt Erdmann writes a long article on *Kairener Teppiche* which includes the second instalment on Mamelouks and Osmanli carpets.

Bibliography of the writings of Dr. Ernest Herzfeld is compiled by George C. Miles. It is arranged according to his works published in each and every year. He began to publish his works in 1907 and it has been made up to date (1939) i.e. there are one hundred and ninety publications in all.

A Persian Garden Carpet in the Jaipur Museum is well described in detail by M. S. Dimand.

Three monuments at Yazd-i-Khwast are described by Myron Bement Smith in a small but well-written note which is full of informations.

An exhibition of the Iranian art held at New York in 1940 under the name of "Six Thousand Years of Persian Art" is briefly dealt with by the editor, Richard Ettinghausen. The informations given in this useful note give us an idea that a good deal of the Persian Muslim Art was displayed there.

Two German publications on Persian Art, viz., *Ulugh Beg und Seine*

zeit and Herat Unter Hussain-Baiqra dem Timuriden have been reviewed by the editor.

Mr. Hugc Buchthal has contributed an article on the *Hellenistic Miniatures in Early & Islamic Manuscripts*. The author has studied three MSS. of the *Maqāmāt-i-Ḥarīrī* on comparative basis. These MSS. are from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and they were exhibited at the Iranian Art Exhibition held in Paris in 1938. Two of these MSS. belong to the thirteenth century of the Christian era, with only a few years intervening between them, while the third one is of a little later period. These miniatures, according to the scientific method applied by the writer by putting them side by side with some of the earlier Hellenistic miniatures, clearly show that they represent a strange mixture of elements partly Hellenistic and partly Eastern in origin. But Byzantine element which acts as intermediary between the Hellenistic tradition and these Islamic miniatures, appears in each manuscript in a new and different light. Some of them closely adhere to compositional schemes which are current in Greek Bible illustrations and are familiar to every student of Byzantine art. The author has also tried to show that even the architecture, though strangely distorted, can be traced back to Byzantine models. Mr. Hugo Buchthal has discussed almost all important illustrations found in these MSS. and has tried to find their origin in Christian MSS. But according to him, the place where the school of illumination flourished, to which these two MSS. belong, remains to be established. The writer has also drawn attention towards the curious similarity existing between the *Ḥarīrī* MSS. and one of the Coptic MSS. In conclusion he has pointed out that these MSS. should not be confused with products of the Baghdād School but should be regarded as Islamic offshoots of Hellenistic culture in the eastern Mediterranean.

Mr. Basil Gray of the British Museum, London, has admirably discussed the *Fourteenth-Century Illustrations of the Kalilah and Dimnah*. He has based his study on seven extant MSS. of the work, which extend over the period between 1250 and 1300 A.D. Fortunately, one of them is preserved in the Rampur State Library. In fact Mr. Gray has discussed the early development of Musalman painting through these extant illustrated MSS. and this instructive and interesting article has still to be followed by its second instalment.

An Inscription of Bārbak *Shāh* of Bengal is the subject of a thesis by Messrs. Nabih, A. Faris and G. Miles who write with great care. Originally this stone inscription was purchased from Kevorkian of America by the University Museum, Philadelphia. It commemorates the digging of a canal or a reservoir and the building of an inner entrance to the grounds of the palace of Gour, the old capital of Bengal, by Bārbak *Shāh*, the second sovereign of the restored house of Ilyās *Shāh*, who ruled over Bengal from 864 to 879 A.H./1459 to 1475 A.D. The inscription is in Arabic verse. It has been very nicely carved out on the stone in a very elegant *Naskhī-Tughra* style of calligraphy, but it is not very easy to

decipher. The border in stone carving reminds one of the similar stone carving on the 'Alāi Gate of the Qutb Mosque at Delhi. The learned writers have also reproduced other similar inscriptions of the Bengal Muslim kings which represent their special *Naskhī-Tughra* style.

*Supplementary Notes to K. Holter's Check List of Islamic Illuminated Manuscripts Before A.D. 1350*, by Hugo Buchthal, Otto Kurz, and Richard Ettinghausen, which extends over sixteen pages is very important for the study of the development of the early Islamic school of painting.

Book Reviews which deserve mention are:—

*Selective Bibliography of Hispano-Islamic Art in Spain and Northern Africa (711-1492)* by Harriet Dyer Adams.

*The Rise of the North Arabic Script and its Qur'ānic Development with a Full Description of the Qur'ānic Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute* (Chicago) by Nabia Abbott.

M.A.C.

## HYDERABAD

### *The Hyderabad Session of the Indian History Congress.*

IN continuation of the note on the Indian History Congress published in *Islamic Culture*, April, 1942, we give below a detailed account of the Congress, which could not be published in the last issue for lack of space.

It was a record gathering of some of the most eminent historians of India and high officials and elite of Hyderabad which listened to His Excellency Colonel Nawab Dr. Sir Ahmad Sa'id Khān Bahādur, President of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council and Chancellor of the Osmania University, when he delivered the gracious message of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar to the Indian History Congress on December 21, 1941 in the Address Hall of the Osmania University. The Hyderabad Session of the Congress, with 111 members of the Reception Committee, 277 members of the Indian History Congress Association and 148 papers offered, broke all previous records. This was no doubt partly due to the place which H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions occupy today in the social and cultural scale of India and partly to the importance of the session, at which not only the proposed constitution for putting the congress on a sound footing was to be adopted but also the ways and means for implementing the Lahore resolution regarding the necessity of the compilation of a comprehensive history of India on scientific lines were to be discussed. His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar had graciously condescended to accept the Patronage of the Hyderabad Session, and the Message which His Exalted Highness sent to the Congress was as follows:—

"I have much pleasure in welcoming the 5th session of the Indian History Congress to the capital of my Dominions. I am pleased to

learn that during the comparatively short period of its existence the History Congress has played a very important part in the development of Historical Research and is taking practical steps in bringing out a comprehensive history of India sponsored by some of the most eminent of our historians. A similar scheme for the compilation of an authoritative history of the Deccan is being considered by my Government, and I am confident that it will receive the co-operation of those of you interested in the history of Southern India.

"I wish success to your labours and deliberations which I am sure will further foster the spirit of unbiassed scientific enquiry."

After delivering the Royal Message H.E. the Chancellor of the University, who was also the Vice-Patron of the Session, proceeded with his inaugural address and remarked how the capital of the Dominions provides in more ways than one a suitable environment for the deliberations of a body devoted to the pursuits of history. "You will see age-long burial cairns here with their wealth of deposits; Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanic caves and temples; mosques and tombs of the Tughluq, the Bahmani, the Qutb Shāhī and the Mughal periods; one of the principle seats of the Sikh faith; Christian churches and Parsi houses of worship. They are the symbol of a long rule of tolerance which has given to all the diverse cultures of India a homely soil in which to grow, and grow in harmony." He then went on to describe how in Hyderabad "evidences of our history are preserved carefully, even jealously, in the magnificent palm-leaf collection housed in the University Library, the priceless documents of Qutb Shāhī, Mughal and Asafiyah times in our Record Office and the valuable manuscripts of the Asafiyah Library." After His Excellency had read his address, the Hon'ble Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Vice-Chancellor of the University and Chairman of the Reception Committee, read his welcome address. After welcoming the guests and stressing the importance of the Dominions as a subject-matter for the study of history, he said: "It is this richness and variety of our history which makes me welcome in particular the inclusion in your session this year of a section devoted to local history, and the number of papers which, I understand, have been received for that section from other parts of India show that the Deccan continues to attract scholars. . . . The recent steps we have taken by the appointment of a special committee to deal with the preservation and publication of historical documents, and personal contracts with scholars of history like yourself, not to mention the deliberations of bodies like yours, are certain to lead to a wider co-operation in historical research."

The Local Secretary, Professor H. K. Sherwānī, read the messages he had received. The President of the Congress, Rao Sahib Professor C. S. Srinivasachari then rose to deliver his Presidential Address. His main theme was the need for viewing Indian history from an objective and purely scientific point of view. Dealing with the scheme for the compilation of a comprehensive history of India he said:

“ The plan has for its object the stimulation of research and the bringing to light of the results of such research made by scholars in the various branches and periods of our country's history. The treatment is intended to be on an ample and comprehensive scale and not merely to be popular and to satisfy the needs of the lay reader. The appeal to the support of our effort goes forth in the name of our Congress which is a most representative organisation and whose role of membership includes scholars coming from all parts of the country, and from the different Universities, Historical Associations, the Central and Provincial Governments, Indian States and the Imperial Government in their Archæological and Record Departments. . . . Our aim in this great effort is not at all to invite or encourage any competition and rivalry among scholars and writers, but solely to bring about a co-ordination of efforts among all interested in the furtherance of a truly scientific historical work. . . . For this aim the co-operation of all scholars, Indian, English, American or European and of other nationalities is needed.”

After the President had concluded, the General Secretary, Dr. Tara-chand submitted his annual report and the Inaugural Meeting came to a close punctually at 12 noon according to the scheduled time after the Local Secretary, Professor Sherwānī, had thanked all those who had contributed to the success of the session by their presence.

The afternoon of the 21st and the following morning were reserved for the Addresses of the Sectional Presidents. Contrary to the practice at the previous sessions of the Congress, it had been decided that all these addresses should be delivered one after the other in the same hall so as to give all the members opportunity to hear all of them. It had also been decided to commence sectional meetings and reading of papers only after all the Presidential Addresses had been read. The experiment was highly successful, and the learned discourses were given under the chairmanship of the General President.

As has been mentioned above, the number of papers submitted created a record, for, at this session there were 148 as against 77 at Lahore, 144 at Calcutta, 94 at Allahabad and 31 at Poona. A special feature of the Congress was a section devoted to the history of the Deccan which alone claimed 24 papers. The following is a list of papers dealing with the History of Islam in India :—

- Section 1, up to 711 : (President Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari, Calcutta ; Secretary, Prof. Hanumantha Rao) . . Nil.
- Section 2, 711-1206 : (President, Dr. Krishna, Mysore ; Secretary, Dr. I. N. Topa) : 1. “ Ancient India from Arabic Sources ” by Dr. Hamidullah, Hyderabad. 2. “ Story of Muhammad bin Qasim's Dismissal and Death,” by S. M. Jaffar, Peshawar. 3. “ Islam in Malabar ” by Mr. K. V. Krishna Iyer, Calicut.
- Section 3, 1206-1526 : (President, Khan Bahadur Prof. M. S. Commisariat



Bombay ; Secretary, Prof Mohammad Agha Husain) : 1. " Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud and his two Ministers " by Dr. P. Saran, Benares. 2. " Insha-i-Mahru " by Mr. Abdur Rashid, Aligarh. 3. " Historical references in Jain Poems " by Principal K. Mitra, Monghyr. 4. " The Chronology of Muhammad bin Tughluq's Reign " by Mr. S. N. Haidar Rizvi, Rampurhat. 5. " A Missing Link of Indian History " by Dr. Mahdi Husain. 6. " Ziauddin Barani " by Mr. S. Mu'inul Haq, Aligarh. 7. " A Peep into the Royal Court during the Reign of Sultan Firoz Shah " by Prof. N. B. Roy, Mymensingh. 8. " The Imperial Majlises in the early Sultanate Period " by Dr. Aziz Ahmad, Aligarh. 9. " Sultan Zainul Abidin of Kashmir " by Mr. R. K. Parmu, Kashmir. 10. " Some Muslim Mystics of Medieval Bengal " by Professor S. N. Dhar, Indore.

Section 4. 1526-1764 : (President, Dr. Tripathi, Allahabad ; Secretary, Prof. A. M. Siddiqi) : 1. " Sher Shah Sur, a Soldier-king " by Mr. Abrar Husain Faruqi, Parbhani. 2. " Position of the Christians in the Mughal Empire " by Prof. Roy Choudhuri Sastri, Bhagalpur. 3. " When was Akbar's Tomb begun " by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, Lucknow. 4. " Raja Todar Mal's Sons " by Mr. Jahangir Singh, Benares. 5. " The Rushaniyahs " by Dr. I. H. Quraishi, Delhi. 6. " Jodh Bai's Palace at Fathpur Sikri " by Dr. S. K. Banerji, Lucknow. 7. " Two Aligarh MSS. of the *Makhzan-i-Afghani* by Dr. A. Halim, Aligarh. 8. " Shah Jahan's Central Asian Policy " by Mr. P. N. Mookerji, Lucknow. 9. " Bihar in the first quarter of the 18th Century " by Mr. S. Husain Askari, Patna. 10. " The Rohila Chief, Nawab Doonde Khan " by Mr. S. Altaf Ali, Aligarh. 11. " A Farman granted to the Syeds of Batwah " by Professor B. D. Varma, Poona. 12. " The Finding of Dupleix Fathabad " by Mons. A. Lehuraux, Chandernagore.

Section 5. 1764 onwards : (President, Professor J. F. Bruce ; Secretary, Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan) : 1. " Hyder Ali's Appeal to Hon. East India Company " by Mr. Kasim Ali Sajun Lal. 2. " The Miscarriage of Shah Alam's Second Expedition to Delhi " by Dr. A. L. Srivastava, Bikaner. 3. " A Short Account of Bachcha Jamaatdar " by Mr. C. V. Joshi, Baroda. 4. " The Wellesleys and Mysore " by Mr. P. G. Satyagirinathan, Mysore. 5. " The Tale of the Mysore Coinage " by Mr. B. P. Ramchandra Rao, Mysore. 6. " The End of the Walajahi Rule " by Mr. Muhammad Ghous, Hyderabad. 7. " Hirat and British India " by Professor S. N. Banerji, Patiala. 8. " The North-Western Tribes under Ranjit Singh's Sway in 1837 " by Dr. N. K. Sinha, Calcutta. 9. " Indigenous Elementary Education before the Mutiny " by Mr. R. N. Chaturvedi, Benares.

10. "Confessions of two Mutineers" by Principal K. Mitra, Monghyr. 11. "The Looshai Raids and the Looshai Policy, 1869-1872" by Mr. Ganpat Rai, Delhi. 12. "Beginning of the Forward Policy in the North-West Frontier of India, 1874-1876" by Mr. Anup Chand, Lahore.

*Section 6. Deccan History:* (President, Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur ; Secretary, Mr. Mir Mahmud Ali): 1. "Alauddin's policy in the Deccan" by Mr. S. Sirajuddin, Hyderabad. 2. "The founder of the Bahmani Kingdom" by Dr. A. Chaghtai, Poona. 3. "Mujahid Shah Bahmani and Vijayanager" by Dr. Venkata Ramnayya, Madras. 4. "Muhammad Shah Bahmani II" by Mr. A. M. Siddiqi, Hyderabad. 5. "The Condition of Education under the Bahmanis" by Mr. Mir Ahmad Ali Khan. 6. "Contribution of Bahmani Kings to Indian Civilisation" by Mr. Mir Mahmud Ali, Hyderabad Deccan. 7. "Salabat Khan II of Ahmadnagar" by Prof. C. H. Shaikh, Poona. 8. "Shahji's Letter to a Minister of Bijapur" by Prof. B. D. Verma, Poona. 9. "The Bijapur Court Culture" by Dr. K. K. Basu, Bhagalpur. 10. "The Early Life of Malik Ambar" by Dr. B. P. Saksena, Allahabad. 11. "History of the City of Aurangabad" by Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Khan, Hyderabad. 12. "Ibrahim Qutb Shah's Conquest of Rajahmundry" by Mr. B. V. Krishna, Rajahmundry. 13. "A Letter of Abdullah Qutb Shah to Shah Abbas II" by Prof. J. N. Sarkar, Patna. 14. "Textile Industry and Trade of the Kingdom of Golconda" by Dr. P. M. Joshi, Bombay. 15. "Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah I from Telugu Sources" by Dr. A. G. Pawar, Kolhapur. 16. "Why was Nasir Jung summoned to Delhi?" by Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan. 17. "Postal Service in the Time of Nawab Nizam Ali Khan" by Mr. Badshah Husain, Hyderabad-Deccan. 18. "Battle of Shrigonda, 1761" by Mr. Kasim Ali Sujan Lal, Hyderabad-Deccan. 19. "Daftar-i-Diwani wa Mal" by Mr. Nasiruddin Hashimi, Hyderabad.

At the business meeting, committees were formed to plan out chapters, to select writers and to do all the work necessary for writing and editing the comprehensive history of India, and a Co-ordinating Committee was elected with Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as chairman.

The feelings of the members participating in the Indian History Congress may be estimated by the speech of the General President, Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari which he delivered at the close of the session of the Congress. He said that apart from the fact that the session had been a record one, it was the first time that the meeting of the Congress had been held in the capital of the largest and the most important Indian State. Proceeding, he said, "We are extremely grateful to H.E.H. Sultān-ul 'Ulūm the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar for having accorded

his patronage to this session of the Indian History Congress. The great progress which Hyderabad has made during the reign of its present sovereign is an indication of the interest which His Exalted Highness has taken in the welfare of his people and it is this interest which has earned him the honoured title of Sultān ul 'Ulūm. We are also thankful to the Prime Minister of these great Dominions, H.E. the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari, for having agreed to become the Vice-Patron. The Reception Committee with the Hon'ble Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur as Chairman and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University as Vice-Chairman, has done all that was necessary to make our stay here comfortable, and I heartily congratulate the genial Local Secretary, Prof. H. K. Sherwānī, for what he has achieved in making the Congress a great success."

H.K.S.

### *The Hyderabad Libraries.*

A hopeful sign of educational progress in Hyderabad is that reading-rooms and libraries are multiplying and becoming increasingly popular here. The nobles and scholars of Hyderabad have always been fond of maintaining fine libraries for their personal use. The libraries of Nawab Salar Jung, Nawab Lutf-ud-Dowla, Nawab Kamal Yar Jung, Nawab Mo'in-ud-Dowla and those founded by the Sufis such as the libraries at Roudatāin (Gulbarga), at Panchakki (Aurangabad) and that of Hazrat Muḥammad Sarwar (at Raichur) are still famous. But the public in Hyderabad never before took so keen an interest in library movement as in these days. In 1938 there were only 265 libraries but now the branches of the Itteḥād-ul-Muslimīn reading rooms have been established in almost all the districts of Hyderabad.

The Asafiya State Library, as was mentioned in the last issue of this journal, is also taking its due share in the campaign of popularizing the libraries. On the occasion of its Jubilee, the Asafiya Library had announced three prizes for the best articles on the Deccan Libraries. These prize essays have recorded a number of private libraries existing in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. But as these private libraries have no classified catalogues of their books, it is not possible to give a detailed account of the rare and valuable MSS. which they possess. These essays have, however, collected informations about some of the rare MSS. found in some of the private libraries.

Excluding Asafiya library the libraries which are famous for their rare MSS. are those of Sa'idiya, Roudatāin at Gulbarga, Panchakki, Dā'irat-ul-Ma'ārif, and Diwani-wa-Mal-wa-Mulki.

Some extracts from these essays, together with the latest information obtained recently, are given below.

The Sa'idiya library contains, besides many other books of interest, a very valuable collection of rare MSS. acquired by the late Mufti

Muḥammad Sa'īd Khān of Hyderabad. The MSS. found in this Library are of three kinds :—1. Original works of the members of Qaḍi Mahmūd's family 2. the transcription of rare manuscripts; 3. the original MSS. of the old classical writers.

Originally there were only 2120 rare MSS. but recently many members of the owner's family, who live in Madras, have sent their private collections to be preserved in this library. These newly received MSS. have been estimated to be about 2500, and accession of an equal number of MSS. is further expected. Excluding the newly acquired books, the number of old MSS. in the library, with the period they belong to, is as follows :—

Sixth century A.H.	..	..	..	2
Seventh	..	..	..	11
Eighth	..	..	..	156
Ninth	..	..	..	31
Tenth	..	..	..	49
Eleventh	..	..	..	119

A brief description of some of the rare MSS. is as follows :—

1. *Tārīkh-u-Madīnat-e-Dimashq* by Ibn-'Asākir (d. 571 A.H.). It is an autograph copy by the author's son, Qāsim, and it contains biographies of the Traditionists in alphabetical order. The work is in several parts or Juz, but only eight parts are preserved in this Library (From Juz 142 to 150, or from the word Ḥamid to Ḥasra).

2. *Asmā'-al-Mubhama fī 'Anbā'il Muḥkama* is on holy Traditions by al-Shaikḥ al-Imām Abī-Bakr ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit al-Khalīl al-Baghḍādī. This copy was transcribed in 586 A.H.

3. *Hirz-al-Amānī wa Wajhal-Tahānī* is an orthography of the Qur'ān in verse by al-Imām al-'Ālim al-Fāḍil al-Muqr'i Abī-al-Qāsim al-Sahīlī (d. 590 A.H.). It is a fine specimen of penmanship on thick paper.

4. *Tafsīr-al-Qur'ān* by Abū-Bakr Ghālīb bin 'Aṭiya. There is only one volume containing a commentary from the beginning to the Sura Al-'Imrān. This copy was transcribed at Ḥalab by 'Abdullāh al-Shujā'ī in 725 A.H.

5. *Al-Wajīz* is another Tafsīr by al-Waḥīdī. It was transcribed by 'Alī Ahmad Saraswatī in 780 A.H.

6. *Tasḍīd-al-Nufūs fī Takhrīj-e-Aḥādīth-al-Dailimī fī Musnad-il-firdaws* is by Ibn-Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852). It is an autograph copy completed in 839 A.H. Other important MSS. of this library, of which no detailed information could be gathered, are :—

1. *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* by Sharīf al-Jurjānī.

2. *Tafsīr-u-Gharīb al-Qur'ān* by Abū-Bakr Muḥammad bin 'Azīz Sajastavī.

3. *Mustakhraj-u-Aḥādīth al-Kashshāf* by Jamāluddīn al-Zailī.

There are some valuable MSS. on history in the Hyderabad record Archive (Diwānī wa Mal wa Mulki). These works are: —

1. *Fath al-Mujāhidīn* (of the reign of Tipu Sulṭān) by Zain ul-‘Ābidīn Shustarī, written in 1196 A.D.
2. *Anfā’-al-Akḥbār*, an autograph by Moḥammad Amīn al Ḥusainī, written in 1030 A.H. dealing with Indian history.
3. *Hadīqat-al-Salātīn*, a biography of Sulṭān ‘Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh by Mirza Muḥammad. Niẓāmuddīn Shīrāzī.
4. *Tāj-al-Ma’āthir* (a history of the Ghulāmān dynasty) by Niẓam-uddīn Samarqandī. It was transcribed in 1660.
5. *Tadhkirat-al-Bilād-e-Wal Ḥukkām*, a history on the Rajas of Bālāghāt.

The Library of Roudatāin at Gulbarga is said to have a collection of about 500 MSS., in which the first two volumes of the *Jāmi’* by Al-Siūṭiy and rare works of the famous saints Khwaja Banda Nawaz, Syyed Muḥammad Akbar Ḥusainī, and Qubūllullāh Ḥusainī are also preserved.

Similar collections of rare MSS. are to be found in the libraries of Nawab Salar Jung, Jama‘i Nizamiah, Dā’irat al-Ma’ārif, Anjuman-e-Iḥyā-e-Ma’ārif al-Nu’māniya, etc., excluding the Aṣafiya Library where there is a vast treasure of MSS. The Osmania University Library also contains rare and valuable works. The Osmania University Library is increasingly growing in importance since many nobles of Hyderabad are giving over their private collections to it. Some time ago Nawab Zulqadr Jung Bahadur presented valuable MSS. to the Osmania University, and recently late Sir Akbar Hydari’s collection of MSS. has been bequeathed to the University. Some important MSS. of this collection are as follows: —

1. A MS. on *Uṣūl-e-dīn-e-J’afarī* (Arabic).
2. *Aqwāl-al-Dḥabhiya* (Arabic).
3. *Kitāb-al-Ad’iya* (in Naskḥ Arabic).
4. *Dīwān-e-Ḥāfiẓ* (in the script of Shikasta) (Persian)
5. Ditto (in . . . . . Nasta‘liq).
6. *Mathnawī Moulāna Rūmī* (gold sprinkled).
7. Ditto
8. *Dīwān-e-Ghanī wa Mathnawī-Saḥr-e Ḥalāl*.
9. *Kulliyāt-e-S’adī* (with coloured pictures).
10. *Shāh Nāmā* (with illustrations).

Some of these works are the best pieces of the art of calligraphy and fine specimens of miniature painting.

#### *The Society of Ishā‘at-al-‘Ulūm.*

This Society was founded in 1330 A.H. under the ægis of the Hyderabad Ecclesiastical Department. The idea was that this society should publish important books on Islam for the benefit of the Muslims. This

society has so far published 90 works in Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages. A descriptive list of these books has already been issued, and we give below some of the important Arabic works published by this society as they are likely to interest our readers.

1. *Nathr ul-Marjān fī Rasm-e Naẓm il-Qur'ān*, Vol. I, II, III, IV, V, VI, a work on the orthography of the Qur'ān by Moḥammad Ghouth ibn Naṣīruddīn Moḥammad ibn Niẓāmuddīn Naiti and Arkati.

2. *Iṣtilahāt-al-Ṣūfiya* by Kamāluddīn Abu'al-Ghanā'im 'Abdu'l Razzāq al-Kāshī.

3. *Sharḥ al-Hujub-wal-Astār*, by Rozebehān. It deals with the obstacles which a Ṣūfī comes across while passing through spiritual and ecstatic mood.

4. *Al-Hujjat-al-Bāzigha fī Hikmat al-Bāligha*, (dogmatic theology) by Barakāt Aḥmad Tonkiy.

5. *Shurūṭ al-A'immat al-Khamsa* (on Tradition by Abū-Bakr Moḥammad ibn Musā ibn 'Othmān ibn Mūsā ibn Khāzim al-Kharīmī.

6. *Shurūṭ al-A'immat al-Sitta* on Tradition by Abu'l-Faḍl Moḥammad ibn Tāhir ibn 'Alī-al-quḍī.

7. *Sharḥ-e-Mishkāt*, Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4.

8. *Fatāwā 'l Nawāzil* by Abi-al-Laith al-Samarqandi (d. 373.)

The works under publication are as follows :—

(۱) معجم المصنفين تصنيف مولوى محمود حسن المجلد الخامس والسادس (۲) تفسير مظهرى تصنيف مولوى ثناء الله (۳) افادة الافهام تصنيف مولوى انوار الله (الطبعة الثانية اردو).

### *Anjuman-e-Islamiya.*

This society also enjoys the patronage of the Hyderabad Ecclesiastical Department. Its activities are confined to imparting elementary education and Islamic teachings to the Muslim children living in the villages of the Hyderabad Dominions. With this object in view, it has been so far successful in founding 200 such schools. Moreover, this society has secured the services of 30 Ulemas for reciting sermons in the village mosques in order to reform the un-Islamic customs prevailing among the Muslims. These services of the society carried on with such unobtrusiveness is highly commendable.

### *Hyderabad Broadcasting in Arabic.*

As Hyderabad-Deccan has long been a centre of oriental learning, it was in the fitness of things the Hyderabad Radio Station should broadcast in Arabic and Persian languages as well as in other local languages.

This long-felt necessity was previously missing from its broadcasting programme. Thanks to the efforts of the Hyderabad Wireless Department, this want has been supplied and broadcasts in Arabic, as well in Persian, have been arranged for the benefit of the Arabic speaking and Arabic-knowing peoples of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions.

M. A. M.

## DECCAN

*Indian Historical Records Commission 18th Session at Mysore.*

THE Session was inaugurated by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore on 22nd January 1942.

About sixty papers were read by scholars from all over India on different aspects of the Anglo-Indian history but hardly about fifteen of these were either partly or wholly concerned, with the Indo-Muslim history. These are briefly noted here :—

*Chandarbhan on the Mewar Episode of 1654 ; by Dr. B. P. Saksena.*

The official historians of the Mughal period give only a partial account of the causes that led to the Mewar incident of 1654. Rana of Mewar had repaired the fortifications of Chitor in contravention of the terms of the treaty of 1615 which displeased the Emperor Shāhjahān. Chandarbhan himself had participated in the negotiations between Shāhjahān and the Rana and therefore he fully described the situation leading up to the demolition of Chitor in 1654.

*Some Indian Collections of the Tārīkh-i-Alfī ; by Dr. A. Halim.*

Akbar gave orders for the compilation of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* or the history of one thousand years in 989 A.H./1581 A.D. under the impression that Islam would decay, as every religion did after a thousand years of its existence. The principal contributors were Mulla Aḥmad of Tatta, and Ja'far Beg Āṣaf Khān Khānān. Akbar instructed the compilers to write from the year of the Prophet's death and make it the basis of chronology. The first two volumes were compiled by Mulla Aḥmad in the course of two years, and covered the period up to 694 H. After this Ja'far Beg Āṣaf Khān continued the work and wrote the third volume up to 896 H. The first two volumes were revised by Mulla 'Abdul-Qādir Badāyūnī in Lahore in 1000 H. The only complete MS. tracing the history up to 896 H. is in the India Office Library. In India the MSS. of the same are also found in

the Royal Asiatic Society Bengal Library, the Murshidabad Estate Library, etc.

*Dastūr'ul-'Amal of Jawāhar Mal Baikus (1114 H.) ; by Dr. M. Aziz Ahmad.*

There is a rare MS. of the same in the Muslim University, Aligarh. The author's name is Jawāhar Mal Baikus Sahswani. Munshi Sher Afghān Khānī, who compiled the work under the direction of Abul-Fath Naṣīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh at the behest of Wazīru'l-Mulk I'timādu'd-Dawla Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān and dedicated it to Mīr Aḥmad Khān, the ruler of Moradabad, a dependency of Sambhal. It is divided into seven *Kachehris* or courts, dealing with officers, functions of officers, workshops, assessment of land revenue, justice, enjoyment and miscellaneous things.

*Aurangzeb's Farmān to a Maratha Chief ; by Dr. M. A. Chaghtā'i.*

It belongs to the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, and its addressee is Sawant who was actively associated with Saif Khān in crushing Khem, for which Sawant's services were appreciated by the emperor and ten thousand rupees as *Musā'ada* (help-money) were granted to Sawant in 1706. Saif Khān had reported the matter to the emperor.

*Afghānistān at Shāh Zamān's Accession ; by Dr. H. R. Gupta.*

Shāh Zamān succeeded to the throne in May, 1793. He imprisoned most of his brothers but Maḥmūd and Shujā' u'l-Mulk were retained in their governments of Herat and Qandhar respectively. At the time the kingdom of Afghānistān embraced a huge territory, about 1600 miles long and 1000 miles broad, comprising the provinces of Bahawalpur, Sind, Multan, Kashmir, Peshawar, etc., etc.

*Some Tibetan References to Muslim Advance into Bihar and Bengal ; by Dr. S. C. Sarkar.*

There is evidence to show that Bengal and Bihar were seriously affected by the Ghaznavīd incursions, and that the Buddhist universities and the Pala kings defended these regions against the Muslim advance. There is also evidence that Muslim penetration and settlement in Bengal (and Bihar) was much earlier than 1203, or the age of Ibn-Bakhtiyār, and began at least a century, if not four centuries earlier. There are references to relations of each Buddhist and Brahmanical heads to the Muslims as also to the relations of Ibn-Bakhtiyār with the Delhi kingdom and Tibetans and the Senas.



*A copy of Dastūr 'ul-'Amal ; by Mr. Syed Husain Askari.*

It belongs to the later Mughal period, and was written by some unnamed author who was an inhabitant of Bihar. He finished his work about 1806, and it contains much about topography, history, revenue, accounts, tenures, financial disorders, etc., of the Bihar province.

*Jahāngīr's Farmān of 1613 A. D. ; by Mr. M. L. Ray Chaudhri.*

The writer has not given his attention to the real purport of the Farmān but has devoted a paper on the system of issuing Farmāns.

*A Few Letters of Quṭb Shāh and Mīr Jumla relating to the Partition of the Karnatak ; by Mr. J. N. Sarkar.*

This paper is based on those letters which were once written by Naṣīr 'ul-Mamālīk 'Abdul 'Alī Tabrezi when Karnatak was full of wars and troubles. In 1645 the royal army was attacked on two sides, by Bijapur army from the west and by Golconda forces under Mīr Jumla from the east. It was agreed that 'Ādil Shāh would get 2/3 and Quṭb Shāh 1/3.

*Two Mughal Farmāns in Peshawar ; by Mr. S. M. Ja'far.*

Farmān of Shāhjahān issued under the *Nishan* of his son, Murād Bakhsh, the governor of Kabul to 'Alīwardi Beg, the Faujdar of Peshawar, enjoining upon him to render all possible help in conducting through the territory under his control a royal treasure of five lacs of rupees, sent from Attock-Benaras in the custody of two Mughal officials named Shaikh Fathullāh and Chatar Bhoj to Shāz Khan, the Thānēdār of Dhakka.

Farmān of Aurangzēb was issued under the *Nishan* of his son, Muḥammad Mu'azzam Bahādur Shāh. It refers to a grant of land to a savant Shaikh Muḥammad Taqī b. Shaikh 'Abdul-Laṭīf Qādiri, who commanded great respect on account of his piety and learning.

*Two Newspapers of Pre-Mutiny, Delhi ; by Dr. I. H. Qureshi.*

This paper describes the *Nūr-i-Mashriqī* and the *Delhi Akhbār*. Both of these throw some light on the life of the court as well as of the city of Delhi. The *Delhi Akhbār* was a better newspaper. It contained some account of a small European community then living in Delhi and also described how the Mughal emperor was still respected and loved by the people.

*A Collection of Original Letters by Nizām 'Alī Khān addressed to Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh ; by Mr. A. M. Siddiqi.*

The letters have been addressed to Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh, the governor of Karnatak Painghat under the Hyderabad Nizāms and later on under the English Company. The MS. consisting of these letters is in the Sa'idiyah Library of Hyderabad. They cover a long period from 1171 H. to 1218 H. They are of great historical value.

*Note on Some Ancient Documents from Dodballapur, Bangalore ; by R. S. C. H. Rao.*

Some family documents have been found in the possession of Sardeshpande Mahadev Rao, Mysore. They consist of some sanads, which are mainly in Persian and Marathi and they are from the courts of Mughal emperors and Bijapur kings. Dodballapur was founded during the time of the Vijayanagar kings.

*Haider 'Alī, His Relations with the Crown ; by Mr. D. S. Achuta Rao.*

The object of this paper is to dispel, with the help of contemporary historical documents, some of the misconceptions of the historians regarding Haider 'Alī's relations with the Crown, and to make it clear that Haider neither wanted to establish a Musalman government nor perpetuate his dynasty.

*Shujā'ud-Dawla's Policy during the Maratha Invasion of 1770-71 ; by Dr. A. L. Srivastava.*

During the Maratha invasion Shujā'ud-Dawla followed the policy of neutrality in the former's struggle, first with the Jats and then with the Ruhelas, although the English authorities in Bengal requested him to take up the lead in forming a confederacy of north Indian powers to drive the invaders back to the Deccan. This paper describes Shujā's diplomacy in endeavouring to put the English off the scene and to retain the friendship of the Marathas as well as of his ally, the English government of Bengal.

*Death of Aurangzēb and After, Two Important Letters ; by Dr. A. G. Pawar.*

The first is written by Sir Nicholas Waite from Bombay on March 3, 1707. It not only supplies some important details of the final arrange-

ments by Aurangzēb but raises a question about the date of his death. The other letter was written from Madras on January 8, 1708. It gives minute details of the events which followed Aurangzēb's death and incidentally throws some light on the religious policy of the emperor.

*Mir'at 'ul-Ḥaqā'iq* ; by Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh.

The Persian work *Mir'at 'ul-Ḥaqā'iq* is compiled by I'timād 'Alī Khan and is subdivided into two parts. In the first part there is a short history of India from Babur down to the year 1718, and at the end of this part there is given much useful miscellaneous information of historical, geographical and biographical interest. The second part consists of a *Roznāmcha* giving daily register of events at Delhi and other important places in the distant provinces as reported at Delhi.

## NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

*Rābiṭa al-Tā'lif wal-Tarjama.*

RECENTLY at Lahore this useful institution has come into existence with the following aims and objects :—

To compile books in Arabic, Urdu and other literary languages.

To translate literary and religious books from Arabic into other modern languages.

To disseminate and propagate Muslim culture.

To establish contact with prominent authors of the Muslim world.

To run a literary monthly in Arabic which will be the organ of the Rābiṭa.

To establish institutions for the teaching of Arabic on modern lines with a view to spreading Islamic culture. Its general Secretary is Prof. Moḥammad Ḥasan Azami.

The Panjab University Arabic and Persian Society. This Society worked according to the following programme during 1941-42.

*Tārīkh-ul-Adab al-Ḥadīth* (in Arabic) by Prof. M.H. Azami.

*Garden and Flowers in Persian Poetry* „ S. M. Abdullah, M.A.

*Kayfa Nurabbi an-Nash'a'al Yaum* (in Arabic) by M. Muhammad al-Arabi.

*Tazkirahs of Urdu Poets* by Dr. S. M. Abdullah

*Farhangistan-e-Iran* „ Dr. Mohammad Iqbal

*Mughal Civilization* „ Sh. Abdul Aziz.

*Shāh Abul ma'ālī* „ Sufi G. M. Tabassum.

*Development of Persian Script* „ Prin. Muhammad Shafi.

<i>Persian : Classical and Modern</i>	by Aqai Sarwar Khan.
<i>The Travel-Book of Ibn-i-Jubayr</i>	„ Dr. Inayat Ullah.
<i>The Arab Theories of Taxation</i>	„ Dr. B. A. Quraishi.

### *Muslim History Congress, Lahore.*

It was held in March 1942 at Lahore under the auspices of the Muslim Students Federation and it was presided over by Dr. Sir Ziauddin, Vice-Chancellor of Muslim University, Aligarh.

The following papers were read by learned scholars :—

“Need of Re-writing the History of India” by Prof. Dr. A. Mahdi Hasan.

“Literary Activities of Musalmans in the first Century of Islam” by Moulvi Sa‘id Ahmad.

“Mathematics and the Musalmans” by Dr. Sir Ziauddin.

“Education in India in the Muslim Period” by M.A. Makhdumi.

“Muslim System of Education” by Dr. Tasadduq Husain.

“Khilafat and Saltanat” by Dr. A. H. Siddiqi.

“Theories of Rebellion against Islamic State” by Prof. Muhibbu’l-Watan.

“Muslim Invasion of Panjab in 1798-9” by Dr. H. R. Gupta.

“‘Alau’d-Din Khalji” by Kh. Safdar Ali.

“Ibn-Jubair” by Dr. Sh. Inayatullah.

“Faqir Azizu’l-Din” by Prof. Lajpat Rai.

“Mughal Administration” by Muhammad Akbar.

M. A. C.

## NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

### *Muslim University, Aligarh.*

THE period under report has nothing so much of interest as the cultural and literary activities of the Muslim University, Aligarh, which may rightly be called the greatest intellectual centre of Muslim India. A recent amendment in the Muslim University Act has converted it from a Uni-collegiate into a Multi-collegiate institution. It had so long no power to recognise or maintain colleges as distinct units. Its position was analogous to that of the Midland Universities in England. With the passing of the amended Act, its scope has been widened so as to make its status comparable to that of Cambridge or Oxford. It is now empowered to maintain an Engineering College, a Medical College and a Degree College for Women, and as many colleges as it desires, as distinct units with independent management of their own. It can now also recognise colleges which

are not directly maintained by it. This power is, however, at present restricted to institutions situated within the Aligarh district. This marks an important milestone in the progress towards the ultimate ideal of one central institution organising and controlling Muslim education throughout India.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, Aligarh, is very keen on the immediate introduction of faculty system in the University. It is the only University in India which has no faculties. The enlargement of the scope and function of the University and the location of its different departments at long distances have led to the consideration of the question whether the working and administration of the University would be better facilitated and improved by establishing faculties. The Vice-Chancellor of the University in the course of a speech on faculty system remarked that an important advantage which would follow in the wake of the establishment of faculties is that there will be a Faculty of Islamic Studies (including Islamic History, Islamic Philosophy, Arabic and Persian) in which Theology would also be incorporated as a full-fledged subject.

*The Twelfth Biennial Session of the Indian Mathematical Conference* was held in the Xmas week at Aligarh. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, the Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, Aligarh, inaugurated the Conference. In the course of his inaugural address, he discussed Newton's Law of Gravitation, the modification made in it by Einstein and the further researches carried on by the late Sir Shāh Sulaimān, who demonstrated the failure of Newton's Law in explaining motion of Electrons specially in regard to a velocity compared to the velocity of light. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad also referred to the necessity of a systematic translation of the great work of al-Bērūnī, called *Qānūn-ē Mas'ūdī* written in 1038 A.D. No less a person than Prof. Sachau, said Sir Ziauddin, had remarked that al-Bērūnī was the greatest intellect of all times. He made several original contributions to Trigonometry and Astronomy and, therefore, for a correct history of the progress of Astronomy, the publication of *Qānūn-Mas'ūdī* with an account of al-Bērūnī's researches in modern notations was very necessary. The Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, in his welcome address, drew the attention of the delegates of the Conference to the need of evaluating the contributions made to the advancement of the science of mathematics by Hindu and Muslim mathematicians. A certain amount of useful work, he said, had been done in recent years on the contributions made by the mathematicians of Ancient India and it is time that researches on the lives and work of the Arabic, Persian, and Moorish mathematicians were taken in hand. The achievements of Muslim mathematicians in the domain of pure as well as applied mathematics, particularly under the Abbasid caliphs, present a vast field of work, the exploration of which requires close and prolonged co-ordination between a body of mathematicians and Arabicists.

*The All-India Philosophical Congress* also held its session in December at Aligarh. The section of Islamic Philosophy was presided over by the

Chairman of Philosophy, Muslim University, Aligarh. Among the papers read in this section were "The Fundamentals of the Qur'ānic Theory of Ethics," and "Metaphysics of Iqbāl." The meeting of the section is reported to have been a success, but it must be confessed that Islamic sections of the various conferences are still noted for the apathy of Muslim writers and thinkers, although the importance of Islamic sections in All-India Conferences is being increasingly recognised.

*The Managing Committee of the Aligarh Historical Institute* has approved the publication of the following books : (1) *Sirr-e-Akbar* by Dārā Shikoh. This is a Persian translation of some fifty chapters of the Upanishads or Upanikhats made by Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son of Emperor Shāhjahān, in 1067. The chief merit of this translation is that it is written in simple, easy and flowing style. It was through this Persian translation that modern European philosophers, especially the German thinkers of the early 19th century, obtained their first knowledge of Hindu philosophy as expounded in the Upanishads. Anquetil Duperron, the famous French traveller and discoverer of the *Zend Avesta*, translated the Upanishads into French and Latin from the Persian translation made by Dārā Shikoh, and published it in two volumes in 1801 and 1802. But it is strange to find that such an important book has not yet been printed in the original Persian. This book is also being edited under the auspices of the Islamic Studies in Santiniketan, Bolpur, Bengal. (2) *Sawāl-o-Jawāb* of Dārā Shikoh, also known as *Mukālīma-i-Dārā Shikoh wa Baba Lal*. It contains a summary of the questions that were put by Prince Dārā Shikoh on the various topics of Hindu religion and ascetic life and the replies that were given to them by Baba Lal, a Hindu devotee of the Punjab. These were recorded by Dārā Shikoh's secretary, Chandra Bhan, who was a well-known writer and poet of the time. It is a small pamphlet, the chief value of which lies in its elucidation of Arabic and Persian metaphysical and mystic terms. (3). The *Diwān* of Dārā Shikoh : Dārā Shikoh was also a talented poet and the author of a *Dīwān*, which had for long remained untraced. The copy of the *Dīwān*, which is being edited by Mr. Zafar Hasan, C.I.E., of the Archæological Department, consists of 143 *Ghazals* with 28 quatrains at the end. 5. *Sīrat-i-Fērōz Shāhī* : This work of which no other copy seems to be extant, is preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Patna. It is a short history of the earlier part of Fērōz Shāh's reign with a detailed account of his virtues and munificence, and of his buildings, monuments and works of public utility. It also describes at length the king's attainments in the various branches of literature and his encouragement of science and learning, especially Theology, Law, Ethics, Politics, Astrology and Medicine. A section in the book deals with the war instruments and arms preserved in the Royal Armoury, most of which were made according to the design given by the king himself. But the style of the book is very verbose, and it requires a patient and painstaking study to follow the meaning of the author. (Details of the book may be read in the Catalogue of the Oriental Library, Patna, Vol. VII). 5. *Tazkirat'ul*

*Wāqa'āt* by Jauhar Aftabchi. It is the private memoir of Emperor Humāyun written by his ewer-holder, Jauhar, who remained in constant attendance upon his royal master. This book was available to the lovers of Indian history in the form of English translation made in 1832 by Charles Stewart, who was of opinion that "the book was written with the greatest sincerity and naivete." The perusal of this book led him also to remark : "I have scarcely ever met with an idea in any European poet or a passage in any historian that I have not found a parallel to in Oriental writers." But Charles Stewart's translation was not appreciated by scholars for it was full of errors. Moreover, it has been out of print for years. The publication of the text will, therefore, be greatly welcomed in literary circles. 6. *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* by 'Abbās Khān Sherwānī or Sarwani. This is one of the best known works on the history of Muslim rule in India, although its style is very prolix and tedious. The book has been extensively utilized by subsequent writers of the Muslim history, but the text has not yet been printed and is only available in short extracts quoted in History of India by Sir Henry Elliot, who says that the book (i.e., *Tārīkh Sher Shāhī*) is of great value as an authentic account of a contemporary writer who had excellent means of obtaining information. 7. *Khairul Majālis* or the *Malfūzāt* of Shaikh Naṣīruddīn Chirāgh, which has been compiled on the lines of *Fawā'id ul-Fawā'id* of Amīr Ḥasan Sanjari. It contains instructive discourses on the tenets and principles of Sufism practised by the followers of the Chishti affiliation. 8. *Siyar ul Awaliya* is a biography of the early saints of the Chishti order by Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī 'Alavī, surnamed Amīr Khurd, who wrote it towards the end of the 8th century A.H. It had before this been lithographed but has been out of print for several decades.

Amongst the cultural activities of the Muslim University, Aligarh, the publication of *Aftāb* also deserves notice. This book contains some learned and thought-provoking articles by eminent scholars, viz. Renovation in Religion ; Effects of various Civilizations on Islamic Civilization ; Is the present Sufism Islamic in Principles ?; Imām Ghazzālī ; a Short Biography of Muḥammad bin 'Abdul-Wahhab ; and Syed Jamāl Uddin Afghani. The main trend of these articles is that Islam is a living force and degenerate Muslim can be rejuvenated and stirred to action only by the teachings of Islam and Muslim philosophers and leaders of thoughts.

In a talk from the Lucknow station of the All-India Radio, the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru recounted his personal experiences with Sir Syed Aḥmad Khān, his son Justice Maḥmūd and Maulana Shibli No'mānī and paid glowing tributes to these eminent Musalmans, who made glorious contributions to the cause of Muslim education and learning. He called Sir Syed Aḥmad Khān a powerful intellect, who overshadowed everyone by his fascinating talks on Persian and Urdu poetry as well as on Indian history, particularly on old Delhi. Sir Tej Bahadur cherished the memory of Justice Maḥmūd with pride and affection and said, "It

has been my life-long conviction that Maḥmūd was one of the half a dozen intellectual giants that India has produced during the last hundred or eighty years. It is not merely in law that he established his supremacy. You had to hear him discuss deep philosophical and metaphysical problems or historical events not relating merely to India but to other countries, to be able to realise the profundity of his learning, the variety of his knowledge and the sweep of his intellect. He was a passionate lover of poetry and I remember an occasion when he read out to me about thirty stanzas of Tennyson's *In Memoriam* while I was holding the book. There was not a single mistake which he committed. Similarly he read out to me a very large number of verses from Firdausi's *Shāh Nāmāh*, and again he took me by surprise when he read out to me a number of verses from *Ramayana* with the intonation of a Pandit." Sir Tej Bahadur also felt happy at the personal friendship with Maulana Shibli in whom he found a congenial soul. "A few years later," said Sir Tej "Professor Browne of Cambridge spoke to me of his scholarship and regretted that the Government of India had not adequately recognised his worth."

An interesting book on *Amīr Mīnā'ī*, one of the greatest Urdu lyric poets of the latter part of the nineteenth century, has been published from Lucknow. While describing the times of the poet, the author draws a vivid picture of the courts of Oudh and Rampur to which he was attached. It also gives for the first time a very exhaustive and learned study of Amīr's poetry.

A Press note from Calcutta says that the report of the Kamal Yar Jung Committee, which was appointed at the Calcutta Session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, is ready and will be submitted to the Central Standing Committee of the Conference. The report embraces all phases of education affecting the Muslims of India and discusses the difficulties and problems of Muslim education in the various provinces and states. Among the various recommendations of the Committee is a proposal to establish a central Islamic research organisation and a board of oriental education with representatives of all the provinces and states including those of the Central Government as also of oriental institutions in India with a view to ultimately starting an oriental university in the country. The Committee has also prepared a scheme of secondary and primary education suited to meet the special needs and requirements of the Muslim community. In the field of university education the Committee has made twenty-two recommendations, one of which is that every university college or teaching institution should be open to students of all classes and creeds and no university should accept an endowment except for provision of scholarships and stipends to provide teaching and classes to the members of a particular creed or class.



## NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

*HISTORY OF JAHANGIR*; by Beni Prasad; Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad; price Rs. 5.

DR. Beni Prasad's *History of Jahangir* has almost become a classic and is the first modern work on the reign of that Mughal emperor. The last work on the period was Francis Gladwin's epitomised version of *Ma'āthir-i-Jahāngīr* embodied in "*The History of Hindustan during the reigns of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzib*" and published as far back as 1788. Dr. Beni Prasad's work has already gone through three editions and this is a sufficient indication of its worth in the eyes of modern scholars of Indian history.

The work is divided into twenty-three chapters and taking the thread of narrative from the time of the obsession of Akbar the Great at there being no heir to the imperial throne, it passes on to Salīm's boyhood and youth, his accession to the throne, his marriage with Nūr-Jahān and the rule of what he calls the Nūr-Jahān Junta, Jahāngīr's foreign policy and campaigns in the North-West, Mewar and Deccan, the revolt of Shāhjahān and the affair of Mahābat Khān, and finally to the struggle for the throne and the emperor's death and burial at Lahore. Dr. Prasad's treatment of a difficult subject is refreshing and thoroughly impartial, and he makes the whole story most interesting and almost novel-like and realistic. Thus, describing Salīm's long-expected birth, he says :—

"Not long afterwards the infant was safely ushered into the world. The news found Akbar at Agra. In obedience to

an old superstition which prohibited a father from the sight of a long expected child till many days after its birth, the emperor had to forego the joy of an immediate visit to Sikri, but he ordered a week's general rejoicing. Gifts and alms were showered in lavish profusion. Free tables were kept, prisoners set at liberty. . . . . Poets and versifiers gathered from far and near to pour in hundreds of odes of congratulations. . . . ."

Again, while delineating the character of the young Salīm, the author says, "Nothing, however, could compensate for the disadvantages of being born in purple. The genius of Bābar and Akbar was formed in the school of practical experience and adversity. Salīm was past thirty before he had any difficulties or misfortune—even of his own making—to overcome. The child of so many prayers, vows and pilgrimages, the eldest son of the richest and the most glorious sovereign of his age, the universal darling in the picturesque palace city of Fathpur-Sikri, he found a path strewn with roses. . . . . "All his life he suffered from weakness of will and resolution, from a lamentable propensity to surrender himself to the mercies of superior talent or craft."

The author rightly gives a proper niche to the culture that was in the making, the culture which was the result of the impact of the Perso-Muslim and the Hindu civilizations. He says, "Nothing is more fascinating than the evolution of the Indo-Saracenic culture, manners and customs under which we still live ;" and if nothing else went to the credit of the Mughals in India, the discovery of the formulæ for

the harmonious interaction of these two great civilizations was by itself a distinct contribution.

It will thus be seen that the author is just, moderate and has a large mass of learning behind him. The whole work bristles with thought-provoking suggestions, but of all the chapters two are of outstanding merit—one on the Mughal government and the other on Nūr-Jahān where the whole tale of Mahr-un-Nisa's marriage with Shēr Afgan and his subsequent murder at the instance of Jahāngir has been successfully refuted.

It is a great pity that although the author says in his note to the 3rd edition that he has "corrected a few slips," typographical and other "slips" abound in the work, and no uniform system of transliteration is adopted. Moreover, such mistakes as that the "Ilahi date of Akbar's death was 12 Jamad II, 1014" or that the Persian month Shahrewar spelt as "Shahryur," disfigure the book. The work is fully documented but sometimes references are not complete, as on p. 45 it is not mentioned which volume of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* contains a description of Shaikh Abul-Fadl's tomb. The publishers will do well to correct these minor slips in the next edition.

The book is well got up, and the price Rs. 5 for a first class work of 431 pages is not very high.

H. K. S.

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE DELHI SULTANATE**; by Syed Moinul Haq, M.A.; S. Chand & Co., Delhi.

**A**LTHOUGH the work is supposed to be a history of the Delhi Sultanate, the first four chapters are devoted to the Arab conquest of Sindh, the Ghaznavids and the Ghoris. It would have been far better if the learned author had written a separate work on these outstanding events, as it is accepted on all hands that the establishment of the Sultanate by Aibak is itself a landmark, and its importance demands its treatment as such. Moreover, very little has been written on the importance of the Arab conquest of Sindh and of the magnificent court at

Ghazni in its relation with India as well as in its true cultural bearings, and it would be well if Mr. Haq were to enlighten us more on these topics separately and in fuller detail.

The object of the book before us is frankly admitted to be to provide the want of the college students in order to obviate "the dissemination of a number of misconceptions and misunderstandings about the achievements of our forefathers," and as such it is a kind of text-book written with a purpose. Naturally, therefore, the author may be excused for not burdening the book with too many footnotes and references. But where footnotes are appended it would have added to the value of the work if fuller reference to the volumes and pages were also inserted. The author has rightly described the method of Government and the structure of society in those far off days. One chapter is devoted to art and literature as well.

The reviewer does not agree with the author when he calls such kingdoms as Jaunpur, Bengal, Gujarat and Malwa "minor kingdoms," as each of these developed a distinct art, literature, culture and language of its own, while their potentates such as Mahmūd Khilji of Malwa, Mahmūd Begadha of Gujarat (not Baighara, as transliterated in the book under review), and Husain Shāh of Jaunpur vied with the Sultān of Delhi for the mastery of India. It is time that our authors were to give these and other outlying kingdoms their proper place in the history of India.

On the whole the "*Short History of the Sultanate of Delhi*" is a good handbook for the history of the period it covers.

H. K. S.

**HISTOIRE DE L'ORGANISATION JUDICIAIRE EN PAYS D'ISLAM**; by Emile Tyan, Librairie de Recueil Sirey, Paris; pp. 529. (vol. I).

**T**HIS interesting book by a Syrian Christian was published in 1938. Before the second volume of it could appear, the war broke out.

The author, a lawyer and a teacher of law, with Arabic as his mother-tongue, possessed all the requisite qualifications to undertake the task of writing a history of the judicial organisation in Islamic countries. In view of the absence of works of specialised spheres, treating the subject regionally and periodically, the attempt to encompass judicial history of the whole Muslim world, extending from Spain to India,—not to mention the places of lesser importance like Indōnesia,—was rather hazardous. Hence the indulgence of the reader is pre-eminently required for this first attempt of its kind.

The book has had good reception in non-Muslim circles. Prof. Gaudefroy-Demombynes of the University of Paris has devoted to its review full 30 pages of a closely printed *Revue des Études Islamique* (Paris, 1939), in which he has invited the attention of the author to the article on "Administration of Justice in Early Islam," published in the *Islamic Culture*.

The book is divided into six chapters:—

1. Origin of Islamic judiciary together with a historical background of conditions in pre-Islamic Arabia, contemporary conditions, which is rather cursory, of Byzantine and Iranian neighbours, and work of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs (pp. 13-138).

2. Judicial and religious position of the qādī (pp. 139-67).

3. Administration of justice (pp. 168-312).

4. Composition of the tribunal, such as judge, adviser, muftī, etc. (pp. 313-422).

5. Judicial morality, doctrinal as well as in practice (pp. 423-500).

6. The pay of the judicial officers, in principle and in practice (pp. 501-13).

Then follows a select bibliography, but unfortunately there is no index.

The book shows wide reading both in fiqh and in modern law, but gives rather meagre details regarding the life of the Prophet—hence the low standard of review on conditions of this period. It evinces independence of thought but lack of sympathy towards Islamic institutions—hence the author's discussions and his conclusions are often based on acts of omis-

sion and far fetched interpretations if not on actual misrepresentation. For example, to take casual remarks, regarding, say bribery etc., and put them to the test of theoretical standard of ethics, and to conclude that the judiciary in Islamic countries was always and everywhere below the mark, reveals an attitude which savours strongly of a prejudiced mind. There are also several contradictions in arguments, in several chapters.

It will require a volume to refute all its allegations. Putting aside these failings, the book is a mine of useful informations to anyone desiring to write on the subject anew on a basis more rational and free from tendentious leanings.

The many misprints not recorded in the corrigenda and also mistakes of transcription would, it is hoped, not disturb the reader.

M. H.

*HUMĀYŪN BĀDShĀH*; by S. K. Banerji, M.A., Ph.D.; pp. 284 Oxford University Press, 1938; Rs. 8.

THIS is a history of the reign of Humāyūn, up to his flight from India in 1540. Humāyūn had the misfortune of being a contemporary of Shēr Khān, the Afghān and Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat. These great personalities overshadowed him and his real merits have always been overlooked. In Dr. Banerji, Humāyūn has found a sympathetic biographer. He sees good points in Humāyūn's nature, but does not hide his weaknesses. He reveals Humāyūn not merely as a cultured, literary man, as almost all the Mughal emperors were, but as a brave and cool-headed man, never losing balance of his mind, in whatever adverse circumstances he was placed. He was a general-king. He had one weakness—he was magnanimous to a fault towards the Mirzas, and the results of his indulgence were always disastrous. Dr. Banerji is right in saying that this was one of the many causes which brought about his temporary fall.

Dr. Banerji also explains the reasons for Humāyūn's delay in attacking Sulṭān

Bāhādur Shāh of Gujarat. It was not indolence and love of ease that made him linger at Gawalior and later on at Agra, rather than attack the Sultān of Gujarat. Humāyūn's campaigns against Sher Khān show his military skill as well as the weak points in his strategy. The whole course of his flight from Bengal was a series of blunders. Dr. Banerji again explains the causes, the events and the results of his Bengal campaigns in great detail. He followed his father in showing consideration and kindness to his brothers and the Mirzas, who always failed him. Howsoever misplaced his kindness might have been, it was certain that he was large-hearted like his father. Dr. Banerji shows that inefficient scouting was the cause of all his calamities in Bengal, and that he underestimated the strength and skill of Sher Khān.

On the whole, Dr. Banerji has made a good use of his opportunities, utilized all the sources available, and given us a very readable book on Humāyūn, who has been more pitied than admired up to this time. But one fails to understand why abbreviations like Md. Zaman, M. Ulugh, M. Shah, M. Hindal, etc., have been used? Why such a hurry—is it space saving or what?

M. J. R.

*EAST AND WEST; by René Guénon; translated by William Massey; pp. 257; Luzac and Co., London, 1941; Indian edition, Rs. 3.*

IN this book M. Guénon reviews certain aspects of the Western civilization, and in doing so he protests that he is sincere in whatever he says. According to him, Western civilization is thoroughly materialistic, "anarchic and unprincipled." The people of the West have lost all idea of tradition, which is only to be found in the East. But the Orientalists, who could rightly be expected to explain the East to the West, do not look deep into Oriental philosophy, but try to interpret the East through the West. He gives the instance of "Duessen thinking to explain Shankaracharya to the Hindus, and interpreting

him through the ideas of Schopenhauer." In short, all the superiorities on which the Westerners preen themselves are purely imaginary, with the sole exception of material superiority."

All this we have often heard and read before. We know too the mistakes that the Orientalists make in interpreting the East, and we are also aware that these mistakes have shaken the belief of the East in the mental superiority of the West. M. Guénon's diagnosis is obviously correct. But like others he does not only destroy things but constructs too, and this is the more interesting part of the book. He is right when he says that material and economic interests never make for harmony, but only give rise to rivalry, and consequently all attempts have so far failed to bring about community of interest. The agreement, if it comes at all, would come through intellectual intercourse. In this respect the most prominent attempt made so far, was Theosophy. But this he rejects as 'a tissue of gross errors, made worse by methods of lowest charlatanism.' Since the East has nothing to learn from the West, it is for the West to come to the East with an attitude of search after truth. Then the author shows how this mutual understanding and agreement can come about.

The book makes very interesting reading, and can be safely recommended to those who are interested in the intellectual intercourse of the East and the West. We are confident that the readers would benefit by it, and it should find a wide popularity among the more advanced and thinking public.

M. J. R.

*CLASH OF THREE EMPIRES; by V. V. Joshi, M.A. (Oxon.), with a Foreword by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan; publishers, Kitabistan, Allahabad; pp. 207; price Rs. 4-8-0.*

IN this small book of two hundred pages, Mr. Joshi has set himself the task of solving the riddle of the history of India in the eighteenth century.

In the author's own words, "Indian history during this century is full of tragedy, sensation, romance, treachery, cruelty, heroism, in fact, all human passions, noble and ignoble." He maintains that the Maratha power rose because there was awakened in the hearts of the Marathas a national consciousness, a gradual process completed in the time of Shivaji. By that time the Hindu power in the South had been destroyed, and the Muslim states in the Deccan had become a prey to the incessant inroads of the Mughals. At this critical moment the Marathas stepped into the breach. They were eminently fitted to re-establish the lost Hindu hegemony in the South. Mr. Joshi is of opinion that the aim of this new political power was the destruction of the Mughals in India. Such opinions might be controverted and it might be maintained that Shivaji never intended to cross swords with the Mughals and that he would have been content to play his part in the South but the presence of the Mughals in the South at that time brought him face to face with them, and he had no alternative left but to fight. This clash with the Mughals proved fatal for the new power. The death of Aurangzēb found the mighty Mughal empire totter to its fall, and the Marathas could not resist the temptation of going further north. Mr. Joshi is right in saying that the conditions in the north were quite different. Here the people had no sense of the national solidarity which had developed in Maharashtra. In the north the Marathas were not received with open arms, but as strangers and enemies, and they could maintain themselves there only by force. They destroyed the Mughal empire, but were themselves adversely affected by the process. Mr. Joshi rightly maintains that this new power was not anti-Islamic in the beginning, and that Shivaji and his immediate successors were not bigots.

It was only later on that this feeling developed, and according to Mr. Joshi, "Ramdas was chiefly responsible for this anti-Muslim propaganda in Maharashtra."

In enumerating the causes of the downfall of the Maratha empire, Mr. Joshi is right in asserting that their ambition of establishing an empire was the main cause of their failure. They failed to create a Hindu India, "because there was no Hindu Nation or Hindu national feeling on which Hindu India could be securely founded." They failed in this respect, and succeeded only in helping an alien rule to be established in the country. The other causes of the downfall of the Maratha power he finds in the complete breakdown of solidarity, a change from the national army into a hoard of mercenary soldiers, a change in the military organisation, lack of man-power, etc.

But in the meantime a new power was rising in the country. The British had entered the political arena. Mr. Joshi discusses the political conditions in India at this period, and points out the weaknesses in the political and military organisation of the then existing Indian states. Here his argument is equally clear and concise, and he has been able to maintain his thesis by citing examples. He has succeeded in showing the development of British power in India despite all the drawbacks. He refutes the allegation that Wellesley adopted the policy of "by force or fraud," and is of opinion that the British acquired the sovereignty of India so easily because "the sovereignty had lapsed," and because the Marathas had exhausted themselves in their misguided efforts for imperial power.

Mr. Joshi has succeeded in producing a thought-provoking book, clearly and lucidly written, which should be read with interest by all who are interested in this period of Indian history.

M. J. R.



*[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]*

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## THE MUHAMMADANS IN POLAND

ACCORDING to C. Bohdanowicz, the Tatars who inhabited the north-east of Poland were the descendants of the old Turco-Mongols who so often plundered Poland in the latter part of the Middle Ages, advancing as far as the walls of Cracow in 1241. Chroniclers tell us that, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these Tatars enjoyed full rights and had privileges which even nowadays seem exorbitant. As far as we know, no other Mussulmān community enjoyed such favours in any Christian country during that period, and with the revival of Poland the Polish government confirmed by a series of acts the traditional sympathy of Poland with them.

These Tatars are usually called 'Lithuanian' because they established themselves in the great country that Lithuania was in the fourteenth century, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and as far as the Oka in the east. Nobody doubts their ethnic origin; everyone agrees that they came from the Golden Horde; only the time and the causes of the migration of their ancestors to Lithuania need to be determined.

There are hardly any documents on the matter before the end of the fifteenth century. Those of the end of the fifteenth century enable us to infer that at that period their situation was already stabilized. From this it may be surmised that the major part of the ancestors of the Lithuanian Tatars were established in Lithuania by 1475.

It is impossible to fix the exact date of the first appearance of the Tatars in Lithuania. But C. Bohdanowicz believes that it is very probable that the first colonies appeared in Lithuania by 1350. It is almost certain that part of Mamai's followers took refuge in Lithuania, after the defeat of Kulikowo in 1380. Afterwards, the occupation of Kiptchak by Tamerlane in 1382 was a further cause of the stream of emigration of Tatars towards Lithuania.

Speaking generally, there is every reason to believe that the emigration of the Tatars into Lithuania never assumed a massive character, but was rather individual, and it is probably for this reason that chroniclers do not mention it. Consequently it is very difficult to determine the current of this emigration.

There is no reason, however, to suspect the accuracy of the facts mentioned by the chroniclers. There certainly were prisoners made in the reconnaissance campaign of 1397. Amongst these prisoners one must distinguish between those who were in favour of Tochtamysh and those who were against him. Tochtamysh's troops participated in this campaign. It was easy for Witold, duke of Lithuania, a cousin of king Jaguiello, who, by marrying in 1386 Jadwiga, the queen of Poland, became Polish king, and united under his sceptre the two countries, to separate the grain from the chaff. The prisoners of the second category were sent to Poland to king Jaguiello, where they quickly became assimilated with the native population; as far as the prisoners of the first category are concerned, they were established in Lithuania, they submitted to compulsory military services in return for certain privileges. As peace with the Crusaders had not been concluded at that time, Witold probably intended to use them in that war. Besides, one can hardly call these Tatars prisoners, as they were subjects of Witold's ally. The political future of Lithuania depended on the success of this alliance.

After the battle of Worksla (1399), part of the Tatar troops certainly took refuge in Lithuania.

While it is impossible to determine the exact number of Tatars who took part in the battle of Grunwald (1410), it is certain that a number of Tatars remained in Lithuania, and were richly endowed with landed estates and all sorts of privileges.

Later, while supporting the various pretenders to the throne of the Golden Horde, Witold was compelled to receive their followers kindly. This fact is the cause of the uninterrupted Tatar emigration during Witold's reign. In all the wars led by Witold there were Tatars among the troops. But after Witold's death in 1430, relations with the Tatars became less frequent, and, above all, less systematic, and they were usually the outcome of chance, and not of policy.

Nevertheless, the troubles in the Golden Horde were becoming worse, and the Khāns, expelled from the Horde by their opponents, were still coming to seek refuge in Lithuania. These troubles, together with the alliances concluded from time to time by Witold's successors with the various independent Khānates, were the reason for the uninterrupted Tatar emigration into Lithuania during the whole course of the fifteenth century. These emigrants did not meet with any difficulty, for there were already more Lithuanian Tatars who, after living for about sixty or seventy years in the country, had vested interests and enjoyed civic rights.

The migration of the Tatars into Lithuania was the direct consequence of the policy of alliance which Lithuania and, later, the United Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, practised towards the Tatars from the time of Gedymin. This circumstance alone can explain the fact that these emigrants were treated with consideration, and even with respect. On the other hand, these emigrants did not belong to one tribe. There were among them representatives of all the tribes which made up the Golden

Horde : the Kiptchaks, the Nogais, the Crimean Tatars, the Seldjouc Turks, who had emigrated from Anatolia to Crimea. It is very easy to enlarge their number by studying the alliances of Witold's successors and the king of Poland, Casimir, with the various Khāns, as, for instance, the alliance of Swidryguello with Sidi Achmet, Khān of the Nogais, that of Casimir with the Khān of Crimea, Hadji Guirey, and, later, with the Khān of Kazan, Achmet, etc.

Besides, as the Tatar emigrants on their arrival in Lithuania had hardly any women with them, Witold and his successors granted them the right to marry Christian women without changing their religion. History shows that the Lithuanian Tatars are the descendants of the representatives of several tribes of the Golden Horde who emigrated into Lithuania, and they also intermarried with Lithuanians and afterwards with Poles. This explains the fact that these Tatars form a separate ethnic group, different from the other Turco-Tatar groups. This also explains why the Lithuanian Tatars are not of a particularly pronounced type, but exhibit a great variety of features, ranging from Slav to Mongol, with the latter predominating, as mixed marriages were at first not allowed.

The Lithuanian Tatars reached their zenith towards the middle of the sixteenth century. It is rather difficult to determine their number at that time, as authors disagree on the point. The figure varies from 40,000, to 200,000, a discrepancy which is difficult to explain. The Tatars had almost all the rights of the other classes of the nobility or even had the privilege, which was extraordinary at that period, of marrying Christian wives without changing their religion.

The uppermost class was composed of those Tatars who had received landed estates, and, in virtue of this, were compelled not only to perform military service but to provide a contingent of horsemen, equipped and armed ; to this class belonged the princes, Bēgs, Mīrzās and Uhlans, who already occupied privileged positions in the country of their origin. In comparison with the great dignitaries and magnates of the Grand Duchy their landed endowments were small.

The second class was made up of warriors ; they also received lands, but their lots were much smaller.

The first two classes were exonerated from the payment of taxes ; in exchange they had to perform military service without pay.

The lowest class was composed of such Tatars as had not received any lands. This kind of 'proletariat' earned its living by practising various professions, such as gardening, tanning, conveyance, etc. But they could enlist with the regular troops and received pay. Later on, some of them received lands and rights of nobility as a reward for their conduct in war. In time the differences between the classes became less marked.

At the end of the sixteenth century, under the influence of the Jesuits, the epoch of Catholic reaction began, and the situation of the Tatars became more precarious.

But even before this reactionary movement persecution of the Tatars was carried on by the local authorities and their rights were gradually denied them. Yet this procedure was not systematic, because the Tatars had defenders in the person of the Jagiello kings. In 1519 they sent to the king of Poland, Sigismund I, a petition worded thus : " The glorious Witold is no more. He did not order us to forget the Prophet, whose name we repeat turning towards the Holy Places, just as our caliphs do. We swore on our swords to love the Lithuanians when the fate of war brought us to them and when they said to us as we were entering their territory : ' This land, these waters, this sand and these forests will be in common between us.' Our children are not ignorant of Witold's name, and near the Salt Lakes (i.e., the Crimea) and in Kiptchak they know that in your land we are not strangers."

The king was not insensible to their demands, and in his letters to the Palatine of Troki he gave stern order to stop the exactions ; one of three letters, dated from 1537, has come down to us in the archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The Constitution of 1588 deprived the Tatars of the right of having Christian serfs, forbade them to build or to repair mosques, and condemned to death Mussulmāns convicted of proselytizing. The 1615 Constitution forbade them to marry Christian girls, and deprived them of the right of being commanded by their own chiefs. In 1620 their position became still worse because of the war between Poland and Turkey ; the right of owning real estate was reduced within strict limits. These persecutions caused the emigration of Tatars into the Crimea and Turkey, which were Poland's border countries at that period.

In spite of these persecutions, however, the Tatars took advantage of every occasion to show their devotion to their new fatherland. Professor Talko-Hryniewicz, of Cracow University, who has written much concerning the Lithuanian Tatars, in his work *The Muslims* says : " The fidelity of the Tatars to Poland amounted to heroism." On the other hand the fact that these persecutions did not express the real feelings of the Polish people towards them, and were only the consequence of misunderstood religious zeal, is proved by the sentence written by king Sobieski's father, Jacob Sobieski, in his journal of the Chocim campaign, in 1621 i.e., in the midst of the period of religious persecutions : " The following were killed in the skirmish : Captains Bohdan and Czarowicz, two Lithuanian Tatars, a chivalrous people who always deserved well of the country." There are many similar testimonies. The Tatars did not let an opportunity pass of proving their loyalty to Poland in that epoch of perpetual war which Poland was waging against Moscow, the Ukrainian Cossacks, Sweden, etc. In the war annals one meets again and again the names of the valiant Tatar officers so eloquently described by Sienkiewicz in his trilogy.

Generous and tolerant by nature, the Polish people have done justice to the loyalty of the Tatars, and little by little, successive constitutions have

restored to the Tatars their old rights and privileges. The 1659 Constitution, although it was specially aimed at the dissenters compromised in the wars, recognized the loyalty of the Tatars and gave them back part of their former privileges. It is true that this applied at first only to soldiers. In 1662 they were given back the liberty of worship. But their situation was improved chiefly under the reign of John Sobieski. First of all, a general amnesty was given to all emigrants ; then in 1678 the king caused the parliament to vote a constitution which gave back to the Tatars almost all their former privileges. Successive constitutions in the seventeenth century still further improved their position, so that, by the time of the division of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century, they enjoyed almost the same rights (except the right to marry Christian women) as at the time of the definite union of Lithuania with Poland in 1569.

Poland did not have to repent of this policy towards the Tatars ; for during the War of Independence there were six cavalry regiments which consisted entirely of Lithuanian Tatars.

Thus came to an end the specifically Polish period of the history of the Tatars.

The Tatars who came to Lithuania as early as the fourteenth century, most of them as former allies, received a warm welcome ; the Lithuanian princes, and later, the kings of Poland, were glad to have at their disposal an element of population which was faithful, obedient, submissive to military service, and ready to fight at any moment. We must not forget that at that time the Tatar cavalry had a world-wide reputation, possessing its own peculiar tactics, having given birth to what is known as "light cavalry." The idea of giving them domains, and thus securing for them an indispensable minimum of well-being, was very far-sighted, for the rulers could reckon upon their gratitude. On the other hand, being not very numerous, and far from their countrymen, whose State had begun to weaken, they could not aspire to independence.

Very liberally and willingly they were granted numerous privileges, but they did not enjoy all civic rights ; even at the time of their greatest expansion they were refused political rights. Welcomed as old allies, they were treated, so to speak, as "guests," with much consideration.

At the end of the sixteenth century, when the foundation of the United Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania became consolidated, and the help of the Tatar cavalry became less valuable, because in the meantime its technique has been adopted by the Polish-Lithuanian cavalry, the government gave way to the Catholic reaction, which was as hard towards the Tatars as towards other religions. They, being, then as now, much attached to their religion and too proud of their past to submit, emigrated *en masse*. The least daring remained and were converted, but others, obeying both the morals of their religion which prescribed fidelity to their chief, and the tradition of their past, which commanded the Tatars to be a warlike people, did their best to show their devotion to their new country on the battlefield. These efforts were not in vain, for, little by little, they

regained their former rights.

It seems that the division of Poland did not bring great changes in the situation of the Lithuanian Tatars. Catharine the Great, by the ukase of October 20, 1794, confirmed their rights, while leaving them freedom of worship, and, to a great extent, opened up to them access to civil and military services. Owing to their small number there was no disadvantage in giving them preference over the Poles, so as to be able to use them against the latter. In 1797 Paul I formed a cavalry regiment composed entirely of Lithuanian Tatars. But there is no reason to think that this policy succeeded, at least not in the beginning. Some of the Tatars who fought at Kosciuszko went to serve Prussia, and there formed a cavalry regiment: others emigrated to Turkey.

After the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw in 1807, the Tatars obtained political rights and had seats in parliament. Many Tatars fought in the armies of the Grand Duchy until Napoleon's abdication. After the occupation of Wilno by the Grande Armée, the emperor, by the decree of August 1812, ordered the formation of a squadron of Lithuanian Tatars, which was later attached to the Imperial Guard and had a uniform recalling that of the Mamelukes.

The attachment of Tatars to the cause of Poland was such that there were numerous Tatars among the insurgents in 1831 and in 1863.

Russia's systematic persecutions of anything Polish after 1863 again caused the emigration of Tatars into Turkey just as in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

At the commencement of the twentieth century there started another current of emigration, this time towards the United States of America, which increased to considerable proportions, for reasons not yet known. There is now in New York a Tatar colony of 500. The attachment of these emigrants to the religion and the traditions of their ancestors is so great that they have built a house of prayer, own a cemetery, and not only are in friendly relations with their Polish brethren, but largely contributed to the expenses for the repair of the mosques destroyed or damaged in the Great War.

Although the persecutions against the Poles did not specially concern the Tatars, they did not stay aloof from the efforts of the Polish patriots who, under Marshal Pilsudski, struggled for the independence of their country. One of the Marshal's first followers, Aleksander Sulkiewicz, a Tatar, played an active part on the party committee. It was Sulkiewicz who organised the Marshal's flight from St. Petersburg in 1900. During the war he enrolled as a simple soldier in the Marshal's Legion and was killed in battle in 1916.

In time, and until the Great War, the influence of Polish culture declined to some extent in favour of Russian culture, and this for several reasons. First of all the upper classes had little time for liberal professions, and preferred careers in the administration, or rather in the army. The consequence of this was the dispersion of the representatives of this class

through Russia, where they lost the use of their mother-tongue. Moreover, and above all, the Russian government did not like manifestations of nationalism among the minorities which made up the old Russian empire. Nevertheless, until the last war Polish was spoken in the houses of several Tatar families. In St. Petersburg, after the 1905 revolution, on the initiative of M. Leon Kryczynski, the editor of the *Tatar Year-Book*, and M. Szyrkiewicz, the Mufti, there was formed an association of Tatar young men, which had for its aim the study of the past and friendship with the Muslims of other countries.

In proportion to their number, the part taken by the Tatars in the Great War was considerable.

After the war, the Tatars were divided between three States. The greater part remained in Poland, 1500 came to Lithuania, and 4000 to Soviet Russia.

Although this division considerably weakened them, and in spite of the losses which they underwent in the Great War, after the re-establishment of Poland in 1918, and according to the old tradition which commanded them to serve in the Polish army, the Lithuanian Tatars formed a cavalry regiment which served during the whole of the war against the Bolsheviks.

On the other hand, as N. Clguierd Kryczynski wrote in his article in the *Tatar Year-Book*, "In spite of the fact that after the war the Tatars have been divided between three States, which has considerably weakened their national forces, this same war has brought them advantages as have compensated for this loss. For the Polish government and people did not withhold expressions of sympathy with the Tatars; they enjoyed all civil and political rights, and took an active part in the reorganisation of the re-born State. There were Tatars in almost every branch of activity (perhaps with the exception of commerce) and they often occupied important posts; there were among them senators, university professors, magistrates, etc.

The Polish government has made a point of encouraging their cultural and religious aspirations, for example, the creation of the Muftiate upon which the rights of the autonomous church were conferred. This has given a strong impulse to the religious life of the Tatars by co-ordinating and strengthening them. For, before the last war, the Lithuanian Tatars depended on the Muftiate of the Crimea; this link was purely a nominal one and had no effect on their religious life, first because of the distance, but chiefly because of the differences in language and customs. The Tatars of Poland were divided into twenty parishes, possessed seventeen mosques and three houses of prayer. At the head of the Muftiate was Mr. Jacob Szyrkiewicz, an erudite orientalist. He concerned himself chiefly with raising the intellectual standard of the Imāms, who were formerly recruited from among the poorer classes, and whose instruction was rudimentary, being limited to the reading of the Qur'ān and the knowledge of rites. The Imāms were elected, but their election was



submitted to the control of the Muftiate, which permitted them to eliminate the undesirable elements. On the other hand, thanks to the subsidies of the Polish government, and to the generous donation of H.M. King Fuad of Egypt, who gave £. 5,000 for this purpose, as well as to the contribution of Tatar emigrants from America, it was possible to provide for the needs of the Imāms, who were thus relieved of the greater part of their financial troubles and were enabled to devote themselves entirely to their spiritual work.

As the Lithuanian Tatars live chiefly in the region of Wilno, the Muftiate was established in that town, together with the head offices of the cultural organisations.

The number of Lithuanian Tatars in Warsaw was relatively small: but there are many Mussalmāns, composed of emigrants from Soviet Russia, Tatars of the Crimea, of Kazan, and representatives of various tribes of Northern Caucasus, there are also many Mussalmāns from beyond Europe—Persians, Turks, etc. who are for the most part tradesmen.

In view of the number of Mussalmāns in Warsaw, the need for the construction of a mosque was felt for a very long time. On the initiative of M. Djabagui, a distinguished journalist and a specialist in oriental matters, there was formed in 1928 a committee for the erection of the Warsaw mosque. As in everything else, the activity of the committee had the warmest welcome from the authorities. The Warsaw Town Council presented it with a plot of land, and in honour of the future mosque the two streets between which the land lies were named Mecca Street and Medina Street, while the government promised its financial support.

In each parish there is a school where the Imām teaches children, several times a week, the Arabic alphabet and the rites. M. Szyrkiewicz has published many manuals of theology and prayers, as well as books containing instructions for the Imāms.

Following the Mufti's lead, several young men studied oriental languages, and two of them were sent by the Central Cultural Committee to Cairo to the University of al-Azhar.

As has been said before, the cultural movement was almost non-existent just before the last war. But the government and intellectual circles encouraged the cultural aspirations of the Tatars. In each parish there was a cultural association, and these associations were grouped into a sort of federation, at the head of which was a permanent central committee, which directed and co-ordinated the activity of the separate associations. This activity consisted chiefly in lectures, diffusion of literature, and the revision of documents.

The Tatars took part in all attempts to bring nearer together Poland and the Mussalmān countries, being, so to speak, a link between the West and the East. The Mufti represented Poland in all Mussalmān congresses. In 1930, he was a member of the Polish Mission to Hedjaz, at the head of which was Count Raczynski, now Ambassador of Poland

in London. The Tatars are represented in the official ceremonies for the reception of Mussulmān dignitaries during their stay in Poland.

Islamic science was represented in the Polish universities principally at the universities of Cracow, Warsaw and Lwow. At the oldest Polish University (Cracow) the world-renowned professor Tadeusz Kowalski, general secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow, lectured on Islamic learning. He devoted himself principally to the study of various Turkish dialects and made numerous exploring expeditions within Turkey. He lectured not only on the Turkish language but also on Islamic culture and the Arabic and Persian languages, of which he was a master. He is so renowned and esteemed in the scientific world that after the outbreak of the war in 1939 the University of Istambul appointed him to the professorship of the Turkish language there, but in spite of the repeated interventions of the Turkish Government, the German authorities refused to grant him permission to depart from the occupied Polish territory. During my stay in Istambul the Turkish University authorities were taking all possible steps in the matter, but in consequence of the German methods of destroying Polish culture and the *Ausrottungs Politik* (policy of extermination) all these efforts were without result.

At the University of Warsaw, Turkology was represented by a pupil of Kowalski, Professor Zajaczkowski. At the University of Lwow, Arabic science was taught by the supernumerary professor, Lewicki Tadeusz and Turkology by the supernumerary professor Zawalinski. Round about these professors a staff of young scientists was forming, but unfortunately the outbreak of the war made the further development of the Islamic sciences impossible.

There were a few periodicals, and mention may be made of two: in Warsaw *The Islamic Review*, published every three months, and in Wilno, *Tatar Life*, a monthly review; the former concerned itself chiefly with Islam and the relations between Poland and the Muslim countries, whereas the latter dealt with local matters.

But the chief manifestation of the cultural movement was the *Tatar Year-Book*, also published in Wilno. Most of its articles were historical in nature. If we remember that during the Russian period there was no cultural movement, it is perfectly natural that at the beginning of the rebirth of this intellectual movement the Tatars should turn first of all towards their past: it was there that they gathered the elements which enabled them to remember their common origin and their mutual history.

With the German invasions of Poland in 1939 most of the Muslim activities in that country came to an end. Some of the leaders, for instance, Arslan Kryczynski, have been executed by the Germans.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE VIZIERATE AND ITS TRUE CHARACTER

THE material adduced clearly shows that here, as in many other matters, al-Manṣūr laid the foundations of a very important feature of the early Abbasid administration: the young heir-apparents were as a rule given experienced men of affairs, freedmen of the caliph, as instructors, when appointed to governorships or other public offices. These men introduced them into the business of a highly complicated governmental machine, and served them, after their assumption of office, as more or less plenipotentiary ministers. In addition, these men were most probably used by the ruling caliphs for the purpose of supervising the crown-princes.<sup>1</sup>

From where did al-Manṣūr take the model for this important institution?

We know from Ṭabarī, part 1, p. 855 sq., that Khusrō Anōsharvān, the great Sassanian king, entrusted the education of his son and heir Vahrām to al-Mundhir, king of al-Hīra. In his *Shāh-Nāma*, Firdūsi makes Siyāvūsh, son of king Kā'ūs, to be brought up by Rustam, the ruler of Zābūlistān, and famous hero. But these examples, if not exceptional in themselves,<sup>2</sup> are fundamentally different from the practice of the early Abbasid caliphs mentioned above. The Iranian princes were sent to the courts of other rulers, semi-independent in the cases mentioned.

1. It seems, however, from a poem by Abū-Dulāma quoted by al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, fol. 318a, that Abū-'Ubaidallah tried to give his ward an independent position by proposing that he should reside in ar-Rāfiqa (near Raqqa), and not in Baghdād under the eyes of his father. Al-Manṣūr turned this proposal down after agreeing to it temporarily. The heir-apparents, when given governorships, remained as a rule in Baghdād and did not reside in the capitals of their provinces.

2. I do not know of another case of a Sassanian prince being brought up like Vahrām V. Concerning the legendary kings, I may note that Firdūsi's contemporary ath-Tha'ālībī gives a special reason why Siyāvūsh was sent to Rustam, in his *Ghurār Akhbār Mulūk al-Furs*, ed. Zotenberg, 1900, which, as is well known, is a more faithful reproduction of the original Iranian saga than Firdūsi's epic. The reason given is that Siyāvūsh's mother died immediately after his birth. That Firdūsi's treatment of the subject is much more poetical, is, of course, quite another matter.—For the education of the royal princes in Sassanian times in general, see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 411-13.

This procedure is often found in the education of royal princes elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to this, al-Manṣūr and his successors selected from their own household men whose task it was to educate the heir-apparents, and then to serve them afterwards when they became crown-princes and caliphs. These men did not belong to the nobility nor were they free Arabs. They were exclusively freedmen or ex-slaves. The origin of this system can be easily derived from Arabic tribal custom. In Arabia, as in Israel, the slave was a member of the family to which he belonged. Even after his emancipation, the ex-slave remained the follower of his former lord and bore the name of his tribe.<sup>2</sup> Very often the slave or freedman was the confidant of his lord and "ruled over all that he had" (cf. Genesis, 24, V. 2). The education of the children was entrusted to him. This custom has not changed even in our own times. "The little sons of the chiefs," says A. Musil in his book on *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, 1928, p. 277, "are brought up by the slaves; they make friends with the slaves' sons and everything that they do is on the advice of the slaves and with their assistance. The slave... is often the real guardian of his master's orphans, whom he also assists to regain their power and property." Sometimes, a slave child is suckled by the same woman who suckles the son of his lord, in order to constitute between the children a "milk-relationship," which, according to Arab custom and Islamic law, is a bond almost as strong as blood. Al-Manṣūr himself had been brought up in the same way. Yaḥyā, a freedman of his family, was his foster-brother and therefore he entrusted him with a highly responsible task at the most critical period of his career, when, at the very beginning of his reign, the caliphate was contested by his powerful uncle 'Abdallāh (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, fol. 314a).<sup>3</sup> It is also a well-known fact that Hārūn ar-Rashīd was suckled by a woman of the Barmak family—who were, legally speaking, freedmen,—while al-Faḍl the Barmecide was fostered by the future caliph's mother.<sup>4</sup>

To sum up, we may say that al-Manṣūr, while retaining the system of family-rule brought over from Arabia (see above p. 387), at the same time initiated the rise of the vizierate by transferring an important feature of the household of the Arabic chieftain to the administration of the Abbasid

1. Vahrām's case, if I am not mistaken, has been—or, at all events, may be—compared with the practice of the Egyptian Khedivs, who let their sons be brought up by noble Bedouin *Sheikhs* in the desert east of Trans-Jordan.

2. Thus, the Mawālī, the freedmen of the House of Muḥammad, enjoyed in the Abbasid state the same financial prerogatives as the genuine members of the House.

3. Yaḥyā, however, took 'Abdallāh's side, and after al-Manṣūr's victory was cruelly put to death for his particularly culpable treachery.

4. This is, of course, nothing but an intensified form of the original procedure, by which future friends are suckled by the same woman. And the poet Marwān b. Abī-Ḥafṣa is right when addressing al-Faḍl with the words "you and the caliph were suckled at the same breast," al-Fakhḥrī, ed. Derenbourg, p. 276. An earlier example of "milk-relationship" between Abbasids and Barmecides is noted by Ṭabarī, part II, Vol. 2, p. 840.

empire. The vizierate thus initiated came into blossom during the reign of al-Manṣūr's son and successor, al-Mahdī, the first caliph to be tutored as crown-prince by his future prime minister.

So far we have studied a very important aspect of the vizierate at the period of its full development from al-Mahdī, the third, to al-Mā'mūn, the seventh Abbasid caliph. We must now turn back and consider in some detail a number of administrations in order to define the scope of this office with more exactitude.

Abū-'Ubaidallāh, the tutor and subsequent first vizier of al-Mahdī, did not originate either from Iran, or from Arabia or Ḥarrān. He came from Palestine, where his family had served in the Umayyad administration. His father had been secretary to the quartermaster-general of the second Syrian Army Corps (*Jund Urdunn*), which had its headquarters at Tiberias, hence Abū-'Ubaidallah's *nisba* at-Ṭabarānī (Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 343, l. 11). Al-Fakhrī has preserved two very important notes about this man, probably from Ṣūlī's *Book of Viziers*, which, for the time being, must be regarded as lost. Abū-'Ubaidallāh, he says, introduced the system of *muqāsama*, by which taxes are paid not in lump sums for definite areas of cultivable land—the system prevailing in the Sassanian empire for many years—but in percentage from the annual yield of the fields.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, adds al-Fakhrī (ed. Derenbourg, p. 247), Abū-'Ubaidallāh was the first to compile a book on Land-tax, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*. These facts show that Abū-'Ubaidallāh's powers were much greater than those of the viziers during al-Manṣūr's caliphate. Indeed, Jahshiyārī says, p. 161, l. 2, that al-Mahdī appointed him to his vizierate and ministries (*dawāwīn*, a general name for the central offices of the caliph's administration), from which, however, we may infer that, as a rule, the office of vizier at the time did not include the supreme direction of the general administration.

The first unmistakable literary evidence for the official use of the title vizier is found in connection with Abū-'Ubaidallāh's successor, Ya'qūb b. Dā'ūd. His father, too, had served the Umayyads (as secretary to their famous governor of Khorāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār), Ya'qūb went over to the 'Alids and finally took service with al-Mahdī. Al-Mahdī was so pleased with him that "he called him *his brother in God and helper* (*wazīr*) and published this in official letters which were set down in the government papers," Jahshiyārī, p. 181, l. 12.<sup>2</sup> We remember at once that "brother and helper" (*wazīr*) appear connected both in the Qur'ān and in poetry down to the end of the Umayyad period,<sup>3</sup> and we appreciate the official use of the phrase as a further evidence for the definition of this office as

1. As is well known, Abū-Yūsuf, Hārūn ar-Rashīd's Qāḍī, recommends this system to his master in his famous *Kitāb al-Kharāj*.

2. This fact is alluded to in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ed. 1346, v. 2, p. 248, l. 13, and in al-Fakhrī, who only mentions, however, that Ya'qūb was called the caliph's brother—most probably because later generations could not imagine that the title 'wazīr' was also a novelty.

3. See above pp. 382-383.

one of personal service to the ruler with whom its bearer was bound by ties sanctified through old tribal custom.

In this connection, attention must be drawn to a list of the scribes and viziers of Muslim rulers from Muḥammad down to Hārūn ar-Rashīd, which is quoted by Ṭabarī, part II, pp. 836-843. In this list no mention is made of viziers before Ya'qūb b. Da'ūd, whereas from him down to Ja'far the Barmecide a number of viziers are mentioned by name. It would be erroneous to assume that Ya'qūb is here expressly mentioned as vizier on account of his being the first scribe promoted to this office; Abū-'Ubaid-allāh likewise appears in this list, but only as scribe. For the time being, we do not venture to conclude from the combined testimonies of *Jahshiyārī* and Ṭabarī<sup>1</sup> that Ya'qūb actually was the first vizier officially addressed by this title (after Abū-Salāma, cf. above 384-385). But the possibility that this was the case must be taken into account.

It seems that al-Mahdī, who loved arts and pleasure more than statecraft, left to Ya'qūb the whole administration of his empire, a state of affairs denounced by the blind poet *Bashshār* b. Burd in the famous lines: "The caliph is Ya'qūb b. Da'ūd. . . , while Allāh's caliphate is found between the wine-skin and the lute," (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā* by Ibn al-Mu'tazz, p. 3, *Aghānī*, ed. 1347, V. 3, p. 245, etc.). But this powerful position did not preserve Ya'qūb from a cruel downfall any more than his predecessor. He was replaced by Faḍl b. Shērōē, who originated from a Christian family of Nisābūr in *Khorāsān*. It is again significant of the personal character of the vizierate that with the death of al-Mahdī, Faḍl ceased to hold public office.

The "vizierate," or, as we should say more exactly, government by deputy, reached its apogee in the times of Hārūn ar-Rashīd. *Jahshiyārī*, p. 211,<sup>2</sup> makes Hārūn say the following words to Yaḥyā the Barmecide: "I devolve upon you the responsibility for my subjects, you may pass judgements as you like, appoint whom you like, and spend money as you like, for I shall not occupy myself with these matters together with you." Indeed we hear that Yaḥyā and two of his sons acted as judges in the caliph's place—a hitherto unheard of renunciation of the caliph's most sacred rights. Even Hārūn's unworthy brother al-Hādī did not allow more than three days to pass without "sitting" for public audience in the *dār al-mazālim* (Office of Complaints), cf. Ṭabarī, 3, p. 582, l. 19. The pleasure-loving al-Mā'mūn did so every Sunday, whereas it may be safely concluded from more than one passage in Abū-Yūsuf's *Book of the Land-tax*, mentioned above, that Hārūn actually neglected this supreme duty of every Muslim ruler.<sup>3</sup> Abū-Yūsuf most humbly entreats the caliph

1. Corroborated by al-Fakhri's well-known statement quoted above that after Abū-Salāma's death nobody bore the title of vizier because of the bad omen attached to it.

2. Almost the same words are found also in Ṭabarī, 3, 603, l. 1959, under the year 170.

3. It was regarded as such down to our own times. Compare the descriptions of a day in the life of King 'Abd al-'Azīz of Sa'ūdī Arabia or of Imām Yaḥyā of Yemen.

to seek Allāh's favour by holding at least one public audience in one or two months or even once a year! (ed. 1346, pp. 133-4, cf. also the Introduction). Furthermore, *Jahshiyārī*, p. 212, 3, informs us that *in addition* to the vizierate, Yaḥyā was entrusted with the supervision of all government departments and after some time was also given the Royal Seal.<sup>1</sup> In addition, we hear that he was the first vizier with the rank of an Amīr—a very important innovation, which more than anything else was apt to make the vizier a deputy of the caliph. In a state in which the ruler's official title was "Commander-in-Chief of the True-believers," a man without military rank could hardly exercise the highest authority.

Indeed, it was a position like that of Yaḥyā the Barmecide which created the idea of the plenipotentiary vizier so popular both in the East (cf. *Alf Laila wa-Laila*) and the West. But it must be borne in mind that Yaḥyā's case was quite *exceptional*. Hārūn was a young man of twenty when made caliph, and he owed his throne, most probably also his life, to the sagacity of his fatherly tutor. Even as caliph he used to address Yaḥyā with the words "My father,"<sup>2</sup> and, above all, Hārūn lacked both talent and inclination for public affairs.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the wording of the sources clearly shows that Yaḥyā's powers were not regarded as belonging to the competence of a vizier, but as being *accessory* to it. In addition to *Jahshiyārī*, who expressly says so (see above), we may adduce Ṭabarī, who remarks, p. 606, 3, "in this way Yaḥyā combined the *two* vizierates,"<sup>4</sup> when he was given the Royal Seal in 171,<sup>5</sup> whereas we find that it was not until the year 178 (p. 631) that ar-Rashīd handed over to Yaḥyā all the affairs of his empire. And even at that time, when the Barmecide rule was at its height, there was no complete continuity. In 173, after the death of the caliph's mother, who exercised a sort of guardianship over him, al-Faḍl b. ar-Rabī', the son of al-Manṣūr's chamberlain and great anta-

1. Previously, the official correspondence went out under Yaḥyā's name, while another dignitary was entrusted with the Seal, *Jahshiyārī*, 213, 1-8, and especially Ṭabarī 3,606, 1.s.

2. Down to the present day, the slave or ex-slave who has educated a boy is addressed in such a way by his ward, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Vol. 2, *passim*.

3. Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 346, 10: "After the fall of the Barmecides, the government became disorderly and Hārūn's incapacity in administration and lack of statesmanship became evident to everybody." Hārūn's fame is based on other merits—on his ceaseless prosecution of the Holy War and his ostentatious religiosity. That he himself sought his fame in these matters is shown, e.g., by a report preserved by Ṭabarī 3,709 (*Anno* 190), that Hārūn adopted the custom of wearing a top-hat (*qalansuwa*) with the inscription *Qhāzī Ḥājī*, "Conqueror and Pilgrim."

4. By characterizing Yaḥyā's office in such a way, Ṭabarī may have been influenced by the title *Dhu'l-wizāratain* borne by a vizier of his own times (see below p. 390). Tornberg, *Numi Cufici*, Upsala, 1848, p. 57, no. 214, notes a coin bearing this title under the year 190. Assuming a slight misreading we could arrive at 170. But it is out of the question that Yaḥyā did not bear this title and, without doubt, 270 instead of 190 is to be read. I take this opportunity of thanking my colleague Professor L. A. Mayer for his friendly advice in numismatic questions.

5. *ib.* 604, 1, mentions this event also for *Anno* 170. But the passage there quoted contains a general remark about Yaḥyā's powers and is not meant to be chronologically exact.

gonist of the Barmecides, was given the Royal Seal,<sup>1</sup> with which Yahyā had meanwhile entrusted his son Ja'far (Tab. 609, 17). It is possible that it returned to the Barmecides in 178, for we find Ja'far again in possession of it in 180, Tab. 644. Very significant for the character of the vizierate is also the fact that Ja'far b. Yahyā obviously bore the title of vizier at the same time as his father, as may be concluded from various sources.

In the above-mentioned list of scribes and viziers quoted by Ṭabarī (Anno 72, part 2, 813), Ja'far is called Hārūn's vizier. Abū-Nuwās also calls him vizier in a well-known stanza,<sup>2</sup> and so does the poet Marwān b. Abī-Ḥafṣa.<sup>3</sup> After the Barmecides' disgrace, the famous Abu'l-'Atāhiya says with reference to Yahyā and Ja'far, in a lengthy poem devoted to this event. "They have been the two viziers of Allāh's caliph," (Tab., 3, p. 687).<sup>4</sup> The testimony so far given is corroborated by the evidence gathered from coins. During the years 177-186, coins from places so distant from each other as Zerenj, Kirmān, Muḥammadiya (Ray), Baghdād, Rāfiqa, bear the name of Ja'far<sup>5</sup> in addition to that of the caliph. As far as I can see, no dignitary before Ja'far was given this honour,<sup>6</sup> and, with the exception of Faḍl b. Sahl Dhu'r-Ri'āsatain, to be discussed presently, nobody after him, at least in the period under consideration. In accordance with this, Jahshiyārī, p. 249, reports that Hārūn officially called Ja'far his brother,<sup>7</sup> entrusting him with the royal mints in all provinces.<sup>8</sup> There

1. G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, V. II, pp. 135-36, is, however, mistaken when he identifies the holder of this office with the vizier. The handing over of the Royal Seal to the plenipotentiary minister is known to us from many courts of both the ancient East (cf. Joseph and Haman) and later times (cf. the Ottoman grand vizier), but, as we have seen above on various occasions, in early Abbasid times the holding of the Royal Seal was only one office among many others. Weil was obviously influenced by his authority Ibn al-Athīr (Tornberg's edition Vol. 6, pp. 82, 100 and 104), who mainly copies Ṭabarī, but whose wording may mislead.

2. Jahshiyārī, p. 264. Instead of al-wazīr, the *Diwān* (ed. 1898, p. 173, ed. 1937, p. 304) has al-amīr, possibly because the compiler found it strange that Ja'far should share the vizierate with his father. On the other hand, I do not remember that Ja'far was given the title of an amīr. The poet could, however, use it informally.

3. *Tabaqāt al-Shu'arā'*, by Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 1339, p. 12. The verse reads as follows: "If anything befalls the caliph, he (Ja'far), as vizier, suggests the orders to be given by the caliph."

4. al-Fakhri (Derenbourg, p. 281) reports that al-Faḍl was nicknamed "the little vizier" and so was Ja'far, after having been made "maître du Palais." The Persian Ṭabarī, translated by Zotenberg, Vol. 4, p. 463, says that Faḍl replaced his father for some time, in which position he was afterwards followed by his brother, see L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*, Paris, 1912, p. 49. Ja'far must have been known in the orient under the title vizier, for Niẓām al-Mulk, in his famous *Siyāsat Nāma*, p. 151, sq. makes him even vizier of the Umayyad caliph Sulaiman!

5. Cf. Tornberg, *Numi Cufici*, p. 41 foll., *Katalog d. Orientalischen Münzen*, Berlin I, no. 1020-1164 *passim*.

6. The name of the governor as the local representative of the caliph often appears on coins. But it is quite exceptional to find this prerogative of the ruling monarch shared by one of his servants in a number of mints. Cf. also p. 28.

7. Most probably the title was "his brother and helper, (wazīr," cf. above p. 17.

8. *Kuwar*, a name for the provinces of the eastern part of the empire. The coins bearing Ja'far's name actually originate from Rāfiqa (near Raqqa on the Euphrates) eastwards.



is, therefore, nothing surprising in Abu'l-'Atāhiya's statement corroborated by other poets that Ja'far shared the vizierate with his father. In later times, the Buwaihids actually made the experiment of having this office divided between two men,<sup>1</sup> but I do not think that this happened in the case of Yaḥyā and Ja'far. The latter was the caliph's favourite, but was himself not particularly suited for administrative work. He could be called vizier, because this title, although more and more becoming the designation of a public office, still had much of its original meaning of personal confidant and "helper" of the ruler.

After the fall of the Barmecides, their rival, al-Faḍl b. ar-Rabī' was made vizier, as is commonly assumed, although the old sources, like *Jahshiyārī* and *Ṭabarī*, do not state so expressly. At all events he was far from being plenipotentiary prime minister.<sup>2</sup> The great departments of Land-tax and the caliph's correspondence (*Jahshiyārī*, 325), as well as those of the royal estates and the secret correspondence (*ib.* 337), were under the supervision of Ismā'il b. Subāih, which is the reason why al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, V. 2, p. 520, says that after the Barmecides' disgrace al-Faḍl b. ar-Rabī' and Ismā'il shared the supreme power. But there were other high offices formerly united in Barmecide hands which after their fall were given to other than the two above-mentioned dignitaries. The most important office of the post and the secret reports (*al-Barīd wal-Akḥbār*), according to al-Manṣūr one of the four pillars of the state (*Ṭabarī*, 3, p. 398, Anno 158), was given to Masrūr, the black slave and ill-famed executioner, and after him to another slave of the Palace. They did their work well: after Hārūn's death it was found that four thousand official despatches (*kharā'it*) had been left unopened (*Jahshiyārī*, pp. 249 and 336).

Under circumstances similar to those prevailing during the greater part of Hārūn's caliphate we find a vizier with very extensive powers at the beginning of al-Mā'mūn's reign. Al-Mā'mūn was a young man of twenty on coming to power and was used to the guidance of his foster-father al-Faḍl b. Sahl, who, by the way, had embraced Islam "through him" (*'alā yadihi*) only a few years before (Anno 190, *Ṭabarī*, 3, 709, l. 3). Moreover, it was only al-Faḍl's firmness and persistence which secured the throne for al-Mā'mūn. Al-Mā'mūn evinced his gratitude by making him the highest civil and military authority (*ri'āsat al-harb wa-ri'āsat at-tadbīr*) and bestowing on him the title of *Dhūr-Ri'āsatāin*, "the man with the two powers." This was inscribed on a standard<sup>3</sup> borne before him on official occasions and on the coins struck all over the part of the Muslim

1. Cf., e.g., Ibn al-Athīr, Anno 382, Vol. IX, p. 67, l. 3, and Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 86.

2. Zambour, *Manuel...de Chronologie...de l'Islam*, p. 6, ascribes coins to him, both in the time of Hārūn and in that of his successor al-Amin. But as far as I am able to judge from the catalogue of coins of the British Museum, and from the Berlin and Swedish catalogues, all the coins bearing the name al-Faḍl from A.H. 190-197 were struck in the name of al-Faḍl b. Sahl, the vizier of the crown prince al-Mā'mūn, and not in that of al-Faḍl b. ar-Rabī', see below p. 387.

3. The standard was the mark of distinction of the military commander.

empire which was under al-Mā'mūn's sway, both when he was crown-prince and when he became caliph<sup>1</sup> (Jahshiyārī, p. 387).

The aspiration to military rank by a vizier who had not made himself known by achievements in the conduct of war is fully comprehensible in view of the martial character of the Muslim state, cf. our remarks in connection with Yaḥyā the Barmecide's Amirate. But it may also be that these Iranians were led in this case by the example of the Sassanian Vuzurg Framādhār, who, like the Major Domus of the Frankish kings,<sup>2</sup> was military commander as well as head of the civil administration. But this conjecture is open to objection. For the great days of the Vuzurg Framādhārs had come to an end many years before the downfall of the Sassanian empire. Whether this office had been abolished altogether, as Barthold assumes, or reduced to insignificance, as Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides*, p. 518 sq., tries to show, there hardly remained a living tradition about the Major Domus with full powers, and if I am not mistaken even Buzurgmihr, the prototype of the Sassanian vizier in Muslim literature, does not appear as a military commander. But the possibility is not excluded that Yaḥyā and Faḍl b. Sahl were guided by descriptions of the office of the Vuzurg Framādhār, read by them in Pehlevī books which are lost to us, while faint reminiscences of it are discernible in the books of Muslim historians.

Al-Faḍl suffered the same fate as Ja'far.<sup>3</sup> But unlike that of the Barmecide, his family was spared and his brother Ḥasan became his successor, —although not with all his powers—while the latter's daughter Būrān was married to the caliph.<sup>4</sup>

1. The ' *Katalog der Orientalischen Münzen*, Berlin, 1898, Vol. I, enumerates about sixty coins of this type coming from the eastern part of the empire, including al-'Iraq. In addition, the Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, Vol. I, registers two coins bearing this title which were struck in the West (Egypt) in A.H. 199 and 202. The two last coins also bear, together with the honorific surname of the vizier mentioned, his name al-Faḍl. In the East, the two names appear separately. From A.H. 194 to 196, i.e., from Ḥārūn's death to the decisive victories of al-Mā'mūn's armies over those of his brother al-Amin, the name al-Faḍl occurs on coins from Bukhāra, Balkh, Samarqand, ar-Ray, Marv, Nisābūr and Herāt, while, beginning with 196 (Samarqand, *Catalogue, Berlin*, no. 1361, Nisābūr and ar-Ray, Tornberg *passim*), but more frequently in the following years, the title *Dhu'r-Ri'āsatain* is used alone. Tornberg, no. 233, notes a coin bearing this title for as early as A.H. 193, but this must be a misreading. It is very interesting to note that here, as in a later case (see p. 390, note 1), a military commander was given an honorific title in dual form at the same time as the vizier. And this title (*Dhu'l-Yamīnain* of Ṭāhir) also appears on some coins, cf. the Catalogues of the British and Berlin Museums.

2. Cf. Barthold's article quoted above p. 381, note 3. According to him, the office of the Vuzurg framādhār is as typical of the chivalrous state of the Sassanians as that of the vizier is of the urban civilization of the Abbasid empire.

3. For the circumstances leading to his murder, Fr. Gabrieli, *al-Mā'mūn e gli 'Alidi*, 1929, may be consulted.

4. In Umayyad times this would have been an unheard-of honour. The Abbasids, however, were less particular in the selection of their wives and, as is well known, almost all of them were sons of slave-girls. Nevertheless, the pompous wedding of Būrān in 210 (825/6) may be regarded as the most conspicuous demonstration of the importance of the vizierate in early Abbasid times.

Hasan soon retired from his office. Four other ministers served after him who in some sources are called by the title of viziers, while there are other sources which do not call them so. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 352, expressly remarks, however, that after al-Faḍl's death, al-Mā'mūn did not give full powers to any of his officers, "because he did not consider that he was in need of a vizier who would share government with him; no minister was called vizier in his presence and nobody was addressed so in writing." Therefore, adds al-Mas'ūdī, many of those who compiled books on the history of the vizierate, like al-Šūlī and al-Jahshiyārī,<sup>1</sup> disagree as to whether to call those ministers who served after al-Faḍl viziers or not.

With al-Faḍl's administration, the second instance of the vizierate at its highest development, we appropriately conclude our enquiry into the origin of this office. We should add that it was from the examples of al-Faḍl and of Yaḥyā the Barmecide, adduced above p. 383, who were both given military rank, that at a later time, which was more inclined to etiquette, the vizier got precedence over all other officials including the highest military commanders, (see Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 80). Most probably they also gave rise to ḥadīth, ascribed to the Prophet, saying that Allāh created the world for the sword and the pen, *subordinating the former to the latter* (al-Māwardī, *Ādāb al-Wazīr*, 1348/1929, p. 10). But the caliph's vizier continued to be an officer of the civil administration. It was quite unusual for a vizier to be charged with a military function. We hear of such a case under the troublesome reign of al-Mutawakkil (232/847-247/861). When this caliph tried to counterbalance the Turkish guards made too powerful by his father, al-Mu'taṣim, "he put some twelve thousand bedouins, desperadoes (*ṣa'ālīk*) and other people under the authority of his vizier 'Ubaidallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān (*damma ilaihi*), the nominal commander being prince al-Mu'tazz, who was under the care (*fī ḥajr*) of the vizier," (see al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 362). The permanent holding of military command by a vizier was regarded as exceptional, and was recorded as such by the historians. Thus al-Fakhri, ed. Derenbourg, p. 345, l. 2, says with reference to Ismā'il b. Bulbul, a vizier of al-Mu'tamid (256/870-279/892), that he held both civil and military authority (*jum'i'a lahu as-saifu wal-qalamu*). Al-Fakhri's statement, however, obviously refers not to Ismā'il, the vizier of the caliph, but to Šā'id b. Makhlad, the prime minister<sup>2</sup> of al-Muwaffaq, the caliph's almighty brother and deputy.<sup>3</sup> For Ṭabari, 3, p. 2083 relates of Šā'id under the year 269 that he

1. The later part of this most valuable source is unfortunately lost.

2. If I am not mistaken, he is exclusively called kاتب, not wazīr by Ṭabari, cf. especially 3, pp. 1930 and 2079. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. 8, p. 39, who makes him the caliph's prime minister, naturally calls him vizier.

3. Owing to the fact that both the caliph and his brother had prime ministers, much confusion prevails

(Continued on p. 389).

was given the title Dhu 'l-Wizāratain, "the man with the two vizierates," and there is also other literary evidence<sup>1</sup> that Šā'id b. Makhlad, not Ismā'il, bore that title. The title of Dhu 'l-Wizāratain also appears on coins struck in the year 270 in al-Ahwāz, Hamādān, Shirāz, Sāmarrā, Baghdād and Baṣra, and in 271 in Sāmarrā, cf. the catalogues of the British Museum,<sup>2</sup> of the Berlin Museums and of Tornberg. As in the case of Faḍl b. Sahl, Dhu'r-Ri'āsatain, the vizier of al-Mā'mūn, the exceptional position and title of Šā'id were honoured by their appearance on coins struck in different parts of the empire. It was, however, only in later times and in the states of Muslim rulers other than caliphs that the military command was permanently combined with the vizierate.<sup>3</sup>

Concerning the century following al-Mā'mūn's death it will suffice to point out that, with the exception of the insignificant Ismā'il b. Bulbul,<sup>4</sup> no vizier was in office for ten years, while vizierates of one year or even a few months were nothing unusual. In a constitutional state the frequent change of the prime minister belongs to the very nature of representative government, while in the autocratic state the shortness of a minister's service betrays the limited nature of his powers. With the rise of the

regarding the vizierate at the time of al-Mu'tamid, in the sources as well as in the works written by European scholars (cf. also the preceding note). Al-Fakhri makes Ismā'il b. Bulbul bear the title Dhu 'l-Wizāratain, because he was the caliph's vizier during the years in which this title was used (A.H. 269-272). But we have already seen that al-Fakhri is mistaken; besides, no military exploits are reported of Ismā'il, while Šā'id was a great general (cf. Ṭabari, pp. 1988, 2011, 2037, 2048). Mez, *Renaissance d. Islams*, p. 84 confounds Šā'id with Hasan b. Makhlad, who was al-Mu'tamid's vizier, but was appointed in 264 (Ṭab. 3, p. 1926 last line) and dismissed in 265, for which year Ṭab. 3, p. 1931 reports the nomination of Ismā'il b. Bulbul (cf. also Amedroz in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1908, p. 451). In 272, on the day after Šā'id's disgrace, Ismā'il was nominated Kātib of al-Muwaffaq, but without military command, as Ṭabari, 2109-2110 states expressly. Al-Fakhri does not mention Šā'id in the list of the caliph's viziers, because he was, as we have seen, only the prime minister of his brother. Zambaur, *Manuel... de Chronologie... de l'Islam*, p. 7, is right in following here al-Fakhri, but I cannot see why he makes Hasan b. Makhlad die in 263,—one year before he assumed office.

1. Quoted by J. Goldziher, in his article on titles in dual form, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. 13 (1899), p. 325.

2. The British Museum (Catalogue of Oriental Coins V. I, no. 366) also possesses a coin struck under al-Mu'tamid A. 278, with the honorific surname Dhus-Saifain, "the man with the two swords," of which Lane-Poole says that it does not occur on any other coin yet published. As Ṭabari, 3, p. 2040 reports, this title was given to a Turkish commander in A. 269, the same year in which Šā'id was surnamed Dhu 'l-wizāratain and most probably not without connection with this event. The title Dhus-Saifain appears also in al-Khwārezmī's list quoted by Goldziher in his article mentioned above.

3. Cf. Mez, *ib.*

4. As we have seen, the actual prime minister during the greater part of his administration was Šā'id, the kātib of the caliph's brother.

Buwaihids in 334/946,<sup>1</sup> the Abbasid vizierate came altogether to an end. It was not revived till a century later, when it shared its insignificance with that of the contemporary caliphate.

Meanwhile, however, other Muslim rulers like the Buwaihids, Fātimids, and Sāmānids had adopted viziers. The office rose to the highest importance when barbaric conquerors of Turkish and Mongol origin ruled over large Muslim populations, of which they understood neither the language, nor the complicated social and economic order. Under those circumstances, the delegation of the highest civil authority to a competent official chosen from the conquerors' cultivated subjects became simply imperative. The most outstanding example of a vizier of this later type is the famous Nizām al-Mulk (born 1018, murdered 1092). For thirty years he led the administration of the Seljuk empire, the largest state on Muslim soil at that time. In response to a request of Malik Shāh, the Seljuk Sultān, Nizām al-Mulk in the last year of his administration and life wrote a book on government, the famous *Siyāsat Nāma*. It is very interesting to find what even a Nizām al-Mulk has to say about government by delegation. He most urgently advises his monarch to put no trust in any of his servants, the vizier not excluded. The officials should be controlled by spies of all sorts, while the Sultān, like the first caliphs, should fix days for public audiences where he should receive complaints and make decisions in person.<sup>2</sup> Nizām al-Mulk's verdict against government by deputy is the more deserving of notice since he himself, approximately at the same time, expressed the belief that he was prime minister by heavenly providence, in the same way as Malik Shāh was Sultān.<sup>3</sup> Thus we see that even this true Iranian and powerful minister was in theory far from recognizing the *wizārat at-tawfīd*, the vizierate with unrestricted powers, defined half a century earlier by the lawyer and courtier, al-Māwardī,<sup>4</sup> as compatible with the welfare of a Muslim state.

1. Or even some years earlier, with the nomination in 324/936 of the Amīr al-Umarā ibn-Rā'iq, who held both the highest military and civil authority in the caliph's state. With regard to this event, says Harry Bowen in his book, mentioned above, p. I, p. 356: "With the year 324 (935-6) vanished the system of government that had come into being with the Abbasid dynasty. Its titles and some of its forms indeed remained; but its reality was dissolved. The glory of the vizierate had passed away." Cf. also *ib.* p. 392.

2. Cf. Noeldeke, *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, V. 46, pp. 763-4.

3. "He who gave thee the crown, placed on my head the Turban" (F. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 185). One should not forget that Malik Shāh was only seventeen or eighteen years of age when he succeeded his father on the throne, while it was Nizām al-Mulk who saved for him the empire during the troubles ensuing upon his accession. For his services, the vizier received the title Atābek, 'Father-Lord,' which reminds us of the way in which Hārūn ar-Rashīd addressed Yahyā the Barmecide. see above. There is, of course, no direct connection between these two titles.

4. Both in his general book on statecraft and in the *Risāla* quoted above, which is especially devoted to the vizierate.

For the convenience of the reader we may now sum up the *main results* of our inquiry :

1. The vizierate was not borrowed by the Muslims as a fixed and well-defined institution from the Sassanians or anybody else. On the contrary, its first beginnings under the special historical conditions prevailing at the end of the Umayyad rule and its gradual development during the reign of the first eight Abbasid caliphs can be traced in the sources step by step.

2. This being so, there is no need to look for a Persian derivation of the word *wazīr*, which, by the way, competent scholars have so far failed to produce. On the other hand, the use of the Arabic word *wazīr* in the sense of helper and assistant can be followed from pre-Islamic times down to the last years of the Umayyad period, when it was given the special force of the title of a government officer.

3. This took place when Abū-Salāma was made representative of the common Abbasid cause, before a caliph was enthroned. A constitutional abnormality like that called for a special title, which was found in the form of "the Helper (*wazīr*) of the House of Muḥammad."

4. After the accession of Abu'l-'Abbās, the first Abbasid caliph, there was no place for an office like that held by Abū-Salāma and he was soon removed. Although a prime minister with extensive powers acted under the last Umayyad, the Abbasids did not follow this model immediately, but tried to govern through family-rule controlled by the strong personal authority of the caliph, which was most conspicuously demonstrated by the second Abbasid al-Manṣūr.

5. It is highly doubtful whether any of the ministers of the first two Abbasid caliphs bore the title of vizier. It seems that the first man who was so addressed officially after Abū-Salāma was Ya'qūb b. Dā'ūd, the second prime minister of al-Mahdī, the third caliph.

6. It was, however, al-Manṣūr himself who laid the foundations of the future vizierate by putting his young son and heir under the supervision of an experienced man of affairs, who became the prime minister of his ward after the latter's accession. This practice was followed by al-Manṣūr's successors, and, as the five caliphs succeeding him were young men or mere lads on assuming authority, it had the greatest influence on the development of a vizierate with wide powers.

7. The model for this practice is to be found in Arabic custom, according to which the slave is charged with the education of the son and the protection of the orphan of his lord, whereas the bonds between the slave or freedman and his lord—often strengthened by "milk-relationship"—are regarded as the truest safeguards for the well-being of the latter.

8. This origin of the vizierate from personal service explains more than anything else why its powers were never properly defined, but were continually expanded or restricted according to the inclinations of the caliph, and also why it could be altogether suspended at the very moment when it had reached exceptional competence, as was the case during the caliphate of al-Mā'mūn and possibly also of Hārūn.

9. The viziers of the period under consideration were exclusively freedmen emerging from the civil administration, and as a rule held only civil authority. With few exceptions, this state of affairs remained until the discontinuation of the Abbasid vizierate in 324/936; but, probably owing to the example of Yaḥyā the Barmecide and Faḍl b. Sahl, who both held the rank of an Amīr (without, however, excelling in military deeds), the viziers got precedence over all other officers, including those of highest military rank.

10. The office of the vizier reached its fullest importance at a time when Turkish and Mongol conquerors were forced by their ignorance of the language and civilization of their subjects to entrust the administration of their territories to better qualified persons. But even the greatest of all viziers of this type, Nizām al-Mulk, declared government by deputy to be incompatible with the duties of a Muslim ruler. The familiar conception of the caliph drinking wine while his vizier is doing his work, if taken to be the rule, is not in conformity with the facts of history.

In conclusion we may remark that our denial of the Sassanian origin of the vizierate does not mean that we exclude the possibility of Iranian influence on some of its aspects, cf. above. But such influence must be studied and proved with the same regard to detail as we have tried to apply in the present paper in discussing internal development of the office.

S. D. GOITEIN.

(Concluded).

# EARLY DAYS OF MUGHAL RULE IN DACCA<sup>1</sup>

(SŪBADĀRSHIP OF ISLĀM KHĀN, 1607-1613)

IN a previous article<sup>2</sup> on the rise of Dacca as the Capital City of the Mughals in Bengal and the seat of the provincial governor, I brought out the fact that Islām Khān was on the site by about the 18th July 1608. Ihtimām Khān, the admiral of the imperial Nawara (fleet), with his son Mīrzā Nathan, was instructed to follow the governor with the entire fleet *via* the Guadari canal. Fortunately the site of Guadari is shown on sheet No. 12 of Rennel's *Bengal Atlas*. It is on the south bank of the Dhaleswari, about eight miles north-west of Pātharghātā, where the Ichhamati joins the Dhaleswari. Guadari, again, was only two miles south-east of the point from which the Buriganga used to emerge from the Dhaleswari in Rennel's days. A canal started from the Dhaleswari near Guadari and went past the big village of Kalatia to the Buriganga. Ihtimām Khān was instructed to go to Dacca through this canal, as the eastern water-routes were still unknown, being infested by and under the control of Mūsā Khān (son of 'Isā Khān) and his partisans. Ihtimām Khān followed this route and reached Dacca by the end of July 1608.

The river on which Dacca stands is invariably called the Dulai by Mīrzā Nathan in his *Bahāristān*, and never Buriganga, its present well-known name. The Dulai in those days emptied itself into the Lakshya by two channels, one going to Demra and the other to Khizrpūr, the northern

1. This article is mainly based on *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibi* by Mīrzā Nathan, son of Ihtimām Khān, who accompanied Islām Khān (1607-1613 A.D.) in Bengal as the Mīr Bahār of the Mughal Nawara. The book is a detailed narration of the happenings in Eastern India from 1607-1624, and the author was an eye-witness of, and a participator in, most of the events described. A unique copy of this MS. is preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, and Sir Jādunath Sarkar was the first person to make the contents of this unique and valuable work known to the public through a number of Bengali contributions in *Pravasi* and English contributions in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Societies*. Dr. Sudhindra-nath Bhattacharyya of the Dacca University in his *Mughal North-East Frontier Policy* and other works and Prof. Sri Ram Sharma in a number of contributions also made use of this work of Mīrzā Nathan. Finally Dr. M. I. Borah, Head of the Department of Persian, Dacca University, translated the entire work into English and the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of the Government of Assam published it in two Vols. in 1936—a good piece of work with which the humble writer of this paper had the privilege of being closely associated.

2. *An inquiry into the Origin of the City of Dacca*, published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1939, No. 3.



part of the present town of Narayanganj. It is well to remember that access to Dacca from the Meghna side was through these two channels, and that the Fatulla-Dhaleswari section by which Buriganga now falls into the Dhaleswari did not then exist. There were two small forts, called forts of Bēg Murād Khān, at the point where the Demra channel bifurcated from the Dulai. Ihtimām Khān and his son Mīrzā Nathan were each placed in charge of one of the forts of Bēg Murād Khān, and they found Islām Khān already well-established inside the fort of Dhaka.

The site of the old fort of Dacca, as is well known, is now occupied by the jail. When was this fort constructed and who constructed it? Small forts serving as Chowkis or guard-houses were rather abundant in this region and were further added to by Mīr Jumla in subsequent times. The two forts of Bēg Murād Khān on either side of the off-take of the channel running to Demra have already been mentioned. Two other forts are found marked on Rennel's map No. 12, one on either side of the river at Fatulla. The eastern one is called the Kella of Dhopa and the western one is left without a name. On the Lakshya mouth of the Dulai there was the fort of Khizrpūr, and about a mile down the river Lakshya, on its eastern bank, stood the fort of Sonakanda, still in an excellent state of preservation. Almost direct south from this point on the southern bank of the Ichhamati, now merged into the Dhaleswari, stood the fort of Idrakpūr. The fort at Sonakanda gives one a good idea of what these forts were like. It is a rectangular enclosure provided with a bastion (burj) on the river-frontage. Mīrzā Nathan speaks of an old and dilapidated fort in this region, originally constructed by the Rāja of the Maghs, subsequently repaired by Mūsā Khān and put in a state of defence during his struggle with the Mughals, (*Bahāristān* I, p. 86). This appears to be identical with the fort that we still find at Sonakanda, almost opposite the present Railway and Steamer station at Narayanganj. The fort at Dacca appears originally to have been a similar guard-house of the Dacca Chowki of the Mughals, and it appears to have existed before the advent of Islām Khān to the place. Speaking of forts, Mīrzā Nathan remarks: "In Bengal, there were no ancient forts except those at Gour, Akbarnagar *alias* Rājmahal, Ghoraghāt, Dacca and some other places of this type. But in time of need, the boatmen quickly construct such a fort that even the expert masters are unable to build one like it within months and years" (*Bahāristān* I, p. 57). This remark is made before the Mughal army reached Dacca, and suggests that Dacca had a fort before Islām Khān arrived. Moreover, on p. 54, when the army and the fleet were still at the Trimohana of Khal-Jogini in the present Pabna district, Islām Khān is found sending three of his lieutenants to Dhaka. They reached Dacca in six marches by the land-route after much difficulty. "They proved a terror to Mūsā Khān and other Zamīndārs and became engaged in the construction of the Fort of Dhaka." These gentlemen were at Dacca about two weeks before the advent of the Šubadār himself, and it is inconceivable that they could arrange for or accomplish any large cons-

truction-work within that short period. Yet we find Islām Khān, on his arrival, accommodated inside the fort of Dacca. This can be interpreted only as showing that the fort at Dacca already existed before the arrival of Islām Khān, and all that his lieutenants could be expected to do in two weeks was to put it into a good state of repair, and make it fit to receive the governor.

As we have already stated, Islām Khān and his hosts occupied Dacca during the latter part of July 1608. The forces of opposition headed by Mūsā Khān and his brothers now made the river Lakshya their base and prepared for a fresh struggle. Mūsā Khān established Chowkis or guard-stations in Vikrampūr and Sripūr. A canal, called the Bandar canal, connects the Lakshya with the old Brahmaputra. Starting from a point on the eastern bank of the Lakshya a little south of the Narayanganj Railway station, it flows below the walls of the fort at Sonakanda and joins the old Brahmaputra near Kakhiyar Tek. It dries up at present in winter, but is very much in use during the rains, as the quickest short cut from Narayanganj to the Sonargaon region. In those days, when the Brahmaputra flowed by the Mymensingh-Bhairabbazar channel, this Bandar canal must have been a very considerable stream. The capital of 'Īsā Khān and of his son Mūsā Khān who succeeded him was at Kāthāraba, generally called Katrābo. The place is at present known as Manwar Khān's bagh or Dēwānbagh. A big mosque falling into ruins on the southern bank of a large tank is now the only vestige left of its former greatness. Bahādur Ghāzī, Zamīndār of Bhowal and a partisan of Mūsā Khān, had his capital at Chowra, adjacent on the north to the present Kaliganj on the Lakshya, about twenty-two miles above Narayanganj. Mūsā Khān posted himself on the northern bank of the Bandar canal and placed one of his lieutenants on the southern bank. A lieutenant was posted at Qadam Rasūl opposite Khizrpūr and his younger brother Dā'ūd was placed to defend Kāthāraba, the capital. Another brother Maḥmūd was posted against the mouth of the Dulai at Demra about three miles up Kāthāraba, and Bahādur Ghāzī undertook the defence of Chowra, his capital.

The war-worn Mughals had hardly time to settle themselves for a little rest at Dacca, when, by the end of the rains, the indomitable Šubādār Islām Khān again sent them against Mūsā Khān and his lieutenants, to oust them from the new positions they had taken up on the banks of the Lakshya. This beautiful and quiet river thus became the barrier between two opposing armies.

Details of this struggle, in which places very familiar to us were involved and find frequent mention, may be read in the pages of Mīrzā Nathan. In understanding the topography, however, we must altogether forget the existence of the town of Narayanganj, which began to grow round the temple of Lakshmi-Narayan founded by Bhikanlal Thakur only about 1800 A.D. The old town was round the fort at Hajiganj (Khizrpūr). The shrine of Qadam Rasūl on the opposite bank, founded by Ma'sūm

Khān Kābulī, was also an important place. The struggle went on for some months on either side of the Lakshya, and on the first day of the Hijra year 1018 (6th April 1609), we find the parties fighting vigorously. At last Mīrzā Nathan took Kāthārāba (Dēwānbāgh) by storm; Qadam Rasūl or Nahiganj was also occupied and the struggle went on for some time on either side of the Bandar canal. Mūsā Khān and his brothers fell back on the old Brahmaputra. The struggle went on throughout the rains of 1609, but the Firingi pirates now added to the difficulties of Mūsā Khān by attacking him on the rear and killing his heroic brother Dā'ūd. In the meantime an expedition sent by Islām Khān against Ananta Mānikya, Rāja of Bhulua, drove him away from his kingdom and occupied his territory. Therefore Mūsā Khān laid down his arms and made peace with the Mughals. Thus the wonderful struggle begun by 'Isā Khān, father of Mūsā Khān, in 1575 A.D. came to a close. Mūsā Khān with all his family was kept under close surveillance in Dacca. Probably it is not known to many that the Dēwān Bazar Road of the city of Dacca, now called the Jail Road, keeps alive the memory of Dēwān Mūsā Khān Masnad-i-A'lā. The Dacca University play-ground and the University buildings actually stand on the site marked as Mūsā Khān's Bāgh on the Revenue Survey maps, and the substantial Mosque on the Dēwān Bazar Road, south-west of the Physics Laboratory building and the Curzon Hall, is the only structure standing, associated with the name of this heroic son of a heroic father, the last local leader of the long-drawn out struggle against the Mughals.

The death of Dā'ūd, brother of Mūsā Khān, at the hands of the Firingi pirates brings into prominence another notable feature of the political condition of lower Bengal in those days. Taking advantage of the weakening of the central authority after the death of Sher Shāh in 1545 A.D. and subsequent confusion in the affairs of the kingdom of Bengal, the king of Tippera and the king of Arracan made the region of the present Chittagong Division their battling ground. King Vijay Mānikya of Tippera overran Eastern Bengal in 1559 A.D. and after committing unspeakable excesses in Sunargaon and Vikrampūr, advanced up to the banks of the Padma via the Ichhamati river, to bathe in the Padma at Yatrapūr. The death of Dā'ūd, the last Pathān Sultān of Bengal, in the battle of Rājmahal in 1576 A.D. nominally gave the sovereignty of the province to the Mughal emperor Akbar, but in reality it opened the long-drawn struggle between the Mughals and the Bengal chiefs. In Arracan, the aggressive king Sikandar (Meng Falaung) had come to the throne in 1571 A.D. He engaged in a deadly struggle with Amar Mānikya, king of Tippera, in 1585 A.D., and in 1586 he overran the whole of Tippera. In the meantime the Firingi (Portuguese) pirates had appeared in the Eastern Waters, and under the protection of the kings of Arracan and Burma, and often independently, they were looting and burning in lower Bengal, practically without any check whatsoever. Some of their leaders served as mercenaries under Kandarppa-Narayan, king of Bacla or Bakar-

ganj, Gandharvva-Narayan, king of Bhulua or Noakhali, Kedar Roy, king of Vikrampūr, and Pratāpaditya, king of Jessore; but they often changed sides and proved traitors. Gonzalves, the most notorious among them, occupied Sondwip in 1609 and began to rule there like an independent prince. It was probably some people of this Gonzalves who had advanced in the later part of 1609 up to Sonargaon to fish in the troubled waters of the Afghan-Mughal struggle, who fell upon Dā'ūd, brother of Mūsā Khān, and killed him. Shihābuddīn Talish in his *Fath-i-Ibriya* gives a graphic description of the ravages wrought by these Magh and Firingi pirates, and there is no doubt that the necessity of checking their devastating depredations was also one of the major reasons that led Islām Khān to seek for a capital in Lower Bengal.

Islām Khān was not the man to rest upon his oars. As soon as Mūsā Khān and his brothers submitted by about September 1609, he planned an expedition against 'Uthmān, the arch-rebel, the last and the most dangerous member of the Afghān five. Driven out from Orissa, the latter took shelter with all his comrades and womenfolk with Chand Roy, son of Kedar Roy, at the fort of Bhushna. Meeting with treachery there, he cut down Chand Roy, fought a way out of the fort, and found a hospitable shelter with 'Isā Khān, who placed him in the fort at Bokainagar, very close to present Gouripūr in the Mymensingh district. The territories of Rāja Raghunath, Rāja of Susang, a warm imperial partisan with whom 'Isā Khān was on inimical terms, lay immediately north of this region; thus 'Uthmān was placed by 'Isā Khān practically as a warden of the marches. Rāja Raghunath was a constant companion of Islām Khān from the early days of his Šūbadārship in Bengal and when Islām Khān was passing the rains of 1607 at Ghoraghāt, we find Lakshmi-Narayan, Rāja of Kamta (Cooch-Bihar), making his submission to Islām Khān through the mediation of Raghunath, Rāja of Susang. In all the subsequent campaigns, Raghunath was the guide, philosopher and friend of the Šūbadār and his generals, and accompanied the Mughal army throughout its advance to Dacca through the Ichhamati river. In the expedition against 'Uthmān also, Raghunath took a prominent part and was the guide of the Mughal army.

Islām Khān was astute enough to utilize the services and resources of Mūsā Khān and the other defeated Zamīndārs in the expedition against 'Uthmān, which proceeded under the leadership of Ghiyāth Khān, by the end of September or the beginning of October 1609. The date of the expedition is not expressly indicated by Nathan, but can easily be deduced from the fact that Mūsā Khān surrendered "during the season of flood" of 1609, and the expedition against 'Uthmān started when the Brahmaputra was still in high flood. But the water-level unexpectedly diminished soon after, and we find the Mughal army celebrating the Ramaḍān festival, which began on the 27th November 1609, on the battle-field.

The details of this first war of Islām Khān against 'Uthmān leave an unfavourable impression against the Mughals in the mind of the reader.

The leaders quarrelled amongst themselves like so many selfish and arrogant boys, shirked duty like lazy ones, and showed themselves altogether devoid of higher sentiments and unity of purpose. 'Uthmān was unwise enough to leave Mūsā Khān to fight his battles with the Mughals alone, forgetting the debt of gratitude that he owed to his father 'Isā Khān. Now came the day of retribution, and Islām Khān turned the resources of Mūsā Khān and the other Zamīndārs against him. The Mughal army began their expedition against Bokainagar from Husēnpūr and advanced against 'Uthmān by constructing block-house after block-house. But before they could fairly proceed, the whole Mughal camp was thrown into convulsion by the insurrection and flight of Anwar Khān, Zamīndār of Baniyachang in Sylhet. Maḥmūd, the younger brother of Mūsā Khān, and Bahādur Ghāzī, Zamīndār of Bhowal, were in the conspracy and were put in chains at Tuk, and a large party headed by Satrājī, Rāja of Bhushna, was sent in pursuit of Anwar. Ultimately, after some stubborn contest, 'Uthmān evacuated Bukainagar and fled with all his hosts to Sylhet over the Laur hills. The Mughal officers, through irresolution and mutual quarrel, did not take up the pursuit seriously and he escaped easily. Anwar Khān also surrendered and was kept in chains. Soon after the fall of Baniyachang, the adjacent strongholds of Taraf and " Matong " were also conquered.

Islām Khān had thus made more or less secure arrangements for his north-eastern frontier. He could now devote his attention to the south. There Rām Chandra of Bacla (Bakarganj) and Pratāpaditya of Jessore were the persons to be reckoned with. Pratāpaditya of Jessore was a very powerful and wealthy Zamīndār and is said to have possessed about 700 war-boats and a standing army of 20,000. But his father had acquired the Zamīndārī practically as a bribe from the Mughals for his treachery against Dā'ūd, the last Afghān Sultān, and Pratāpaditya had also up till that time done nothing to irritate or estrange the Mughals. When Mānā Sinhā came to Bengal as governor, he found a hospitable reception at the hands of Pratāpaditya and all the stories of his fight with Pratāpaditya are silly and confused nonsense. Pratāpaditya took good care to welcome Islām Khān at Rājmahal in 1607 by sending his son Sangrāmaditya along with his envoy Shaikh Badī', while the Zamīndārs of Pabna, Mymensingh, Dacca, Bakarganj, Noakhali, Tippera and Sylhet were preparing to give him the hottest reception they could arrange for. Just before Islām Khān's clash with the Zamīndārs of Pabna, Pratāpaditya personally saw Islām Khān near Natore in Rājshāhi district and promised him all help in his expedition against the Zamīndārs of the Bhati, i.e., Eastern Bengal. He was asked to send 20,000 infantry and 500 war-boats and one thousand maunds of gunpowder. Pratāpaditya, an old and experienced man at this period, did nothing of the kind. He had seen from 1576 A.D. so many Mughal generals march boldly into Bengal and return sorely discomfited and sometimes disastrously defeated at the hands of the Bhuniya Zamīndārs of this kingless country, that he naturally entertained grave

doubts regarding the capabilities of this new one. He preferred therefore to bide his time and sit on the fence. At last when the Zamīndārs of Eastern Bengal submitted one by one, Mūsā Khān and Anwar Khān bent their proud heads, 'Uthmān was driven off to Sylhet and Ananta Mānikya of Bhulna to the wilderness, Pratāpaditya awoke to a sense of his danger in withholding the help ordered by Islām Khān, and hastened to make amends by sending eighty boats in charge of his son Sangrāmaditya. Islām Khān spurned the help sent, was probably glad at heart of this excuse to pull out this loyal thorn in the side of the imperialists, and ordered a powerful expedition to proceed against Pratāpaditya in the beginning of 1611. As on the previous expedition against 'Uthmān, the resources and men of Mūsā Khān and other defeated Zamīndārs were fully utilized in this expedition also. An expedition against Rām Chandra of Bacla, son-in-law of Pratāpaditya, also started at the same time. Rām Chandra submitted after a fight of seven days when his mother threatened to commit suicide unless he did so. The Mughal officers after sending Rām Chandra to Islām Khān in charge of Satrājī, proceeded to help the expedition against Pratāpaditya from the eastern side.

The expedition against Pratāpaditya proceeded under the command of Ghiyāth Khān. One of the notable partisans was Bahādur Khān, Zamīndār of Hījli. After subduing on the way Pitambar and Ananta, the former the founder of the Puthia Rāj family of Rājshāhi, and the latter his nephew, and wantonly raiding Bagha, a well-known village famous for its Nasratshāhi Mosque, about ten miles south of Puthia, the Mughals moved forward from their camp at Mahadpūr-Bagwan in the Zamīndāri of Bhabananda, founder of the Krishnanagar Rāj family.

Much calumny has gathered round the name of this Bhabananda from the writings of Bharat Chandra, court poet of Rāja Krishna Chandra, descendant of Bhabananda and a contemporary of Clive. Bharat Chandra, in his *Ananda-Mangal*, makes Māna Simhā fight and capture Pratāpaditya with the help of Bhabananda. Sir Jadunath Sarkar proved this to be a myth with the help of his discovery of the *Bahāristān* of Mīrzā Nathan. But the calumny of having most unpatriotically helped the Mughals against Pratāpaditya still clings to the unfortunate Bhabananda. Though the expedition proceeded south down the Jalanghi river over the domains of Bhabananda, and he, as a loyal vassal is likely to have rendered all reasonable help to the Mughals, Mīrzā Nathan ignores him altogether and does not even name him. The two Farmāns of Jahāngīr on which the Zamīndāri of Krishnanagar is based are still preserved with care among the family documents. I have personally examined both. One is dated 1606 and the other is dated 1613. The pargana of Mahadpūr is given by the first Farmān, and some additional parganas by the second. But in none of these documents is it mentioned that Bhabananda gave any help to the Mughals against Pratāpaditya or anybody else.

When the Mughals reached Salkia on the borders of the kingdom of Jessore, Udayāditya, aided by his two Muslim lieutenants, Khwāja Kamāl

and Jamāl Khān, son of Katlu Khān, advanced to bar their progress. A stiff encounter took place here by land and water, and the Jessore side was beaten because it had preferred to shut up its effectives inside a fort and had left the war-boats exposed to the attack of Mughal cavalry and infantry on either bank of the river. When the day was lost, Udayāditya, a young man of romantic nature who had evidently underestimated the strength of the enemy and had gone to the battle with his two wives, jumped down from his house-boat on to a swift boat with the two ladies under his two arms and fled to Jessore. Khwāja Kamāl was killed in battle and Jamāl Khān evacuated the fort and followed Udayāditya's footsteps. On the approach of the second Mughal army from the Bacra side, Pratāpaditya sued for peace, but was refused. The final encounter took place at the fort of Dhumghāt which protected Pratāp's capital Jessore of those days, now known as Iswaripūr, where after a fiercely contested battle in which heaps were formed of the dead and the wounded, Pratāpaditya had to give way and the fort was stormed by the Mughals. Thereupon Jamāl Khān deserted the Mughals and Pratāpaditya resolved to give up the struggle. He surrendered to Ghiyāth Khān, the leader of the expedition, who took him personally to Islām Khān at Dacca, leaving the entire Mughal army encamped near Dhumghāt. Islām Khān put Pratāpaditya in prison and confiscated his domains. There is no further record of Pratāpaditya in the pages of Mirzā Nathan, and no one knows how he ended his days. The only further record about Pratāp's family is that when in April 1617, Ibrāhīm Khān Fathjang was appointed Šūbadār of Bengal, he recommended the release and reinstatement of Pratāpaditya's sons along with the two Kuch Rājas Laksmi-Narayan and Parikshit-Narayan, all of whom had been sent to Court previous to this date. The two Kuch Rājas were released (March 1618) and reinstated accordingly; and though Mirzā Nathan has omitted to record what was done with the sons of Pratāpaditya, the trend of the passage would suggest that the favour was not withheld from these much lesser foes (*Bahāristān* II, p. 521).

The campaign against Pratāpaditya lasted throughout the rains of 1611, beginning from its early months. Mirzā Nathan says that he spent six months in the expedition. He married at Malda on his way back to Dacca. When he was returning in leisurely fashion to Dacca, he received a peremptory message from Islām Khān to hurry to Dacca as swiftly as he could, since the Maghs, taking advantage of the preoccupation of the major part of the Mughal army in Jessore, had led an expedition of 300 boats against Dacca and had burnt the environs of Sripūr in Vikrampūr, and looted a number of villages in the vicinity. The Maghs fled when Mughal reinforcements reached the Thana of Sripūr but they transferred their attention to the Thana of Bhulua. As soon as Nathan reached Dacca Islām Khān wanted him to go to the relief of the Thana of Bhulua, and he was put under restraint on his refusal.

But Islām Khān was planning a crushing expedition against 'Uthmān, who, after crossing the Laur hills, had invaded the small kingdom of king

Subid-Narayan in the Ita pargana of Sylhet and occupied it. Islām Khān asked help from the emperor Jahāngīr in this final expedition against the Afghāns, and a strong army came from the capital under the leadership of Shujā'at Khān. Nathan was too valuable a hand to be wasted in confinement when the final struggle with the Afghāns was about to begin. Therefore, on the intercession of his father Ihtimām Khān, admiral of the imperial fleet, Nathan was released and sent on with favours to join the expedition led by Shujā'at Khān. Sylhet was at this time under the occupation of Bāyazīd Kararānī, whose relationship with Sulaimān Kararānī, late Sultān of Bengal, I am unable to trace. Lest these two Afghān elements should join hands, a separate expedition started against Bāyazīd also under Shaikh Kamāl. Before the expedition against 'Uthmān really started, a letter of admonition calling him to submit peacefully was sent through a messenger, "I have retired to a corner of this vast country," said the exasperated Afghān hero in reply, "so that you may leave me in peace. But if you do not, I hurl defiance at you and am prepared for the consequences."

The expedition against 'Uthmān started by the middle of January 1612 and advanced up the Lakshya *via* Egarasindhu to Sarail. The war-boats were left behind at Sarail, where a muster of the troops was taken. The expedition then advanced towards Ushar, capital of 'Uthmān (four miles south-west of Tilagaon station on the A.B. Railway) *via* Traf. The Satgaon hills were crossed by the pass of Tupeea, where Khwāja Walī, brother of 'Uthmān, vainly attempted to hold up the Mughal army. Here the Mughal army celebrated the festival of 'Īd-i-Qurbān or the Baqrīd which takes place on the 10th of Zilhejja, equivalent, on the present occasion, to the 13th February 1612. It then proceeded in battle order towards the present Maulvibazar, following the route that runs by the west of the big marshy lake called Hail Haor, and reached a place called by Nathan Daulambapūr, probably Daulatpūr, about eight miles west of Maulvibazar. Here by the side of a marsh 'Uthmān came up in full force and barred their further progress. In the fiercely contested battle that ensued on the 3rd March 1612, the Mughals suffered severely and were all but defeated. The commanders of the Mughal right and left wings were killed and Shujā'at Khān in the centre barely escaped with his life. But 'Uthmān was also mortally wounded by an arrow and died during the night. The Afghāns thereupon fell back on Ushar, hid the dead body of 'Uthmān in a secret place on the hill nearby, killed all his wives and daughters, and then surrendered to the Mughals. Shujā'at Khān returned victorious to Dacca on the 9th April 1612. Shaikh Kamāl also returned victorious from Sylhet with his prisoners immediately after Shujā'at Khān. Thus was the Afghān cause completely lost in Bengal. As a reward for his victory over a dangerous enemy like 'Uthmān and also as a measure of punishment for Islām Khān for his arrogance, through which he sometimes even defied the emperor by assuming imperial prerogatives, Shujā'at Khān was appointed governor of Bengal. But he died of an accident soon after and



Islām Khān was reinstated.

Ignoring an ineffectual expedition sent at this time against the Rāja of Kachar, we may proceed to relate the final triumph of Islām Khān, viz., the humbling of the only defiant head that remained in Eastern India, viz., Parikshit-Narayan, Rāja of Kamrup. During this period the powerful Kuch kingdom established by Narayan had broken up into two, one consisting of what culminated in the present Kuch-Bihar State; and the other consisting of the present Kamrup and Goalpara districts. Māna Sinhā had reduced the western kingdom to the position of a vassal state of the Mughals during his Šūbadārship, but the Eastern Kingdom under Parikshit-Narayan still remained independent. *Bahāristān*, detailed as it is, gives us no clue as to what may have been the immediate provocation given by Rāja Parikshit, though to an aggressive Šūbadār like Islām Khān hardly any provocation was necessary. It would however appear from the *Padishanāma* (translated by Blochmann in JASB., 1872, pp. 53-54) that in the eighth year of Jahāngīr, i.e., about August 1612, Rāja Parikshit, from motives unknown, but probably as a measure of punishment for what must have appeared to contemporaries as Rāja Raghunath's unpatriotic and overzealous espousal of the cause of the Mughals, had suddenly pounced upon Susang and taken Raghunath's entire family captive. Raghunath, as we have already noted, was a warm imperial partisan, and as such was in high favour with Islām Khān. This daring coup was therefore an insolent challenge to the imperialists and Islām Khān carefully prepared an expedition to take it up.

After a respite of about six months after the return of the Mughal army to Dacca from the expedition against 'Uthmān, a big army of war-boats and land-soldiers was got together for this new expedition. Under the chief command of Mukarram Khān and the leadership of Shaikh Kamāl, conqueror of Sylhet, the army started against Parikshit on the 23rd November 1612, under the guidance of Rāja Raghunath. The expedition advanced up the Brahmaputra and after some stiff fighting and occupation of the fort of Dhubri by the Mughals, a truce was concluded by which Parikshit in addition to the payment of large indemnities, readily agreed to set the family of Raghunath free, and faithfully carried out the terms in anticipation of ratification by Islām Khān. But Islām Khān did not ratify the terms of the truce. He would be content with nothing less than Parikshit's abject surrender. The fighting was therefore renewed and driven to desperation Parikshit fought with the courage of despair and the Mughal army suffered some serious reverses. Ultimately however Parikshit failed to retake the fort of Dhubri, his capital Gilah was occupied, and he was driven beyond the present Pandu and Gauhati. Thereupon he submitted and surrendered to the Mughals on the 24th November 1613. He was hurried to Dacca and when the party of the leaders, including Rāja Raghunath, that was escorting Parikshit reached Tuk, an urgent summons arrived from Islām Khān who lay dying at Bhowal, i.e., Chowra, from a sudden fit of apoplexy. By the time they reached Chowra, probably on the

28th November 1613, Islām Khān was already dead and the grim comedy of making the defeated Rāja salute the dead body of Islām Khān was seriously enacted by the leaders. Thus ended the career of this *Zabardast* governor of Bengal, who had reduced the whole of Eastern India into submission in the course of 6 years, a task that had proved too much for all his predecessors who had come as governors one after another, ever since the first foothold had been gained in Bengal by the Mughals in 1576, by their victory at the battle of Rājmahal.

N. K. BHATTASALI.

# ARAB NAVIGATION

(Continued)

## THE COMPASS

QUTB NUMĀ (Compass), is the magnetic instrument which indicates direction. Its true history is unknown, but on the authority of the oldest written records the Arabs alone can claim to be the inventors of it. The article contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th edition) on the history of the compass is extremely misleading. The writer of this article is reluctant to believe it to be the invention of the Arabs. He says that "the Arabs had no original name for the compass, it being called by them *Bossola*, the Italian name, which shows that the thing signified is foreign to them, as well as the word." But it is fallacious to argue on the basis of the word. The Arab navigators of the Mediterranean Sea used the word "compass" for Qutb Numā, not because they borrowed it from the Italians, but because in the beginning they used the name for that chart of the sea in which there were written the names of rivers, coasts, and islands, as well as their latitude and longitude. Later on they used this name for Qutb Numā also. In the 9th century A.H. the Arab sailors of the Arabian Sea called it دائره (circle) and بيت الابرة (abode of the needle).

The earliest mention of Qutb Numā is found in Idrīsī's (died 549 A.H.) geography. I have not seen this part of the book, but Boucher and Monsieur Le Bon refer to it. Le Bon says, "It is generally accepted that the Europeans are indebted to the Arabs for the Qutb Numā (compass). The Arabs were in contact with China, so they alone could bring this invention to Europe. The Europeans learnt to use it after a pretty long time, for it was not in use before the 13th century A.D., although, according to Idrīsī, who lived in the middle of the 12th century A.H., it was most commonly used by the Arabs."<sup>1</sup>

Idrīsī was born in 494 A.H. (1100 A.D.) in Spain, and wrote his book in Sicily in 548 A.H. (1154 A.D.). After this, we have the account of 'Awfī, the author of *Jawamī'ul Hikāyāt*, who lived at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th centuries A.H. He came to India in Sultān Iltutmish's

1. This extract is taken from the Urdu translation of Le Bon's *Civilization of the Arabs*, p. 444. The Urdu translation has been made by the well-known Urdu writer, Sayyid 'Alī Bilgrāmī. Vide also the article on the Compass in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition. Boucher's reference can be found in Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Vol. III, Part II, Chapter IX.

reign, and describes the magnet in the last chapter (*Wonders of the World*) of his book. After describing an idol, which hung in the air by quadrilateral magnetic force in the temple of Somnath during Sultān Maḥmūd's invasion, he writes : " Once he was travelling along a river, when suddenly a strong wind blew bringing clouds and a gale. The waves began to rage furiously, the rivers grew strong, and the passengers of the boat began to wail. The Mu'allims who guided us forgot the way, but took out a sheathed iron which looked like a fish, placed it in a basin of water, and spun it round. It stopped facing towards the Qiblah, and the guide led us towards it. After this, I wanted to know about it, and they told me that the virtue of a magnet is that when it is rubbed forcibly with iron, it leaves its effect on it, and the iron points always towards the Qiblah. Upon examining this, I found it to be so." (From a manuscript preserved in the library of Shibli Academy, Azamgarh).

'Awfi's voyages were probably made in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, because he describes his voyage and coming to Cambay elsewhere in the same book (vide Chapter II). By Qiblah is meant the south.

Later on, in the middle of the 7th century A.H., an Egyptian writer Bailak-Qabdjāqī (بيلاک قبحاقی) refers to this characteristic of the magnet in his book *معرفة الاحجار*. He died in 681 A.H. (1282 A.H.) He dedicated this book to Al-Malik-ul-Manṣūr Naṣīruddīn ibn al-Malik'ul Muẓaffer Shāh, King of Himat (died 683 A.H.)<sup>1</sup> The manuscript is in the National Library, Paris. The author writes that " the magnetised needle, floated on water by means of a splinter of wood or a reed, was used in the Syrian Sea at the time of his voyage from Tripoli to Alexandria." And he adds : " They say that the captains who navigate the Indian seas use, instead of a needle and splinter, a sort of fish made out of hollow iron, which, when thrown into the water, swims upon the surface, and points out the north and the south with its head and tail (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. VI, p. 80, 11th edition). Still later on, at the end of the 8th and middle of the 9th centuries A.H., Maqrizī (born in 766 and died 845 A.H.) mentions this in his *Khaṭaṭ-Miṣr*. He says: " In the darkness of night, when there is no star to guide and indicate direction, the pilots in the Indian Ocean utilize a hollow iron thinly constructed and shaped like a fish. They place a magnet in the mouth of the fish. When the fish is placed in the water, it turns its mouth to the South Pole and its tail points northwards. It is one of the wonders of Nature ; when the north and the south are known, the east and the west are easily fixed. . . . . Then from knowledge of these four points they discover the position of countries and their course." (Vol. I, pp. 339, 340, Egyptian edition).

This description is similar to 'Awfi's observations. The real improvement of the Quṭb Numā began in the middle of the 9th century A.H.

1. Vide Abu'l-Fida, Vol. IV, p. 48, Egyptian edition.

The name of the needle of the Qutb Numā is referred to clearly in the works of Shaikh Shihāb'uddīn Aḥmad, son of Mājīd Sa'dī, known as the "Lion of the Sea," and Sulaiman Mehri of Ḥaḍramaut. Ibn-Mājid mentions Qutb Numā in his versified treatise *قبة الاسلام*, in which he describes the way to discover the Qiblah from any position.<sup>1</sup> He wrote this treatise in 893 A.H. and mentions the needle of the Qutb Numā again in his prose works *الفوائد في اصول البحر والقواعد*, and claims to have invented it.<sup>2</sup> It is also mentioned in Sulaiman Mehri's (900 A.H.) booklet *تحفة الفحول في علم الاصول* (pp. 5, 160, 161, Paris edition).

Ibn-Mājid Sa'dī of Najd claims the invention in his *الفوائد في اصول البحر والقواعد* in the following words: "For the purpose of navigation we have invented magnets, which are contained and adjusted in a box with great skill. Hitherto, the mystery that جاء (?) lies opposite to two Canopus was not explained in a book. Now this point is clear. If any one knew this before, I do not claim to steal a march on him." (p. 46). In the same book, he mentions on another occasion the doubtful history of the needle thus: "It is said that the Prophet David taught us how to rub the box containing the needle on a magnet, because he knew about iron and its properties. It is said that the Prophet Khidr (خضر) invented this. When he went out in search of the "water of life," he entered the بحر ظلمات and started towards the Pole. But the sun was set, so he discovered his way with a magnet. Some say that he found his way by the Divine light. The Magnet is a loadstone which attracts iron." (pp. 2-5). This account is preceded by the following version: "But the magnet, which is used in voyages, and without which the art of navigation is incomplete, and which indicates the directions of the two Poles, is the Prophet David's invention." (pp. 1-5). This shows that Ibn-Mājid did not know the history of it. It is also not clear where this knowledge came from, but it had been current for some time. Why does Ibn-Mājid then attribute the invention to himself? He may have added some new thing to it, or made the use of it easier. The Qutb Numā mentioned earlier was like a fish, resembling the old Chinese Qutb Numā, but the needle, the box, the abode of the needle (بيت الابرة), and the circle (دائره) are mentioned in Ibn-Mājid's works only, which indicates that these things were probably his inventions. In one place he compares the Arab pilots of the Indian Ocean with the Egyptian sailors of the Mediterranean Sea in the following way: "The Egyptians call it سميا, because their terms are separate from those of the navigators of the high sea. They have a compass on which lines are drawn, but our Compass has thirty-two rhumbs. We have ازوام (?) ترفات (?).

1. Vide *مجموعه رسائل ابن ماجه*, Vol. I, p. 128, Paris edition.

2. Ibid., pp. 5, 22, 27, 46, 128.

and *تياسات* which they have not. We know their arts, but they do not know ours. We take their ships and pass from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. This is corroborated by books as well by conjecture, but they have no book nor conjecture, nor any knowledge except the compass. They have no fixed distances in miles. It is very easy for us to use their ships in their seas. Some of them debated with us, but when they knew of our knowledge they had to admit our wider information, and confessed our proficiency in the art of navigation. We travel easily in the length and breadth of the seas, because we sail by the *Qutb Numā*, and base all our reckoning on its principle. They have only a box but no reckoning by which they may sail hither and thither within known distances. So they had to admit our superiority." (pp. 2-27).

This shows that a crude type of the *Qutb Numā* was used by the pilots of the Mediterranean Sea, and that they had no *Qutb Numā* which indicated directions. In the later part of the 10th century, an instrument manufacturer named *Shaikh* Muḥammad, son of Abī al-*Khayr*, wrote a book entitled *النجوم الشارقات في ذكر بعض الصنائع المحتاج إليها في علم الميقات* which has been published from Halb. The twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third chapters of this book deal with the art of judging magnets, and fixing the Northern and Southern Poles, and manufacturing simple magnets respectively. The twenty-fourth chapter deals with the circles and conjectures of the directions. Ibn Abī al-*Khayr* describes these things without any sign of surprise, mystery, or perplexity, which shows that they had become very common by that time.

After reading the European and Arab accounts of the *Qutb Numā*, it may be said that it was invented by the Chinese, who used it merely as a mathematical instrument. The Arab navigators who reached China in the very first century A.H. (6th century A.D.) obtained it from the Chinese and utilized it to fix directions during their voyages. They improved it, but kept it a secret. In the earliest accounts of the Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea, and the Abyssinian Sea, we find that iron nails were not used in the Arab ships plying on these seas.<sup>1</sup> They were used only in the Mediterranean Sea. It was Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf *Thaqafī*, the Governor of 'Irāq and Baṣra (75-95 A.H.), who first used these iron nails in ships travelling in these seas.<sup>2</sup> The reason for not using iron nails is given by Mas'ūdī, who says that they rusted in water.<sup>3</sup> But Zakariya Qazwīnī (died 686 A.H.) writes that they were not used because it was feared that they might be influenced by magnetic hills. A similar account is given by Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd (living in 753 A.H.) in his book *نفائس الفنون في غرائب العيون* in a chapter dealing with mineralogy. He writes: "Magnet: it is mined in the Mediterranean Sea. The colour of a good quality is jet black. They

1. *Travels of Sulaiman the Trader*, p. 88, Paris edition.

2. Ibn-Rustah, p. 196, Leyden.

3. *Murūj-al-Dhahab*, p. 365, Paris edition.

say that here they do not use iron in their boats." (From a manuscript preserved in the Shibli Academy, Azamgarh). From the above details we guess that the earliest Arab navigators did not use the iron nails in their ships because they feared that the action of their wonderful magnet would become useless. So they tried to keep it a secret, until it was known to only a few persons in the 6th century, and became common knowledge in the 10th.

The Europeans knew of the magnetic compass through the Arabs probably after the 15th century A.D., or even later than that. We must not be misled by the use of the word "compass" in Europe before the 15th century A.D., because it was formerly a map of longitude and latitude only. The writer of the article "Compass" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th edition) gives some extracts from the works of the European authors of the 13th century A.D., showing that the magnetic compass was used at that time, but he has not referred to any eye-witness to corroborate its use. Some of the extracts quoted by him show that Marco Polo introduced it into Europe in 1295 A.D., after he returned from his travels in the East. Other extracts indicate that the French warriors of the Crusade brought it to Europe.

## OTHER ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS

THE Arab navigators used various other instruments also to take the altitude of the polar and circumpolar stars, and thus learn the courses and positions. Descriptions of these instruments are given in the treatises of Ibn-Mājid of Najd and Sulaimān Mehr, published by Paul Guethner, Paris. Learned reviews on these treatises by French scholars are also included. I am sorry that I cannot utilize these reviews because of ignorance of the language, but there is also annexed an English article, which was published in 1836 A.D. in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.

From the days of Vasco da Gama, the European pilots have until recently been making use of the instruments and the knowledge of the Arab navigators. The contributor of the article of the "Compass" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th edition) says: "We learn from O. Soreo that the Arabs at the time of Gama were instructed in so many of the arts of navigation that they did not yield much to the Portuguese mariners in the science and practice of maritime matters." James Prinsep, the author of the English article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, has given details of the Kamal bilisti and other nautical instruments used by the Arabs. On the authority of personal enquiries made from an Arab mariner, he begins his article by saying: "Since the arrival of the Arab vessels which annually frequent the port of Calcutta, I have made diligent inquiries concerning the instrument in use among them for the measurement of the latitude, in hopes of elucidating

thereby Baron von Hammer's translation of the *Muḥīt*. I have been hitherto unsuccessful, the English quadrant sextant having generally suppressed the more ancient and clumsy apparatus. One Mu'allim, however, seemed to recognise the instrument perfectly by my description, though he could not explain its construction, and promised to bring me one on his next voyage—he stretched out his arms when I enquired about *iṣba'* division, and placing his fingers together horizontally, counted with them the height of the Pole Star, just as I guessed must have been the early and rude method of the Arab navigators. At length in a vessel of the Maladive Islands I met with an intelligent navigator who brought me the primitive instrument with which he was accustomed to work his way to Calcutta, and as I do not think they are generally known, while it is certain they are of Arabic origin, I hasten to describe them as below."

Briefly speaking, the Arabs had to master the following sciences, 1. Astrology, 2. Science of latitude and longitude, 3. Science of the winds, *viz.*, their nature, direction and season, 4. Knowledge of the places on the sea-coast and the effects of the seasons on them, 5. Geographical details of a country, *viz.*, the position of its harbours, towns, islands, dangerous shoals and the narrow sea-routes, 6. The use of various terrestrial instruments, 7. Knowledge of the different languages, and 8. The art of calculating solar months and days.

## NAMES OF VESSELS

AS in modern days, sailing vessels were named in the days of the Arabs also, and were often named after their owners. In 304 A.H. Mas'ūdī travelled on a vessel owned by Aḥmad and 'Abduṣ-Ṣamad, brothers of 'Abdur-Raḥīm bin Ja'far of Ṣirāf.<sup>1</sup> The ship which took Ibn-Baṭūṭah to China, was named "*Jagar*," its owner's name being Ibrāhīm, whose brother's ship was called منورت.<sup>2</sup> At a later period, the ship on which Moulvī Rafī'uddīn of Delhi sailed from Surat to Arabia was known as "*Safīnat'ur Rasūl*" (Vessel of the Prophet).<sup>3</sup>

## SHIP-BUILDING YARDS

DURING the palmy days of the Arabs, there were ship-building yards called دارالصناعة in all the important ports. In the East there were yards in Obulla and Ṣirāf on the Persian Gulf. The decks of the ships built here were pierced and then joined together by ropes and polished

1. *Murūj-al-Dḥahab*, Vol. I, p. 233, Paris.

2. *Travels of Ibn-Baṭūṭah*, Vol. II, p. 130.

3. *Safarnāma-i-Ḥaramain*, by Moulvī Rafī'uddīn, MS.



with oil. This distinguished these yards from others. In the workshops of the Mediterranean the decks were joined by iron nails and polished with charcoal. Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf Ṭhaqafī was the first to use iron nails<sup>1</sup> in the decks of ships built in Obulla and Ṣirāf, but this innovation was probably not agreeable to the ship-builders, for Sulaimān, the trader, and Ibn-Wāḍih Ya'qūbī, who lived in the third century A.H., mention ships of Obulla and Ṣirāf held together as usual by ropes.<sup>2</sup>

The Umayyads established a ship-building yard in Ashbilya, in Spain.<sup>3</sup> The headquarters of ship-building in North Africa was Tunis.<sup>4</sup> There were two yards in Bijāyā in the time of the rulers of صنهاجة.<sup>5</sup> Dania (Spain) also had one.<sup>6</sup> There was a big yard at Sos in Morocco.<sup>7</sup> Palermo (Sicily) was also a big ship-building centre in the days of Arab rule.<sup>8</sup> The Arabs had yards also in Messina,<sup>9</sup> Sicily and Bari.<sup>10</sup> A factory was also established in 'Akka on the Syrian coast. It was later on transferred to Ṣur in the 'Abbāsīd period.<sup>11</sup> In Sultān Ṣalādīn's period Beirut was a centre of ship-building. In Egypt many yards were built for battleships. According to Maqrīzī (765 A.H. to 845 A.H.), the first yard in Egypt was opened in 54 A.H. at Raudah (روضه). In the 'Abbāsīd period, Aḥmad bin Ṭūlūn built here a yard for battleships, but Amīr Muḥammad bin Akhshaid (323-334 A.H.) closed it and founded another in Fustāt on the Egyptian coast. Mu'izzuddīn, a Fāṭimid ruler (365 A.H.), established one in Maqs (Egypt), where he laid the keels of six hundred battleships. In the Fāṭimid days yards were opened in Cairo, Alexandria, and Damyāt. Because of his needs during the Crusade, Sultān Ṣalādīn also had to pay attention to ship-building. He spent the income of the town of Fiyūm (Egypt), and utilized the woods of the forests of Bhansa, Vaid, Ṣaft, Rishian, Ashmonian, Asiutiyah, Akhmīmah and Qausia for this purpose. Later on, in the days of the Egyptian Mamelukes, Sultān Ruknuddīn Baibars founded yards in Alexandria and Damyāt.<sup>12</sup> In the Faṭimid period mock fights were fought at sea.<sup>13</sup>

1. Ibn-Rustah, p. 196.

2. *Travels of Sulaimān*, p. 88 and *Buldān* by Ya'qūbī, p. 360.

3. *Fath Undulus* by Ibn'ul-Qūṭīyah ابن القوطيه, p. 67.

4. Ibn-Khaldūn, Vol. II, p. 211, Egyptian edition and *Munis fi Akhbār Tūnis*, p. 33.

5. Vide الاستبصار في عجائب الامصار

6. Vide صفته اندلس by Idrīsī, p. 192.

7. *Buldān* by Ya'qūbī, p. 348.

8. Ibn-Hauqal, p. 82.

9. Ibn-Jubair, p. 327.

10. صفته ايطاليا by Idrīsī, p. 85.

11. *Balādhūri*, pp. 117, 118.

12. For details vide *Khiṭat Misr* (خريطه مصر) by Maqrīzī, Vol. III, pp. 313-320, Egyptian edition.

13. Ibid.

## THE SALVAGING OF VESSELS

THE sea-activities of the Arabs had progressed so much that they managed sometimes to refloat sunken ships. Abu'l-Ṣalt, son of 'Abdu'l-'Azīz (Umayyad), who was a physician and great mathematician of Spain, came in 510 A.H. to Egypt, where a vessel loaded with copper had sunk near the coast. He offered to refloat it, so every facility was provided for him by the Government. He constructed big instruments, which he attached to a large ship, and then carried the latter to the capsized vessel. Ropes of silk attached to the instruments were thrown into the water and divers fastened them to the wreck. The ropes were wound round it with the help of instruments and then the vessel was raised. It was seen coming to the surface of the water, but the ropes could not bear the burden and broke. The vessel sank again. Abu'l-Ṣalt was thrown into the prison for his fruitless attempt but there is no denying the fact that the principles of the experiment are now successfully practised.

## THE CREW OF THE SHIPS

WE have already seen from Mas'ūdī's account (303 A.H.) that there were two kinds of staff in ships, *دوساء*, i.e., superior officers and *اصحاب الارحل*, i.e., servants of lower ranks who were probably called *باناتيه* in the Indian Ocean ('*Ajā'ib ul-Hind*, pp. 85, 86). *ربان* and *رئيس* 'ناخدا' have one meaning but it appears from the different accounts of the sailors that these words were gradually used in different senses. *ناخوده* (ناخدا) was the owner of a ship whose presence in it was not necessary; *ربان* or *رهبان* was the Captain; *ديد بان* was the Superintendent; *معلم* was the expert in maps and terrestrial instrument; and *اشتيايم* was the supervisor of the passengers. Ibn-Bashshārī mentions the following persons accompanying a ship in the 4th century A.H.: *ربانيين* (captains), *اشاتم* (supervisors of the passengers), *رياضيين* (mathematicians), *وكلاء* (agents) and *تجار* (merchants). *اشاتم* is the plural of *اشتيايم*. In *Lisān'ul 'Arab* we have *رئيس الركاب* *رياضي* was later on called *معلم* and is now translated 'pilot.'

## THE SHIP-BUILDERS AND THE NAVIGATORS

THE Arabs navigated mostly in two seas one of which extended from the Persian Gulf to China and the other from Alexandria to Spain. In these two seas they were in close touch with two different nations. In the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea they had their relations with the

Persians and in the Mediterranean with the Romans and the Greeks, who were also engaged with them in trade and ship-building. Bashshārī (375 A.) writing of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea says that most of the artisans and sailors of the ships were Persians.

At the risk of being criticised for dealing with matters not related to my subject, I should like to point out here that the Parsi community which settled on the Indian coasts from Gujarat to Sind did not come to India as fugitives from Iran under 'Omar's régime. Centuries before they visited the Indian coasts for commercial purposes. They were partners of the Arabs in trade and navigation till the third and the fourth centuries A.H. In Iran the bulk of the population was in the province of Fars situated on the Persian Gulf, which was always nautically connected with India. In the fourth century A.H., when the liberal rule of the Dailamites began, the Iranians made headway and even 'Aden and Jedda were under their control (vide Iṣṭakhārī, pp. 89, 96).

The Arab sailors who navigated between Malabar, Egypt, and Arabia settled permanently in Malabar, and are now known as Moplahs. These bold navigators had considerable influence in the courts of the rulers and nobles of the ports of Malabar, Egypt and Arabia, until they were robbed of their influence by the Portuguese in the beginning of the 10th century A.H.

We regret to find that the bold pilots who risked their lives in making their contribution to the commerce and civilisation of the world are forgotten in the pages of history. Certainly, it will not be a thankless task if the names of these benefactors, who subdued the goddess of the Eastern seas by their courage, are rescued from oblivion. I give below some names of such navigators, which I have found in my present study. They are: 1. Sulaimān (225 A.H.), 2. Abul-Ḥassan 'Alī bin Shādān of Sirāf (255 A.H.), 3. Abu'l Zahr Barkhatī (proprietor of ships, 300 A.H.), 4. Aḥmad bin 'Alī bin Munīr (proprietor of ships), 5. Marodiya bin Zara Bakht (who piloted to China), 6. 'Abharah of Kirmān, 7. Shahryārī (who navigated to China), 8. Abū-'Abdullāh Muḥammad bin Bābshād bin Ḥarām bin Hamviyah of Sirāf (proprietor), 9. 'Imrān'ul 'Araj, 10. Mardān Shāh (proprietor), 11. 'Abdul-Wāḥid, 12. Yazīd of 'Omān, 13. Muḥammad of 'Omān, 14. 'Abdullah bin Junaid, 15. Ja'far bin Rashīd, popularly known as Ibn-Lākīs, 16. Buzurg bin Shahryār, 17. Ismā'il bin Ibrāhīm bin Mardash (317 A.H.), 18. Rāshīd'ul Ghulām bin Bābshād (305 A.H.).

All these sailors lived at the end of the third century A.H., and these names, excepting that of Sulaimān, have been gleaned from Ibn-Shahryār's book 'Ajā'ib'ul Hind. They visited China *via* the Persian Gulf. They belonged to the tribes of 'Ād, in which the descendants of Jalindi, also known as descendants of 'Amārah, were prominent. They settled from olden times in Fārs on the Persian Gulf and occupied territory from Fārs to the outskirts of Kirmān, having fortresses on the coast of the Persian Gulf. They kept watch on the sea and charged custom duties. (Iṣṭakhārī, pp. 140, 141).

In 'Irāq, the tribes of Muḍar and Rabī'ah lived in the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris. The descendants of Muẓaffar bin Ja'far also had a colony on the coasts of Fārs. The descendants of Ḥanzalah settled in Fārs in the Umayyad period by immigrating from Baḥrain. Mā'mūn had appointed 'Umar bin Ibrāhīm to wage a naval battle against Qutria, whose dynasty also ruled over a part of Fārs. It was a member of this dynasty who was arrested by Ya'qūb Ṣaffār and sent to prison. The descendants of 'Alī Ṣahīr Madanī, who trace their origin to Banī-Sāmāh bin Lo'ay, settled on the coast of the Persian Gulf. Some of the members of this tribe of Banī-Sāmāh bin Lo'ay lived in Baḥrain and conquered Sind by crossing the Indian Ocean.<sup>1</sup>

Generally speaking, there was an abundant population of Arabs on the coasts and regions of the Persian Gulf.

In the beginning of the fourth century A.H., Mas'ūdī mentions two experienced sailors, one of whom was the slave of Zarafa, the ruler of Syrian Tripoli, and the other was 'Abdullah bin Wazīr of Jaila, which was a coastal town of Ḥamṣ of the latter. Mas'ūdī says that no one had greater knowledge of the Mediterranean Sea than he and even old sailors acknowledged his superiority.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, he mentions the following names of pilots of the Abyssinian Sea. All of them were natives of Sirāf and visited Madagascar from Sirāf and 'Omān in about 300 A.H.<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad bin Zaid, Aḥmad bin Ja'far, 'Abduṣ-Ṣamad bin Ja'far, 'Abdur Raḥīm bin Ja'far, Jauhar bin Aḥmad. Most of these sailors were drowned. Iṣṭakhārī, in the middle of the fourth century, writes of sailors of Sirāf that "they passed their whole life in ships. One of them did not leave his ship for forty years. When one vessel was wrecked, he went to another." (p. 138).

Pilots sailing from 'Omān to Madagascar were the 'Omānians of the tribe of Azd.

The sailors were highly respected by the rulers of the coastal countries, who received material benefits from them. Muḥammad bin Bābshād, a proprietor of ships (whose full name is Abū 'Abdullah Muḥammad bin Bābshād bin Ḥarām bin Ḥamviya Sirāfī), living at the end of the third century A.H., was warmly welcomed by a Hindu Raja, who had his picture drawn in a circle of sailors and boatmen. Similarly, the Arab sailors and navigators who visited Calicut were eagerly received. The Arab sailors who had their settlement in the island of Baḥrain were appreciated by the Indian rulers because of their innumerable ships and boats.

The famous sailors of the fourth century A.H. were the following: Aḥmad bin Tirwayh and Khawashar bin Yūsuf bin Ṣalah'ul-Irkī (400 A.H.) who piloted ships to Deogarh, India.

In the fifth century A.H. the following sailors are worthy of mention: Muḥammad bin Shādān, Sahl bin Abbān, Laith bin Kahlān, 'Abdul-'Azīz

1. Iṣṭakhārī, pp. 142, 143.

2. *Murūj-al-Dhahab*, Vol. I, p. 282, Paris edition.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 233, 234.

bin Aḥmad Maghrabī, Mūsa Qandranī, Maimūn bin Khalīl, Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdur Raḥmān bin Abul-Faḍl Abul Muḡhair, and the grandson of Laith bin Kahlān. The last two lived in the sixth century also.

In the 8th century there were Muḥammad bin 'Umar bin Faḍl bin Doyak bin Yūsuf bin Ḥasan bin Ḥussain bin Abī-Mu'allaq al-Sa'dī bin Abī'l Barākāt Najdī, and Ibrāhīm, who was a proprietor of six vessels which sailed from Gandhara (Indian coast) to China.<sup>1</sup> Another prominent sailor of the period was Mu'allim Ḥassan, who sailed between Nāder (Gujarat) and Arabia. His grave is outside Nāder, bearing the date 721 A.H.<sup>2</sup> He is now called Mu'allim Niptas.

In the 9th century the famous sailors were the following : Mājid bin Muḥammad bin 'Umar Sa'dī of Nejd, Shihābuddīn Aḥmad Sa'dī son of Mājid of Nejd, Sulaimān-al-Mahrī.<sup>3</sup>

I could find only two names of 'Arab sailors of the 10th century : Mu'allim Ḥabut-al-Mahrī and Muḥammad 'Ansī, who journeyed from Arabia to Gujarat in the later period of the Sultāns of Gujarat.<sup>4</sup>

Among the Turkish sailors, the following grew conspicuous :—Khairuddīn Barbossa, Piyalay Pasha, Targhud (captain), Şaleḥ (captain), Sayyedi 'Alī (admiral), and Piri (captain).

## PASSAGES BETWEEN THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THE ARABIAN SEA, AND THEIR HARBOURS

IN his book *قلادة الشمس و استخراج قواعد الاسوس* Sulaimān Mahrī has given the names of the islands and harbours where vessels came from the coasts of 'Irāq and Arabia. Accordingly, in the fourth chapter of his book, we find the following names of islands and coasts : Zeil'a (Africa), Šomāl (Africa) Island of Qamar (Madagascar), Soqoṭra, Qāl, Dīb (Maldives), Andaman, Taj Bari (Nicobar), Ceylon, Java and the Coasts of Siam.

In the sixth chapter he gives the passages of the following harbours which led one to another :

Bābel-Mandab	.. Sibān	.. Daibal	.. Maldives (Dīb)
Sibān	.. Jedda	.. Diu	.. Muscat
Sibān	.. Siwakis	.. Khambayat	.. 'Aden
Diu	.. Dīb (Maldives)	Daibal	.. 'Aden
Chandapore	.. 'Aden	.. Zafār	.. Gujarāt

1. *Fawā'id*, pp. 7, 8.

2. *Safar Nāma'i Ḥaramain* by Moulvī Rafī'uddīn (died 1218 A.H.), a manuscript preserved in the Shibli Academy, 'Azamgarh.

3. The names of the sailors have been gleaned from *القواعد و اصول البحار و القواعد* and other treatises along with it, printed in Paris, 1923, 1932.

4. Vide *ظفر الاله عظمه و اله*, pp. 257, 218.

Hanor (Coromondal).	.. 'Aden	.. Qilhāt	.. Gujarāt
Calicut	.. Jarupatam	.. 'Aden	.. Malabar
Diu	.. Maltāgo	.. 'Aden	.. Hormuz
Diu	.. Shatigam (Chittagong)	.. Diu	.. Mashqas
Siwakin(Africa)	'Aden	.. Diu..	.. Shahr and 'Aden
Zeila	.. Gujarāt	.. Mahayam (Bombay).	Arabia
Barah	.. Gujarāt	.. Malaga	.. 'Aden
'Aden	.. Gujarāt	.. Chittagong	.. Arabia
Fashn	.. Gujarāt	..	..

## THE DOWNFALL OF THE ARAB NAVIGATION

THE supremacy of the Arab navigation ended in the 10th century A.H., and then the Osmānli Turks became predominant in the Mediterranean Sea. Vessels of the Mameluke rulers of Egypt sailed in the Red Sea, and the Osmānli Turks, after gaining possession of 'Irāq and Egypt, made headway to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. In the 9th century A.H. a famous sailor amongst the Egyptian Mamelukes, named Faulād bin Muḥammad the Turkoman, while once navigating the Indian Ocean along with twenty-two pilots, was highly surprised at the nautical knowledge of the Arab navigators (*Fāwā'id* by Ibn-Mājid, p. 42).

When the Turks were masters of the Mediterranean Sea, the European traders wanted a sea-route which might take them to the East without being checked by the Turkish vessels in the above sea. In search of such routes, Columbus discovered America, and Vasco da Gama slipped to India through the lower parts of Africa.

Later on, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English began to occupy the navigable coasts of the East. The Arabs had for long monopolised the trade in the Persian Gulf, Egypt, Arabia, Abyssinia, Africa, India, China, and the islands of West Indies, but with the advent of the European navigators the Arab navigation decayed. The Portuguese made determined efforts to destroy the supremacy of the Arab influence on the seas, which led ultimately to the loss of the Arab hold on every coast and island. The Mameluke ruler of Egypt and the Sultān of Turkey named Sulaimān and Salīm despatched their battleships from the Persian Gulf to fight against the Portuguese in the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean. They were joined by the rulers of Gujarāt, Bijāpur, and Zamorin the Rajah of Malabar, but the allied fleet of the East was entirely routed by the Western raiders. In 945 A.H. (1538 A.D.) Malik Ashraf Qānsī, the King of Egypt, waged a naval battle against the Portuguese on the coasts, and again Sultān Sulaimān of Constantinople fought in vain against them on the coasts of Gujarāt in 945 A.H. (1538 A.D.). These disasters

led to the downfall of the Arab navigation, although some Arab merchant-ships sailed to Madras and Bengal for a long time, but they are not worthy of consideration. This course of events also made an end of the naval prestige of the newly populated Arabs of Malabar, called Moplahs, whose prosperity depended mainly on their trade with Egypt, Arabia, 'Irāq, Madras, and the islands of the West Indies.<sup>1</sup>

## LITERATURE ON NAVIGATION BY THE ARAB AUTHORS

THE sciences of the stars, winds, latitude, longitude, and geographical details were treasured by the Arab navigators more in their hearts than in books. These sciences were transmitted from father to son. Besides this, every sailor possessed a map of the seas, coastal towns and islands, called "Compass"<sup>2</sup> by the pilots of the Mediterranean Sea and Rahnāmah (رهنامه guide) by the voyagers of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.<sup>3</sup> Rahnāmah became دهمانی in Arabic.<sup>4</sup> The compilations of Rahnāmah initiated the writing of works on navigation. Ibn-Mājid saw a Rahnāmah dated 580 A.H. written by Laith bin Kahlān. In it there was a mathnavī, in which verses on the empyrean mansion and the stars were composed. The mathnavī was ascribed to 'Alī, the fourth Caliph of Islam.

There were two more authors of such Rahnāmahs (guides), namely Muḥammad bin Shādān and Sahl Abbān. These Rahnāmahs began with the sacred lines إنا فتحنا لك فتحا مبينا, but they had no verses nor any astrological details of places. Ibn-Mājid could get only one such book, which was torn at the beginning and the end and was not reliable.<sup>5</sup> Ibn-Mājid mentions twice or thrice<sup>6</sup> in his book *al-Fawā'id* the names of Muḥammad bin Shādān's works.

This shows that the latter's books were of some importance.<sup>7</sup> Ibn-Mājid describes the books of Laith bin Kahlān, Muḥammad bin Shādān, and Sahl bin Abbān in the following verses of حادية الاختصار.<sup>8</sup>

و نظم تاليف ابن كهلان      و سهل و الليث بن ابان  
ذوى النهى ومصلحين الشان      زخرف ربى لهم الحنان

1. For details of the above naval battles, vide *Tuḥfat'ul Mujāhidin* (A History of Malabar), *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭin* (A History of Bengal) and *Zafar-ul-Wālah* (a History of Gujarat).

2. *Muqaddama* Ibn-Khaldūn, p. 45, Egyptian edition and *Al-Fawā'id* by Ibn-Majid, p. 27.

3. *Al-Fawā'id* by Ibn-Mājid, p. 3, Paris edition.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 31.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Information regarding sources of Arabic literature was composed in verses, which were committed to memory by sailors, who transmitted them to others.<sup>1</sup>

Buzurg bin Shahryār's book '*Ajā'ib'ul Hind*, which was written at the beginning of the 4th century A.H., is based mainly on the stories and experiences of sailors, but the accounts which Mas'ūdī gives in the introduction to his *Murūj-al-Dhahab* are highly reliable. A sailor Aḥmad bin Tirvayh, who lived probably in the fourth century A.H., also wrote some books on navigation. There was also a certain book of Khawashar bin Yūsuf bin Salah'ul Izkī, who came to India in the fourth century A.H.<sup>2</sup> In the eighth and ninth centuries Muḥammad bin 'Umar and his son Mājid wrote one or two booklets and versified treatises on the Mediterranean Sea, and Muḥammad was called by mariners ربان البحر. One of his versified works was *Hijāziyah* (حجازيه), which consisted of one thousand verses.<sup>3</sup> Mājid's son Aḥmad in the ninth century and Sulaimān Mahrī in the tenth century wrote numerous books and treatises which were published in three volumes with French supplements in 1928. The manuscripts of the above books are preserved in the National Library, Paris.

The pioneer among the Arab writers on navigation was Shihāb'ud-dīn Aḥmad bin Mājid, called the "Lion of the Sea." He wrote his book الفوائد في اصول علم البحر والقواعد in 895 A.H.<sup>4</sup>, after having had experience of the sea for fifty years. His works on navigation, both in prose and poetry, number twenty-five, the details of which are as follows :

1. الفوائد في اصول علم البحر والقواعد : This work in prose is divided into twelve chapters. The early pages deal with the origins of navigation and of the magnetic needle. The author then deals with the twenty-eight lunar mansions ; the stars corresponding to the thirty-two rhumbs of the Compass ; the sea-routes of the Indian Ocean, the latitude of a number of harbours in the Ocean, and the western China Sea ; the landmarks formed by birds and the outline of the coast, the land falls of the west coast of India ; the ten famous large islands (Arabian Peninsula, Island of Qamar or Madagascar, Sumatra, Java, al-Ghor or Famosa, Ceylon, Zanzibar, Bahrein, Ibn-Jāwān, in the Persian Gulf and Socotora ; monsoons favourable for the voyage with the date in the Persian computation of each monsoon. The last chapter ends with a description of the Red Sea, which gives in details its anchorages, shallows, banks and reefs. The author constantly refers to Qutb Numā.

2. حادية الاختصار في اصول علم البحار : This book in *rajaz* verse is divided into eleven sections. The first section deals with the signs of proximity

1. العمدة الممهدة لسلطان مبرى, p. 11.

2. *Al-Fawā'id*, p. 4.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 48.



of land which pilots ought to know. The second section deals with the lunar mansions and rhumbs ; the third with the knowledge of the years, Arabic, Coptic, Byzantine and Persian ; the fourth with the knowledge of certain stars (*viz.*, the months in which they appear, the fixed character of their latitude, and their disappearance) ; the fifth, with the sea routes on the coasts of Arabia, Hejaz, Siam, Africa, the Gulf of Berber, Šomāl, Qamar or Madagascar ; the sixth with the sea routes on the coast of Persia, India, Bengal, Siam, the island of Maharaj, and China ; the seventh with the sea routes along the coast of Sumatra, the Lacadives, Madagascar, Yemen, Abyssinia, the land of the Somalis, of al-Atwah in southern Arabia, and of Mekran ; the eighth with the distance of the sea-ports of the Arabian coast from those of Western India ; the ninth, with the latitudes of the harbours of the surrounding sea (بحر محيط) which runs deeply into the north, *i.e.*, of the sea of Western India ; the tenth with navigation in the strict sense of the word, the knowledge of the currents of deep seas and of the "surrounding sea, which runs far in between the coasts of the land of the negroes, India and China ;" the eleventh deals with nautical astronomy.

3. ارجوزة المعريه : A versified treatise, dated 890 A.H. on the measurement of Babel Mandab, Arabia, and Ziela (Africa) from the Gulf Berber.

4. قبله الاسلام في جميع الدنيا : This is a versified treatise on the method of ascertaining Qiblah (position of the Ka'ba) from any part of the earth and sea. The author claims perfection in this art. It is dated 893 A.H.

5. ارجوزة برالعرب : A treatise in verse on navigation along the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf.

6. ارجوزة في قسمة الجحمة على النجم بنات النعش : A versified booklet on the Great and Little Bear. It is dated 900 A.H.

7. كنز المعاليه : The treasure of the Mu'allim or masters of navigation, and treasures of the science of unknown things about the sea, the stars, the planets and their poles.

8. ارجوزة : A versified booklet dealing with the landfalls on the west coast of India and the coast of Arabia.

9. ارجوزه ميميه : A treatise in verse dealing with certain northern stars.

10. ارجوزه مخمسة : dealing with other northern stars.

11. A poem in thirteen rhymed lines, on the Byzantine months.

12. A poem entitled ضريبة الضرائب, dealing with the utilization of certain stars for navigation.

13. A treatise in verse entitled قصيدة مكية, dealing with sea-route from Jedda to Cape Fartak (South Arabia, Calicut, Daibul, the Konkan, Gujarat and Hormuz).

14. A rhymed booklet entitled نادرة الابدال.

15. A poem entitled ذهبية, dealing with the investigation of reefs, great depths and what one should do there, and shallows, signs indicating land like birds and winds, landfalls on Capes during the monsoon from the south-west, landfalls in wind from the west.

Besides the above, there are ten more treatises which deal with various other topics, viz., observation of the stars Canopus and Arcturus, soundings in different parts of the Indian Ocean, seven branches of nautical lore and stars which are useful for landfalls and the description of the landfall points and of the coasts from Din to Dabul.

Sulaimān Mahrī lived in the beginning of the tenth century. In his first treatise علم التواريخ he dated his introduction 900 A. H. and his book العمدة المهرية is dated 917 A. H. His works are as follows :—

1. قلاده الشموس في علم التواريخ : This deals with the principles and details of the lunar, solar, Byzantine, Coptic and Persian eras.

2. تحفة الفحول في تمهيد الاصول : This was written to facilitate the knowledge of the principles of astronomical-nautical science. The treatise is divided into four lines of introduction, seven chapters, and a conclusion. Chapter I deals with the description of the spheres and the stars which they contain ; chapter II treats of the divisions of the circle which those learned in nautical astronomy are agreed to divide into thirty-two celestial rhumbs, by analogy with rhumbs of navigation ; chapter III deals with sailing at sea ; chapter IV with two kinds of sailing at sea, i.e., following the coast line or crossing the high seas ; chapter V with the use of the latitudes of the stars to determine the latitude of a port ; chapter VI with the distances between two ports ; chapter VII with the winds. The conclusion mentions that the art of navigation is based on a double foundation, good sense and experience. This book refers very occasionally to Bengal, its port Chittagong (Shatijam) and the harbours of Madras, Gujarat and Sind. Ibn-Mājid calls Bengal Banj.

3. العمدة المهرية في ضبط العلوم البحرية : This is Sulaimān's best book. It is divided into seven chapters which are subdivided into sections. Chapter I deals with principles of nautical astronomy, viz., the rhumbs, the distance of the stars at the equator, the parallels of the stars expressed in degrees, the stars which are in horizontality observed on a single planchette, knowledge of the exact number of co-efficients indicating the length of the voyage to be covered to a given cape so as to get the same displacement in latitude sailing straight north, etc., etc. Chapter II deals with the names of stars and allied matters. It has two sections (a) how to know the distance between the North Pole, Pole Star, Ursa Minor and Piazzī of Cepheas, and (b) how to know the circle described by Ursa Minor around the Pole. Chapter III deals with (1) the sea-routes of Hejaz, (2) the route along the south coast of Arabia, (3) the route along the north-west coast of India,

(4) the route along the east coast of Africa from Bab-al-Mandab, (5) the route past the Khuriya from the south coast of Arabia to Socotra, (6) the route from the coast of Siam along the coasts of Siam proper, of Indo-China, and western China. Chapter IV deals with the routes along the coast of the following islands, Qamar or Madagascar, the Zarin Island or Seychelles, Socotra, Fal or the Laccadives, Dīb or the Maladives, Ceylon, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands ; the islands along the coast of Siam, Sumatra, Java, the south-east islands, etc., etc. Chapter V deals with latitudes ascertained from the altitude of the Pole Star, Ursa Minor and Ursa Major. It contains seven sections indicating the latitudes of the ports of the Red Sea, the eastern coast of Arabia, the Western coast of India, the Bay of Bengal, Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, etc. Chapter VI deals with different kinds of monsoons. Chapter VII deals with voyages. It begins by describing in detail the islands along the Arabian and African shores of the Red Sea. Then follow extremely detailed itineraries in the following regions : from Bab-al-Mandab to mount Zuqur and Saibān in the south of the Red Sea ; from Saibān to Jedda ; from Saibān to Sawakin ; from Jedda to 'Aden ; from Sawakin to 'Aden ; from Zeila to Gujarat ; from Berbra to Gujarat ; from Kishin to the south Arabian coast of Gujarat ; from Khalafāt to Gujarat ; from Zufār to Gujarat ; from Kalahāt to Gujarat ; from Muscat to Gujarat, Konkan and Malabar ; from 'Aden to Malabar ; from 'Aden to Hormuz ; from Ras al-Hadd to Daibal ; from Diu to Mashqas, from Diu to Shihr and 'Aden ; from Mahā'im (Bombay) and Shayl (the Chaul) and the vicinity to the Arabian coast ; from Diu to the Maladives, from Daibal (Sind) to the Maladives ; from Diu to Muscat and Hormuz ; from Cambay to 'Aden ; from Goa Sindabur to 'Aden ; from Honer and Badkata to 'Aden ; from Calicut to Guardafui ; from Diu to Malacca ; from Diu to Bengal, i.e., Chittagong ; from Malacca to 'Aden ; from Chittagong to the Arabian coast. In conclusion the author enumerates ten dangers to be avoided by sailors.

4. المهاج الفاخر في علم البحر الزاخر : This work is divided into an introduction and seven chapters and a conclusion. The introduction deals with the principles of astronomy and astrology adopted and followed by the author. Chapter I deals with the sea-routes on the coast of Arabia, Makran, Sind, Gujarat, Konkan, Tulwan, Malabar ; on the Somali coast and the east coast of Africa ; the east coast of India, Bengal and Siam, and of Malacca ; on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, Indo-China and Western China. Chapter II deals with the latitude of the ports on known and inhabited coasts. Chapter III contains a description of the coasts of the large known inhabited islands. Chapter IV deals with the distances between Arabia and Western India, the ports of the Bay of Bengal, the east coast of Africa, and certain ports of Sumatra, Java and Bali. Chapter V deals with the wind, cyclones, and dangers to which ships are exposed. Chapter VI treats of the landings and land-marks of western India, the Arabian coast, and the east coast of Africa. Chapter VII deals with the entrance of the sun and moon into the signs of the Zodiac. The conclusion

contains the following detailed itineraries ; from Diu to Malacca, from Malacca to the Maldives, from Diu to the west coast of Sumatra and back to Martaban and Tennaserim and to Bengal.

Excellent manuscripts of Sulaimān's two books *العمدة المهرية في ضبط العلوم البحرية* dated 1007 A.H. are to be found in the Library of Islamia College, Peshawar (*vide* Catalogue of the Library, p. 371 and No. 1935). The name of *تحفة الفحول* is found in Chalpi's *كشف الظنون* also.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the Arab navigators, the Turks and the Indians also derived benefit from the works of Ibn-Mājid and Sulaimān. The Turkish Admiral Sidi 'Alī, who came along with the Turkish fleet to fight against the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and coasts of Gujarat at the time of Humāyūn and Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat, wrote a standard book on the art of Turkish navigation entitled *Muḥīt*. He has fully utilized the works of Ibn-Mājid and Sulaimān Mahrī and has appreciated their knowledge and merit in the introduction of his book. *Muḥīt* has been translated into many European languages.

In the library of the Jāmi' Masjid of Bombay there are two books on the art of navigation written in Sindhi. The first book is an explanatory note on some Arabic work, and the pages in the beginning are damaged. It has here and there Arabic phrases and headlines, for example *إبعاد الكواكب*. There are also Persian sentences here and there. Every headline begins with the word *معرفت* written in red ink. In one place there is a reference to Mu'allim Sulaimān in the following words, *صحیح قول معلم سلیان*. The names of islands and their respective distances are described in this book, which seems to have been written in 1084 A.H. The other book is written in mixed Persian and Sindhi. It is complete and exhaustive.

The manuscript was written by a Mussalman mariner of the fourth century A.H. named Mu'allim Enayat bin Mu'allim Shaikh Dāko. The MS. concludes.

کاتبه و مالک فقیر الحقیر پر تقصیر معلم عنایت بن معلم شیخ داکو درج زیره بمبئی ماه رجب .

The year is not written but the perusal of the book shows that it was written in 1196 A.H. Inserted in the book there is some diary also.

1. I have translated this part of the author's article with the help of the articles contributed to the *Encyclopædia of Islam* on "Shihab al-Dīn Aḥmad bin Mādjid" and "Sulaiman al-Mahrī." The writer of the article "Shihab al-Dīn Aḥmad" says that he was the author of thirty-two treatises, while according to the contributor of the latter article, Sulaiman was also the author of a treatise, *کتاب نرح تحفة الفحول* in the introduction of which he says, "I have extracted the substance of this book from different sciences, and collected the contents by borrowing from my own works and those of my brethren of the brotherhood of sailing-masters."—Translator.

All the above books deal with the islands and coasts lying between the Persian Gulf and India and China. In the regions of the Mediterranean Sea the most popular book is *بحرية*, written in Turkish by the famous Admiral Peri bin Hājī Muḥammad (926 A.H.). In this book he has given accounts of the Mediterranean Sea, its islands, routes and harbours, along with maps. After writing this book in 1030 A.H. he presented it to Sultān Sulaimān the First. At the beginning of it he describes the maps of the world as well as principles and regulations of the sailors of the Indian Ocean.

SAYYED SULAIMĀN NADAVĪ.

*(Concluded).*

## THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF DĪWĀN-I-SALMĀN

MAS'ŪD bin Sa'd bin Salmān was a well-known poet.<sup>1</sup> His father served the Ghaznivites for sixty years and received a large estate in Hind from them. Mas'ūd resided on his father's estate in Hindustān. He had a son, a daughter, and two sisters. The slave Bū-Naṣr appointed him to a command like other *nā'ibs*. Mas'ūd fought bravely with the enemy though he had not the means and appliances. It appears that somebody reported to the Sultān Ibrāhīm that Mas'ūd was not faithful to him. So the Sultān threw him into a prison in the fort of Nāi on the top of the hill. There Mas'ūd composed some pathetic poems appealing to the Ghaznivites for his release. The poems also refer to some of the military achievements of Ibrāhīm and his two sons Maḥmūd Shāh and Mas'ūd. The poet suffered imprisonment for more than nineteen years, and died in A.H. 525/A.D. 1131. According to some he died in A.H. 520/A.D. 1126.

As regards the military achievements of Ibrāhīm, the poet narrates that the king conquered Tabarhinda, modern Sarhind in Patiala State. He attacked Būriā, modern Burya on the Jumna, in the Ambala District. Its chief 'Udū was defeated and drowned in the river with his army.

Ibrāhīm led an army from Dhangān to Jālandhar. When he was successfully carrying on conquest there, he received information that at Dhangān ten thousand cavalry and foot-soldiers under their chief Sāir Sambrā were ready to oppose him. He forthwith proceeded to that place in the company of his general Bū-Naṣr Pārsī. At his approach Sāir Sambrā fled to the river Rāwa (Ravi) where he was drowned.

One morning the poet Salmān heard that Ibrāhīm had appointed Saif-ud-dawal Maḥmūd Shāh, governor of Hind in A.H. 469/A.D. 1076. Maḥmūd Shāh with forty thousand cavalry besieged the fort of Agra. Jaipāl was the Amīr of Agra. His soldiers with helmet, coat of mail, and sword bravely defended the walls of the fort, riveted together by iron nails. They discharged stones from the mangonels, and threw fires from the battlements. The battle continued for several days, but eventually Maḥmūd succeeded in capturing the fort. "Now do the kings from all quarters send their presents, viz., red gold and files of male elephants,"

1. *Dīwān-i-Salmān*, edited by Abu-l'Quāsim Akhvanī, 1879; Elliot, Vol. IV, pp. 518.

to the victor. Maḥmūd made stables at Kanauj for these elephants, and appointed Chand Rāi to take charge of them.

In the course of his military expedition Maḥmūd Shāh reached Ujjain. Mālwa trembled and fled from him. Maḥmūd also advanced towards Kālinjar.

Salmān next gives an account of the military achievements of 'Alā-ud-dawla Mas'ūd. Mas'ūd declared a holy war against Hindustān. Kanauj was the capital of Hind. The treasures of Hind were collected in it. At this time Malhī<sup>1</sup> was the chief of this country. He took possession of this country by force. He had soldiers, wealth, elephants, and arms. The Muslim army took Malhī prisoner, placed chains on his feet and a collar on his neck, and carried him into the presence of Mas'ūd. Malhī purchased his release by paying a large sum of money.

The above historical information supplied by the *Dīwān* of Salmān has been ignored by modern writers of the history of the Yamīnī dynasty of Ghaznī.<sup>2</sup> But a critical analysis of all of them shows that their value can hardly be overestimated.

The Great Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī annexed the larger portion of the Punjab to his kingdom. After his death in A.D. 1030 the throne of Ghaznī was occupied in succession by (Mas'ūd I), Muḥammad, Maudūd, Mas'ūd II, 'Alī 'Abu'l-Ḥasan, 'Abd-ur-Rashīd, Farrukhzād, and Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm ascended the throne in A.D. 1059, and closed his reign in A.D. 1099.<sup>3</sup> He had thirty-six sons, of whom Saif ud-Dawla Maḥmūd was the eldest and Mas'ūd was the twenty-third. He was succeeded on the throne by Mas'ūd III, who ruled from A.D. 1099 to A.D. 1115.<sup>4</sup> It is obvious that Ibrāhīm, Maḥmūd, and Mas'ūd, mentioned in the *Dīwān* of Salmān, are respectively identical with Ibrāhīm and his two sons Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd, referred to by *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. According to Salmān, Ibrāhīm appointed Maḥmūd governor of Hind in A.D. 1076.

*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*<sup>5</sup> relates that during the reign of Mas'ūd III "Hājib, Ṭughā Tigīn crossed the river Gang, in order to carry on holy war in Hindustān, and penetrated to a place where, except Sultān Maḥmūd, no one had reached so far with an army before." So Salmān's statement about Mas'ūd's declaration of the holy war against Hindustān finds corroboration in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. At the time when Maḥmūd invaded Ujjain, the capital of Mālwa, the country was ruled by the Paramāra dynasty. Maḥmūd's contemporary kings of this dynasty were Udayāditya, Lakṣmadeva, Jagaddeva, and Naravarman.<sup>6</sup> Curiously enough the Nagpur inscription of Naravarman, dated A.D. 1104, reports

1. ملهى

2. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 33-34; Iswari Prasad, *A Short History of the Moslem Rule in India*.

3. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 35.

4. Raverty, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 104, 105, fn. 6.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Author's History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 131-163.

that Lakṣmadeva repulsed an attack of the Turuṣkas (Muslims).<sup>1</sup> This invasion of the Muslims is evidently the same as that led by Maḥmūd against Ujjain, mentioned by Salmān. Lakṣmadeva ruled some time between A.D. 1088 and A.D. 1094. This will give us an idea about the date of Maḥmūd's invasion of Ujjain. In these circumstances Salmān's historical references cannot be regarded as the product of his imagination. If they are critically studied with the evidence supplied by contemporary Indian records they throw interesting light on the history of the Yamīnī dynasty of Ghaznī and its relation with the kings of Kanauj.

The epigraphic records disclose that, some time after the fall of the Pratihāras, Kanauj was taken possession of by a chief of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty named Gopāla.<sup>2</sup> The kings of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty were rulers of the Pāncāla country, which extended from the Himalayas to the Cambal river. Their capital seems to have been Vodāmayūtā, modern Budāūn, in the United Provinces, which is described in their inscription as the ornament of the Pāncāla country.<sup>3</sup> It is evident that Agra was also situated in this country of Pāncāla. From these notices it may be inferred that Jaipāl, the king of Agra, who, according to Salmān, was an adversary of Maḥmūd, was identical with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gopāla. It is significant that Maḥmūd's victory over Jaipāl or Gopāla made him the ruler not only of Agra but also of Kanauj.

Subsequent to the rule of Gopāla a Gāhaḍavāla dynasty held sway over Kanauj for more than a century. Mahīcandra or Mahītala, the founder of this dynasty, ruled somewhere in the United Provinces as a petty chief.<sup>4</sup> As regards his son and successor Candra the Basahi plate,<sup>5</sup> dated A.D. 1104, states that "in the lineage named Gāhaḍavāla there was a victorious king, the son of Mahī(t)ala, named Candradeva, who, when on the death of king Bhōja and king Karna the world became troubled, came to the rescue and became king and established his capital at Kanyākubja." No scholar has hitherto made any attempt to determine the nature of the trouble referred to by the Basahi plate that agitated the greater part of Northern India during this period. The most powerful among the kings who flourished in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. were the Paramāra Lakṣmadeva, Kalacuri Yasahkarna, Candella Kīrtivarman, Cālukya Karna, Pāla Rāmapāla, Cālukya Vikramāditya VI, and the Cōla Kulottunga I. Evidence is not available to prove that Northern India, in which Kanauj is situated, ever fell a prey to disorder as the result of the plundering expedition launched by any of these kings. Salmān's account, however, helps us to solve this problem.

Candradeva was a contemporary of Maḥmūd. Hence Cand Rāi, who was appointed by Maḥmūd to take charge of the stables of the elephants

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 188.

2. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1925, p. 105.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 61; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 41.

4. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 17.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 103.



at Kanauj, was in all probability this Candradeva. Candradeva entered into friendly relations with the Muslims apparently in order to gain some political advantage. It may be suggested here that the anarchy that broke out in Northern India, referred to by the Basahi plate, was caused by Maḥmūd's invasion of the United Provinces, Mālwa, and Bundlĕkhand. When the Muslim army withdrew to the Punjab, leaving the kingdom of Kanauj in a state of chaos and disorder, Candradeva availed himself of that opportunity and captured the imperial city. Kanauj, to which he transferred his capital, was brought under his authority some time before A.D. 1090.

If my suggestion about the cause of the breaking out of anarchy in Northern India proves to be true, it will follow that both Bhōja and Karna were instrumental in checking the progress of the Muslims into the heart of Northern India. Bhōja is identical with the Paramāra king of this name, who ruled from A.D. 1000 to 1055. Karna is evidently the Kalacuri Lakṣmikarna, who occupied his throne from A.D. 1042 to A.D. 1070. As for the Paramāra Bhōja it is known that he helped the Rāja of Delhi to drive out the Muslims from the eastern Punjab for some time.<sup>1</sup> Though there is no direct evidence of the conflict of Karna with the Muslims, epigraphic records prove that the king overran the eastern Punjab, and reached the Kangra valley in the course of his conquests.<sup>2</sup>

The Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva was succeeded on the throne by his son Madanacandra also known as Madanapāla, who ruled between the years A.D. 1100 and A.D. 1114. He is obviously identical with Malhī, the king of Kanauj, who was an adversary of Mas'ūd III.<sup>3</sup> Four inscriptions of his reign are known. Their dates range from A.D. 1104 to A.D. 1109.<sup>4</sup> Three of them were issued by the Mahārājaputra (son of the great king) Govindacandra, and one of them by the queen of Madanacandra. Of these four inscriptions the Rahan grant<sup>5</sup> deserves our special attention. It draws the genealogy of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty from Mahītala to Govindacandra, and states that the last mentioned prince defeated an elephant force from Gauda, and by the play of his matchless fighting made the Hammira (i.e., the chief of the Muslims) lay aside his enmity. It further reports that during the reign of Madanapāla the Mahārājaputra Govindacandra issued commands and informed the chiefs, queens, counsellors, chaplains, ministers, keepers of records, treasurers, com-

1. Author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 101.

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 15.

3. N. B. Sanyal (*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1925, p. 105) and Dr. H. C. Ray (*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 514) suggest that Malhī is identical with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Madanapāla, son of Gopāla, who was ruling in A.D. 1119. But the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Madanapāla could not have ruled in Kanauj so long as the Gāhaḍavālas were there.

4. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, p. 101; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 358; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896, p. 787; *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XVIII, p. 18.

5. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 18.

manders of the army, etc., that a piece of land was granted by the Rānaka Lavarāpravāha.

It is clear from the above statements that the Rahan grant does not follow the conventions generally observed by the records of the early period. The early records describe the military achievements of the subordinates as the achievements of the reigning king. Commands are issued through them to the officers by the king himself. Kielhorn<sup>1</sup> tried to solve one of the anomalies in the Rahan grant by suggesting that Govindacandra issued commands "apparently acting on behalf of his father." Irregularities in the inscriptions of the reign of Madanapāla have also been noticed by Dr. H. C. Ray. He remarks that<sup>2</sup>—"It is rather curious that amongst the records so far discovered of Madanapāla's reign no inscription has been found recording a grant by the king himself. If we add to this the fact that in the grants of his successors he is always given only vague praise, we may perhaps conclude that his reign was dominated by the masterful personality of his son Govindacandra, who was probably already a powerful influence in the administration when his grandfather died, c. A.D. 1100. Not only were three out of the four grants practically issued by him, but the credit for all victories during his father's reign, which have the appearance of facts, is given to this prince."

But the correct answer to the question why Govindacandra acted almost like a king during the lifetime of his father Madanacandra, is supplied by the Salmān's account. It reports that Malhī or Madanacandra was taken prisoner by the Muslims. He had obviously to remain in the prison of Mas'ūd III for some time, till his release was purchased by Govindacandra.

The results of the study of Salmān's account as compared with the other contemporary records may be summarised in the following way. Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Ibrāhīm, conquered the kingdom of Kanauj by defeating the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gopāla some time before A.D. 1090. In his expedition against Kanauj, he secured the service of a chief named Cand Rāi, who was none other than the Gāhadavāla Candradeva. Maḥmūd next proceeded southward and attacked Mālwa. He won some temporary victory there. But he was eventually repulsed by the Paramāra Lakṣmadeva, king of Mālwa. The Muslim general also invaded Kālinjar, which was within the kingdom of the Candella Kīrtivarman. As soon as he withdrew to the Punjab, there was anarchy in the kingdom of Kanauj. Candradeva took advantage of this situation, and captured the imperial city. He was succeeded by his son Madanacandra. Madanacandra was taken prisoner by the Muslims. During the period of his captivity his son Govindacandra carried on the work of administration on his behalf. Subsequently Govindacandra purchased his father's release by paying a heavy ransom.

1. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 15.

2. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 513, Gāhadavālas.

The above remarks show that some of the intricate problems in the history of Northern India during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries A.D., which have not been properly explained by modern scholars, find their solution in the account of Salmān. Hence the *Dīwān* of Salmān should be accepted as a record of great historical importance. There cannot be any doubt that Salmān's statements about Ibrāhīm's conquests of Tabarhinda, Būriā, Jālandhar, and Dhangān are authentic, though they cannot be verified by any other evidence.

D. C. GANGULY.

# GLEANINGS FROM SA'ĪD NĀMA, A HISTORY OF SA'ĀDAT ALLĀH KHĀN, RULER OF THE CARNATIC

## I

### INTRODUCTION

THE historical rôle of the Carnatic as a vassal state of Southern India, owing allegiance to the Mughal emperor of Delhi is possibly as illustrious and illuminating as that of which any other vassal state within the confines of the far-flung Mughal empire can boast. After annexation as a part and parcel of that vast empire, the Carnatic identified herself with the well-known vicissitudes of Mughal fortunes in the Deccan with unflagging loyalty, and bore the brunt of those ups and downs with a gallantry unsurpassed in the annals of the Mughal rule in the later periods. The part played by some of the Carnatic rulers, in consolidating the Southern outlines and keeping the imperial standard flying in the south, constitutes some of the glorious pages of Mughal history in the land of the indomitable Marathas and provides an extremely fascinating study. It is unfortunate that such a valuable chapter of our history should remain practically shrouded in obscurity, for the simple reason that the authorities on the subject are couched in a language no longer in vogue, and, are not generally known to the reading public. The highly valuable works of Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, in his *Madras University Islamic Series*, have undoubtedly gone a long way towards illuminating this obscurity, but much still remains to be done, requiring patient and strenuous researches into the original Persian<sup>1</sup> sources. With a view to stimulating

1. The following works in English throw some light on the history of the Carnatic and they are mentioned here for the information of the general reader :—

(1) Dodwell, *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Tr., Vol. IV. (2) Hamilton, *Description of Hindustan and the Adjacent Countries*, Vol. II, Section, Carnatic. (3) Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, from the year 1745*, to which is prefixed a *Dissertation on the Establishments made by Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan*, Vol. I. The third edition ; book I-V, Carnatic, pp. I-395. (4) Mill, *History of British India*, edited by H. H. Wilson (1858)—book III. (5) Venkatasami Rao, *The Tanjore Manual*. (6) K.R. Subrahmanyam, *The Mahratta Rajahs of Tanjore*. (7) Walter Elliot, *Coins of Southern India* (1886)—*Numismata Orientalia*. (8) S. C. Hill, *Orme Manuscripts—History of the Carnatic to 1749 by Paupa Brahmin*. (9) C. S. Srinivasacharia's articles in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, part II, etc. (10) G. B. Malleeson, *History of the French in India*. (11) *The Restoration of the King of Tanjore*, Vols. 1 and 2. (12) *Copies of Papers Relative to the Restoration of the King of Tanjore*, Vols. 1 to 3, printed with an Appendix, MDCCLXX.

such researches, I have thought it proper to present in this article a handy summary of one such rare authority, viz., *Sa'id Nāma* by Jaswant Rāi, and to add the names and whereabouts of the other Persian authorities on the Carnatic, with a few short notes on them.

"*Sa'id Nāma*" (سعيد نامه) or *Waqā'i Sa'adat* (وقائع سعادت) dealing with the history of Sa'adat Allāh Khān,<sup>1</sup> the ruler of the Carnatic,<sup>2</sup> by Jaswant Rāi, poetically surnamed "Munshī," son of Bhagwant Rāi, son of Sundardās, son of Malik Haridās, was completed on the 16th Ramaḍan, A.H. 1136, 20th June, A.D. 1723. As far as I know only three MSS. copies of the work are to be found in European libraries; namely one copy in the British Museum, vide Rieu, *Cat. of Persian MSS.*, Vol. I, p. 331, and two copies in the India Office Library, see Ethé, *Cat. India Office Library*, nos. 500 and 2843. H. H. Wilson in the *Mackenzie Collection* (Calcutta, 1828), p. 382, has named this work *Sa'id Nāma*. It has 138 foll.

The author of the work gives some account of his family in the introduction. He was a Munshī by profession, and his father, a native of Lahore, had served Purdil Khān in the same capacity. He came to the Carnatic in A.H. 1118, A.D. 1706, and recited a Qaṣīda before the Nawāb, Sa'adat Allāh Khān, which he had composed in his praise. The Nawāb, was highly pleased with his poem and took the poet under his patronage.<sup>3</sup> He is also the author of the following works:—

(1) دیوان منشی : This contains lyrical poems. An autograph copy of this *dūwān*, written in A.H. 1124, A.D. 1712, at Sarā in the province of Bijāpūr is in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, see *Cat.*

1. Sa'adat Allāh Khān's real name was Muḥammad Sa'id. He and his brother, Ghulām 'Alī, came from Konkan and presented themselves before Aurangzēb. Both were taken into service. Muḥammad Sa'id rose from a very low position to the rank of Maṣabdar, and was finally given the title of Sa'adat Allāh Khān. He was for twenty years Nā'ib to the Nāzim in the ṣubah of Arcot and for five years acted as Nāzim. He died according to the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā* in A.H. 1145, A.D. 1732. See Burhān's *Tūzak-i-Wālā Jāhī*, part I, pp. 64-68, *Tārikh an-Nawāyat*, p. 310; *Ma'āthir al-Umarā*, Vol. II, p. 513.

2. Carnatic means the portion of Southern India where Kanarese is spoken. It was originally applied to the Hindū Kingdom of Vijayanagar. When the Muḥammadans conquered the kingdom in A.D. 1565 during the reign of the Emperor Akbar (A.H. 963-1014, A.D. 1556-1605) they extended the name further south and applied it to the Nawābs who ruled Arcot where the language is not Kanarese but Tamil. During the time of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh I (A.H. 1119-1124, A.D. 1707-1712) the Nawāb of the Carnatic was Nawāb Sa'adat Allāh Khān (A.H. 1122-1145, A.D. 1710-1732). He was succeeded by Dūst 'Alī, his nephew, who ruled there from A.H. 1145-1153, A.D. 1732-1740. Šafdar 'Alī, the son of Dūst 'Alī, and Muḥammad Sa'id, son of Šafdar 'Alī, remained as Nawābs of the Carnatic from A.H. 1153-1156, A.D. 1740-1743. In A.H. 1157, A.D. 1744, Anwar ad-Dīn, a soldier of fortune, became Nawāb of the Carnatic and after his death in A.H. 1162, A.D. 1749, his son Muḥammad 'Alī Wālā Jāh sat on the Gaddī with the assistance of the English. His descendants ruled there and the present Nawāb of Arcot, Prince Sir Ghulām Muḥammad 'Alī, Khān Bahādur, G.C.I.E., belongs to that royal house and is the premier Muḥammadan nobleman of Southern India.

3. Bibliography:—Autobiography at the beginning of *Sa'id Nāma*; Sprenger, *Cat. of Oudh MSS.*, p. 507; Rieu, *Cat. British Museum*, Vol. I, p. 331; and Ethé, *Cat. India Office*, no. 500.

of the Society, no. 830. For another copy see Ethé, no. 1685.

(2) سسی وینو : A popular epic. It was composed in A.H. 1140/A.D. 1727. For copies see Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, no. 1695 and Sprenger, *Cat.*, pp. 507-508.

(3) قصه سیف الملک و بدیع الجمال : This is probably a new redaction of the well-known but much older love-story of Saif al-Mulk and Badī 'al-Jamāl, a tale from the *Arabian Nights* in a Persian adaptation. For the old Persian adaptation see Rieu, Vol. II, p. 764, and, Ethé *Bodleian Cat.*, no. 461, Pertsch, *Berlin Cat.* p. 996, and Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, no. 788. For the new redaction see Ethé, no. 500.

(4) قصه لال و هیرا : A love-story of Lāl and Hirā. See Ethé, *Cat.* no. 500.

Our author should not be confounded with another scholar of the same name, Munshī Jaswant Rāi, the author of *Gulshan-i-Bahār*, a collection of letters. See Rieu, Vol. III, p. 987. He flourished during the reign of 'Ālamgīr II (A.H. 1167-1173, A.D. 1754-1759) and the early part of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II (A.H. 1173-1221, A.D. 1759-1806).

## II.

### SA'ĀDAT ALLĀH KHĀN, RULER OF THE CARNATIC

#### CHAPTER I

SA'ĀDAT ALLĀH KHĀN'S ancestor originally hailed from Madīna. It was in the year 810 A.H., A.D. 1407, that he came to India by sea. Finally he arrived at the court of Sultān Aḥmad I (A.H. 814-846., A.D. 1411-1443) at Aḥmadābād in Gujrāt and settled there. He was entrusted with the task of leading many important expeditions and received many honours.

Later, when Muẓaffar Shāh III. (A.H. 965-980, A.D. 1557-1572) the king of Gujrāt was defeated by Akbar, one of descendants of the emigrant entered the service of Nizām al-Mulk, the ruler of Dawlatābād and Aḥmadnagar, and was appointed to a very high post in Konkan.

Seven years after his accession to the throne of Delhi Shāh Jahān, sent an army under Mahābat Khān to seize Dawlatābād. This expedition was crowned with success. Sultān Muḥammad (A.H. 1035-1070, A.D. 1626-1660) who was then the king of Bijāpūr appointed Hājī Sa'id as the commander of the army. After his death great honours were conferred upon his sister's son, Mullā Aḥmad, for his versatility, experience and wisdom. During this period Bidar was besieged by Aurangzēb, who was then a Shāhzāda. Mullā Aḥmad was sent with an army for the relief of Bidar, but was defeated by the Mughuls, and returned to Bijāpūr. Later on, he was sent, along with Bahlūl Khān, 'Abd ar-Raḥīm and Sāhū, the

father of Sīvājī, to reduce to subjection the Zamīndār of Tanjore and other Zamīndārs of Bijāpūr and the Carnatic. Having accomplished the purpose of this expedition, he returned victorious to Bijāpūr and was entrusted with the sole management of the affairs of the kingdom.

Simultaneously, his younger brother Mullā Yaḥyā, who supported the Mughal cause, joined Amīr al-Umarā Shā'ista Khān and accompanied by the latter presented himself before the Mughal emperor and was honoured with the appointment of Yak hazārī, the command of one thousand horse, and received a horse and a sword as presents.

After this, Mullā Yaḥyā was entrusted with the command of 500 horse more under Rāja Jungama and was sent to the Deccan. The said Rāja captured Sīvājī and his son and sent them as prisoners to Aurangzēb. Sultān 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh (A.H. 1070-1097, A.D. 1660-1686) was the king of Bijāpūr at that time. Alarmed at the Rāja's approach, he sent Mullā Aḥmad with accommodating terms. He was favourably received and delivered 'Ādil's letter to the Rāja which invited him to Bijāpūr. The Rāja was instructed to seduce Mullā Aḥmad and Mīr Jumla, who had the management of the affairs of the Deccan in their hands. Although he tried his utmost to accomplish this feat, he failed.

'Ādil Shāh, knowing that the Rāja had letters in his possession which invested him with the Wizārat and also orders to all the Šūbadārs and Faujdārs of the Deccan to acknowledge his invested authority, thought it best to comply with the Rāja's demands and sent him 2,50,000 rupees along with other presents to the Mughal emperor. On his return to Aḥmadnagar after this success, Mullā Aḥmad died.

The Rāja thinking this to be a good opportunity, immediately renewed the war and marched towards Bijāpūr : 'Ādil then appointed Shīrza Khān, a servant of Mullā Aḥmad to the command of his army. When this army marched against the Rāja, he saw it advisable to fall back.

The king 'Ādil, grieved at the loss of Mullā Aḥmad, appointed his son Muḥammad Asad to the command of 1,500 and his second son was given the title of Sarfarāz Khān and made commander of 1,500. Mullā Yaḥyā became Yaḥyā Khān under Aurangzēb. He accompanied Mahābat Khān to the Deccan when the latter was made the Šūbadār. Afterwards, when Mahābat was succeeded by Khān Jahān Bahādur, Yaḥyā Khān was appointed Faujdār of the army which was sent against Sīvājī and was granted the title of Mukhlis Khān. He was six years on this expedition and other employments, until he was appointed to the management of Rāmgīr in Bīdar during the time of Dilāwar Khān, the Šūbadār of the Deccan. Hereafter he died. Upon the death of Mukhlis Khān, Ghulām 'Alī, who was the brother of Mukhlis Khān, was appointed to command an expedition to Cottala. 'Abd al-Qādir, a relation of Mukhlis Khān also accompanied him. Both of them were able to reduce Cottala to surrender. Upon this success, Ghulām 'Alī was promoted to a Khānship and 'Abd al-Qādir became a Qila'dār and they held these exalted ranks till their deaths.

Sa'adat Allāh Khān married the daughter of the sister of the above-mentioned Mukhlis Khān on the 15th of Rajab 1002 Hijra in the 15th year of the reign of Aurangzēb 'Ālamgīr. (A.H. 1069-1118, A.D. 1659-1707). He obtained through the influence of Amānat Khān, Dīwān of the Ṣūba of the Deccan, the appointment of the Imāmat and Faujdārī of Rāmgīr. Sultān 'Abdallāh, king of Hyderabad, had given Rāmgīr as dowry in the marriage of his daughter to Sultān Maḥmūd, and since then it had been annexed to the Ṣūba of Bīdar. Sa'adat Allāh had been there only a few months when an army of Marathas under Dhanna, Santa and Hamen with an army of about 30,000 or 40,000 men overran the place. Ultimately, they raised the siege and Sa'adat Allāh returned to the royal court.

He was appointed an emissary by Aurangzēb to learn the designs of Dhū'l-Fiqr Khān. He succeeded in gaining the confidence of the said Khān and transmitted despatches of his designs every week to Aurangzēb.

Aurangzēb was at a loss to understand why the siege of Gingee went on so slowly. He therefore sent one, Quṭb ad-Dīn Khān to learn the state of affairs, the strength of the forces and resources, and to win over the Rāja to his side. Upon his arrival this person installed himself in the favour of Rām Rāja in such a manner as to discover his intentions. He also won over the Rāja's officers to his side.

Soon after this the said Rāja came to hear some disconcerting news, i.e., first, of the approach of prince Kām Bakhsh to the Deccan, and secondly, of the return of 'Umdat al-Mulk Asad Khān to the Deccan, with instructions to the commander-in-chief of the imperial army to conduct the said Rāja with honour and safety to Vellore. He then considered that the strength of his own garrison was not all that could be desired and thinking discretion to be the better part of valour he contemplated escape.

Accordingly, he set off at night towards the jungle, by the gate of Raigarh and, through the assistance of Rām Singh Dawka, whose people held some scattered strongholds in the jungle, he was able to escape to Vellore which was about 25 Kos from Gingee. When the Mughal commander-in-chief received this news, he made preparations for a general attack in the morning. This attack was led by himself and a few noblemen like Jamshīd Khān, Dā'ūd Khān, Taitree Rāo and others.

The forces under the command of Khān Bahādur Asad Khān and Dā'ūd Khān made a fierce attack in the vicinity of Cheegarh and hoisted the imperial flag on the summit of Cheegarh mountain. Some of the Maratha chiefs, impressed by the Mughal success, went over to the side of the Mughals while the rest of the Marathas either took to flight or threw down their arms and surrendered. Accounts of this event with a golden key were sent to Aurangzēb and the fort was afterwards called Nuṣratpūr.

But peace in the Deccan was short-lived. The Marathas began to create disorder and confusion once again. Some of the Polligars of the Carnatic rebelled. On account of the callous negligence of Jamshīd Khān and Bahlūl Khān, who were left in the Carnatic by Dhū'l-Fiqr Khān as



his lieutenants, the Carnatic and Amboor fell into the hands of the Marathas. Dhū'l-Fiqār Khān then appointed Dā'ūd Khān in their place as the commander, and instructed him to make peace on advantageous terms, which he was able to negotiate successfully.

While engaged in the Carnatic expedition, Dā'ūd Khān was instructed by Dhū'l-Fiqār Khān to subjugate the Zamīndār of Oug and Anant Roojee, Zamīndār of Malaiwar, who had been subject to the Carnatic from time immemorial. At first he wrote to them and invited them to a conference. They were able to avoid a meeting with Dā'ūd Khān for some time. Eventually they came with 15,000 or 16,000 Marathas and Detrhanī horsemen and about a lakh of infantry, and encamped at Ardawi.

On the second day they came to visit Dā'ūd Khān in great state. They presented some elephants to Dā'ūd Khān and returned on the following day. Dā'ūd Khān returned the visit with several nobles in his suite. By frequent visits familiarity and mutual confidence grew between them. One day they paid a surprise visit to Dā'ūd Khān's camp and finding him asleep wanted to carry him off by force or put him to death. Fortunately one of his subordinate officers arrived in time and was able to rescue Dā'ūd Khān. In order to carry out their nefarious design they paid another similar visit, but they, along with some of their attendants, were killed by Dā'ūd Khān and his men. After this Dā'ūd Khān marched to Arcot, and captured the Carnatic and Amboor. Dhū'l-Fiqār Khān also made two or three abortive attempts to capture Vellore. After returning from Tanjore and Trichinopoly, Dā'ūd Khān decided to besiege Vellore. It was on the 1st Jamād II, A. H. 1111, A.D. 1699, that he put this plan into execution. In this campaign he was assisted by Ibrāhīm Khān, Zain ad-Dīn Khān and Bangur Nair, son of Acham Nair, the son of the principal Zamīndār of the Carnatic, who had assisted Dhū'l-Fiqār Khān in his conquest of Gingee.

The fort of Vellore was defended by Sankara Mulhar. The provisions of Vellore being exhausted and all prospect of supply being cut off, Sankara Mulhar, Ram Raja's Qila'dār, capitulated on Sunday, the 24th of Rabī' I, A.H. 1112, A. D. 1700, after a siege of ten months and twenty-four days, synchronizing with the 46th year of the reign of Aurangzēb. Ghulām 'Alī Khān was, therefore, appointed governor of Vellore.

The administration of Vellore was not well organized. Deshmukhs, Deshpandes, and Kalkurnies were appointed to ascertain the receipts and disbursements of every district and to send accounts of the same. Writers and accountants were appointed for each department. Special officers were appointed for surveying the fields of every Pargana and Amīrs and Dāroghas were appointed to ascertain the tolls received from day to day and transmit them with accounts of collection charges to the Daftar-i-Diwānī. All duties on various articles of trade were ascertained and officers of the Crown were appointed to collect all taxes.

It had been decided to march against Tanjore and Trichinopoly after the spring to collect the Pishkash of those places, but soon after, intellig-

ence was received that Danjadoon Marathas had arrived in Cuddapa and had taken possession of Tanbul. Dā'ūd Khān moved towards Cuddapa, the Marathas left their heavy baggage and Dā'ūd Khān was able to recover Cuddapa. When Dā'ūd Khān advanced to Tamarry, Danjadoon took to flight, although he commanded a force of 40,000 or 50,000.

The death of Kifāyat Khān, Dīwān and Faujdār of the Carnatic, brought Sa'adat Allāh Khān into the limelight. One Hindu Rāo had taken possession of Polligonda and Sa'adat Allāh was ordered by Aurangzēb to recapture it, which he achieved successfully. He was honoured with the title of Khān and appointed Dīwān and Faujdār of the Carnatic and Diyā ad-Dīn Khān was summoned from the Carnatic.

Then came the death of Aurangzēb on the 8th Dhī'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1118, A.D. 1707, and the Deccan was thrown into chaos. Prince Kām Bakhsh went to Bijāpūr and sent Sa'adat Allāh a Khil'at from there and approved of his appointment to the Carnatic.

The march of events thereafter took a different turn. Sa'adat Allāh went to Hyderabad and was introduced to the presence of Muḥammad Mu'azzam Bādshāh Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh I (A.H. 1119-1124, A.D. 1707-1712), who had imprisoned Kām Bakhsh. Dā'ūd Khān resigned the Ṣūbadārī of the Carnatic in expectation of a higher appointment. It was given to Sa'adat Allāh who accepted the appointment. He also received the Faujdārī and Dīwānī of the Carnatic and was made the receiver of the tribute of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and other Zamīndārīs. For this he promised to pay the sum of rupees five lakhs to the treasury and had to pay large sums of money to the officials. He was also appointed the Faujdār and Qilā'dār of Seera and Baswapatam which had before belonged to the Carnatic.

Some of the Zamīndārīs of Seera, particularly Bramha of Chiteldoorg had become turbulent and refractory for some time past, even during the time of Muḥammad Bīdār Bakht, son of Aurangzēb, Sa'adat Allāh resolved to chastise them. He marched against them and when he had captured some forts, Bramha sent a secret embassy to Lāla Dakhnī Rāy to bring about peace. Peace was about to be achieved when news arrived of the appointment of Dā'ūd Khān to the Ṣūbadārī of the Deccan. Sa'adat was pressed for the payment of the above-mentioned five lakhs. He hastened towards Trichinopoly and Tanjore to collect the Pīshkash, although 'Abd an-Nabī had already been sent there by Dā'ūd Khān, the Ṣūbadār of the Deccan, for the above purpose. Sa'adat Allāh was fortunately able to collect it in 20 or 25 days and sent it to Dā'ūd Khān.

After this, 'Abd an-Nabī, the brother of Bahlūl Khān, who was one of the nobles of Bijāpūr, was appointed Faujdār of Cuddapa, which comprised Bālāghāt of the Carnatic, and Sa'adat Allāh was appointed Dīwān and Faujdār of Pā'in Ghāt, which comprised Arcot. He was also given the collectorship of the Pīshkash of the two Carnatics.

About this time news arrived of the approach of the Marathas towards Seera. Dūst'Alī Khān, the governor of that province, took

the field against them.

Sa'adat Allāh left Lāla Dakhnī Rāy with a small force to look after the affairs of the Carnatic, Pā'in Ghāt, and himself advanced to Polliconda in aid of Dūst'Alī Khān.

The Marathas were not able to stand in action against him in the field and fled on his arrival. He proceeded unopposed to Seera. While he was still proceeding in his triumphant march, Sayyid Dā'ūd, a Zamīndār of Dā'ūd Khān, rebelled in the Carnatic. Lāla Dakhnī arrived at Carnatic from Seera; and Sa'adat Allāh immediately set out to collect the revenues of Trichinopoly and Tanjore. At Trinomallee he met Conerie Pandit and Roderia Pandit, Vakils for Trichinopoly and Tanjore, and accorded them a hearty reception. He then advanced with his army further ahead up to Walandoor, a point which was farther than any that the Taḥsildārs had been to since the first subjugation of the Zamīndārs. Here he received information that Rustoorī Ranga Dalwī or Ourdhan of Trichinopoly with five or six thousand cavalry and thirty or forty thousand infantry had encamped at Ootatoor. In the morning, the Dalwi was presented before Sa'adat Allāh who honoured him with a Khil'at, etc. The second day a Vakīl arrived from Tanjore with an equal force and was also well received by him. After this, Vakīls arrived one after the other from the Zamīndārs and Polligars of Oodar Pollam, Allianoor, Taroor, with letters and presents. In the course of a month all the collections were made and Sa'adat Allāh returned to Arcot. In the following year also he went again to make collections, but the Zamīndārs were refractory. Orders were in consequence given to Sūrujmim Bakhshī and Shaikh Muḥammad Dārōgha of the Top-Khāna and others to lay the country waste. At this all agreed to pay the stipulated Pīshkash, and Sa'adat Allāh returned to Arcot.

The Zamīndārs of Mysore had ceased to pay revenue to the Šubadār of Bijāpūr from the beginning of the governorship of Qāsim Khān and the arrival of Muḥammad Bīdār Bakht at Bijāpūr. The officers under Sa'adat Allāh Khān had reported to the kīrḡ that the Polligars and Zamīndārs of that province had become disobedient and must be kept under surveillance. Farmāns were, therefore, issued to 'Abd an-Nabī, Dilīr Khān and Amīn Khān, to gather together their forces to subjugate them. In obedience to this order on the 25th of Rabī' II, in the third year of reign of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh I (A.H. 1119-1124, A.D. 1707-1712), the royal standard took the field with 3,000 horses and 5,000 Piyādas, bent on collecting the Pīshkash from Mysore. Sa'adat Allāh marched with his army from Arcot, 'Abd an-Nabī from Cuddapa, and Amīn Khān from Seera. When news arrived that the Dalwi of Mysore had marched with 10,000 cavalry and 40,000 or 50,000 infantry against Amīn Khān, the latter was advised to put up a stubborn fight. A fierce fight ensued in which many were slain on both sides. 'Abd an-Nabī Khān hearing of this proceeded post haste from Cuddapa by Cotacul and joined Amīn Khān. Both were jealous of each other and went on to offer battle to Dalwi. The Dalwi not appearing, 'Abd an-Nabī returned to camp and wrote to

him to comply with his demands without delay. The Dalwi proposed to send the Pishkash to Bangalore. The two Khāns, after making up their differences, sent Shāhbāz Khān, Ibrāhīm Khān and Sayyid Khān, with 1,500 cavalry, to observe the Dalwi's movements, but quarrelling again they separated and the next day each joined Sa'adat Allāh. The Dalwi, knowing the state of affairs, did not send the Pishkash and the three armies separated; (Amīn Khān to Sūra, 'Abd an-Nabī to Cuddapa and Sa'adat Allāh to Arcot). After this the Dalwi sent the revenue to Arcot. When accounts of Amīn Khān's conduct reached the imperial court, he was dismissed from the governorship of Seera, and it was bestowed upon Sayyid Rustam Khān Bahādur. Bījāpūrī Chill Nyg, having preserved his independence in spite of all the orders of Dhū'l Fiqār Khān, Dā'ūd Khān and others reduced to subjection all the country extending from Trichinopoly to Mylapur and laid waste Tirkaloor, a province of the Carnatic, in spite of the resistance offered by Saroop Singh Bandalla, and placed their own garrison in it. On the 20th of Dhī'l Hija in the 1st year of the reign of Muhammad Farrukh Siyār (A.H. 1124-1131, A.D. 1713-1719), the imperial army marched against Saroop Singh. A detachment of the Karanals with 1,000 hatchets, 500 men with chisels, 2,000 Baidārs or Caumautees, went ahead as a vanguard to cut the jungle and clear the roads, while Sa'adat Allāh himself advanced with 3,000 cavalry and 7,000 infantry. When he approached the Nyg's seat of residence at Chucree, Raushan Bēg Khān Bakhshī of the Carnatic, Lāla Dekhny Rāy, Bungar Nyr, Bakhshī Soorejmen, Sayyid Khān, Lāl Khān and other Zamīndārs with a train of artillery attacked the barriers and sieged the country for 3 months, but in vain. At last the soldiers in a frantic effort scaled the walls of the fort in which Chill's wife and children were living. They were all taken prisoners, however, and put to death. After this Sa'adat Allāh returned to Arcot, and all the Polligars regularly remitted their revenue even without the former's having had to appoint Tahşildārs over them to collect it, as had been done before.

## CHAPTER II

SERINGAPATAM was a dependency of the Carnatic, a province of Bījāpūr. After the death of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh I and the troubles which followed, the Zamīndār of Mysore gathered a large army and invaded the Qasba of Chuck Ballapūr, which had always acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor, and laid siege to its fort for nearly twelve months. Sayyid Rustam, who was appointed governor of Seera, was sent to Ballapūr, but unable to withstand the large army of Mysore, he wrote to Nawāb Sa'adat Allāh concerning the state of affairs and sought his assistance. Sa'adat Allāh had at the time received orders from the king to collect the Pishkash due from the revenue of Mysore. Though he had only recently returned from an expedition against Tanjore and

Trichinopoly, he proceeded immediately in spite of the inclement weather towards Serrapi on the 15th of Ramaḍān in A.H. 1124, A.D. 1712. When he arrived at Dewanhulli, the Mysoreans raised the siege and retreated. The Zamīndār of Ballapūr waited on Sa'ādat Allāh. The Zamīndār was warmly received and great honours were conferred upon him. Sa'ādat Allāh halted for a day or two and then marched against Seringapatam, penetrating further than the imperial armies had ever been before. He waited for a week in the vain expectation that the Zamīndār would come to terms and then marched against Shewagunga, a famous place of worship which yielded a lakh annually to the Mysore government. It was soon taken by assault. When the Zamīndār heard of this, he collected a powerful army and sent it under the command of the Dalwi while he himself remained at Bhyrundroog. He also sent a force consisting of 6,000 or 7,000 cavalry with pikes and 10,000 or 12,000 infantry to close the pass of Shewagunga and to stop the progress of the army. The army of the Zamīndār remained in the jungle during the day and at night molested the enemies (Sa'ādat's army) with rockets and cut off all their supplies. Tired of this waiting game, Sa'ādat Allāh at last sent Muḥammad 'Alī with a force to punish the Dalwi and to secure the safe arrival of supplies. Muḥammad 'Alī advanced with his army and drove the enemy before him out of the woods and hills to a place one Kos distant from where the Dalwi was. The Dalwi was not, however, disheartened and set about organizing his army, which, without those of the Zamīndārs and Polligars attached to it, consisted of 20,000 cavalry and 90,000 infantry. A grim fight ensued which however ended on the 19th Dhī'l-Hijja, A.H. 1124, A.D. 1712, without advantage to either side. The Dalwi took his post on the bank of a tank which made it difficult for Sa'ādat Allāh to advance. But the impending peril of an attack weighed with the Dalwi to abandon his position. Sa'ādat Allāh then advanced up to Myrapur, 10 Kos (20 miles) from Patan. The Rānī Ṣāhiba who in reality ruled over Mysore from behind its ostensible ruler, her husband, apprehending imminent danger, made the Rāja write a letter to Sa'ādat Allāh and sent it through a Pīshkār offering terms of settlement. The envoy was warmly received by Sa'ādat Allāh who conferred upon him a robe of honour, a sword, and an elephant, and wrote a favourable reply. This emboldened the Rāja to write another letter promising the speedy remittance of the Pīshkash, provided the army peacefully retreated towards Arcot. The army consequently marched back on Monday the 19th of Ṣafar. But the Mysoreans meant to evade the payment of the Pīshkash and gave the command of the army to another Dalwi with orders to secure the pass of Shewagunga. Sa'ādat Allāh soon discovered this plot and resolved on the siege of Seringapatam, but the Mysoreans sent their ambassadors with assurance of early remittance of the Pīshkash and requested withdrawal of the army to Arcot. Sa'ādat Allāh therefore ordered his army to halt and spent some days in hunting. He then marched towards Ballapur where he received the news of the defeat of Jahāndār Shāh and of Farrukh Siyar's

succession to the throne (A.H. 1124-1131, A.D. 1713-1719). When he arrived at Chuck Ballapur, he received a letter from Nizām ul-Mulk, Ṣūbadār of the Deccan, appointing him the governor of the two Carnatics with instructions to realise the tribute from the Mysorcans. The Zamīndār of Chuck Ballapur paid his tribute and the army marched from Arcot. As the imperial army left the Carnatic, the nephew of Cheel raised the standard of rebellion and laid siege to Chuckree, which capitulated to him after a siege of six months. Sa'adat Allāh, therefore, changed his direction and advanced towards Chuckree by adopting a route through Trynomal. But, later on, he thought it more expedient to advance towards Tanjore and Trichinopoly in order to collect the revenue due from these places, and left Lāla Dakhni Rāy in charge to carry on the expedition against Chuckree. He had not advanced far when he received the tidings of the capture of Chuckree.

On reaching the banks of the Coleron, he demanded the arrears of Pīshkash. But Shāh Mīr raised the standard of revolt at Wandawassy and the Rāja of Tanjore following his example also refused to pay tribute. Sa'adat Allāh sent an army under Tāhir Muḥammad Khān, who reduced Wandawassy to subjection and took Shāh Mīr prisoner. Lāla Dakhni Roy advanced at the head of an army comprising of four to five thousand cavalry and ten to twelve thousand infantry towards Tanjore. The Rāja of Tanjore could not stand against the onslaughts of Lāla Dekhni Roy and fled. Dekhni Roy pursued the army as far as Trivaddy where he encamped for the night. The following day he crossed the Cavary and ravaged the country of Tanjore. The Rāja of Tanjore made up matters by paying the arrears of tribute.

After this, Sa'adat Allāh marched towards Trichinopoly as its tribute had fallen in arrears. On his arrival, the Rāja promised to clear up the dues. Sa'adat Allāh, therefore, halted in the village of Sammiaram on the 20th of Jamādī II, in the second year of the reign of Furrukh Siyar, and, on Rājā's clearing up the dues, left for Arcot. On his arrival at Arcot, he sent an army under Tāhir Muḥammad Khān to put down some Pathāns, who were formerly in his service but were now, for want of employment, plundering the country near Cuddapa. The Pathāns were successfully suppressed and Sa'adat Allāh received as reward a Khil'at and a Farmān from Furrukh Siyar. He sent the booty of the battles, comprising of jewels and elephants, to the king, under the protection of Raushan Bēg Khān. About this time some ships arrived at Madras from Bengal from which he learnt that Sultān Muḥammad had set up the pretender, Muḥammad Akbar. He immediately sent an army under Muḥammad Bāqir, son of Ṣādiq 'Alī Khān, towards Tripetty and himself took the field at Caverypauk. After a fierce battle, the rebel Muḥammad Akbar was brought to submission and confined in Gingee. 'Abd an-Nabī Khān and other Polligars were ready to join the insurgents but on hearing the news of this defeat, went back. Sa'adat Allāh wrote an account of this incident to the king and spent sometime in Humāyūn Bāgh at Arcot.

Here he received a Khil'at and a Farmān.

During the reign of Aurangzēb, the Jāgir of Gingee was conferred on Saroop Singh. His son, Dais Singh, however, prevented the Mutaṣaddis (officials) from collecting the revenue. Todar Mal was consequently sent with an army against him but Dais Singh soon came to terms. Todar Mal therefore marched towards Trichinopoly and collected its arrears of tribute on the termination of a successful battle.

During the reign of Akbar the Great, Barsingh Deo Bandela built a big pagoda at Mathura and likewise at Dhamooni in Mālwa and tried to make himself independent. Day Singh also, following the example of his forefather on hearing the royal Farmān to relinquish the fort of Gingee, resolved to rebel. Sa'adat Allāh counselled him to obey the royal Farmān but he rejected the advice and invited the Marathas to take possession of the fort. The Marathas accepted the invitation and began to pour in from the Santgur Pass. The royal farmān was issued on the 25th of Sha'bān in the third year of the king Farrukh Siyar's reign for an expedition to be sent out against the rebels. Tāhir Muḥammad Khān proceeded to Bijaveram and thence to Gooriathum and defeated the Marathas. He then joined Sa'adat Allāh and the army marched to Vellore. Here Sa'adat Allāh himself halted to spend Ramaḍān, and sent the army under Lāla Dekhni Roy against Gingee. Lāla Dekhni Roy marched up to Arnee and soon after Ramaḍān was joined by Sa'adat Allāh. Taij Singh, who was then in power, appointed Dilari and Mahābat Singh to the command of his army and himself moved on to Chitput. Sultān Singh, brother of Saroop Singh, Qila'dār of Callacotta at the foot of Rajgurra, came as an intermediary to Taij Singh and requested time for the surrender of the fort. The proposal was rejected and the army marched to Chitput, a distance of nearly sixteen miles from Gingee. Todar Mal was again sent to Taij Singh to persuade him to surrender peacefully but met with failure. The army consequently marched to Danvanoor, two miles distant from Gingee. A grim battle ensued in which Taij Singh was killed and his army completely routed. The dead body of Taij Singh was burnt by his people and Taij Singh's wife (who had only entered into a contract of marriage with him and had never seen him) burnt herself on the funeral pyre of Taij Singh.

## VI.

### OTHER AUTHORITIES ON THE HISTORY OF THE CARNATIC

I. انورنامه : A *mathnavī* celebrating the exploits of Nawāb Anwar ad-Dīn Khān; the ruler of the Carnatic (died A.H. 1162, A.D. 1749) with a summary of events under his son and successor, Nawāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, (A.H. 1162-1210, A.D. 1749-1794), by Mīr Ismā'il Khān, poetically known as Abjadī, son of Shāh Mīr Bījāpūrī, the brother-in-law of Mullā

Muḥammad Qāsim, the author of the famous history called *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*. He was born at Chingliput which is at a distance of thirty-six miles from Madras. After completing his studies he entered the service of Nawāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, who on accession to the throne of the Carnatic assumed the title Nawāb Amīr Hind Wālā Jāh 'Umdat al-Mulk<sup>1</sup> Āsaf ad-Dawla Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Zafar Jung Sipāh Sālār. The Nawāb Wālā Jāh appointed him the tutor of his son Nawāb 'Umdat al-Umarā and showered royal favours on Abjadī. He was rewarded with six thousand and seven hundred rupees on presenting *Anwar Nāma* to the Nawāb, and was honoured with the title of Malik ash-Shu'arā or poet-laureate of the court in A. H. 1189, A. D. 1775. Besides being a court-poet he was also a very fine prose writer, and the letter of the Nawāb Wālā Jāh I to His Majesty George III of England in A. D. 1760, I think, was composed by him. For the letter of the Nawāb (with an English version), see Rieu, *Cat.* Vol. I, p. 403. He died in A. H. 1193, A. D. 1779.<sup>2</sup>

For copies of the work see *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Cat.*, no. 872, p. 397; *Éthé, Cat.*, nos. 1716, 2904; *Pertsch, Berlin Cat.*, no. 973; *Sprenger, Cat.* pp. 307 and 308; and *Stewart, Cat.*, no. 119. It has 81 foll.

Besides *Anwar Nāma*, Abjadī is the author of the following works :—

(1) A Persian *dīwān* or collection of *Ghazals* and sixteen *Rubā'īs*. For copies see *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Cat.*, no. 873, p. 397; *Asafiyah Cat.* Vol. I, p. 716, no. 482; 'Abd al-Bārī's Library, Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, vide Naẓīr Aḥmad, Notes on Persian MSS. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XIV, 1918, no. 107.

(2) An *Urdū dīwān*. See Blumhard's *India Office Cat. of Hindustāni MSS.*, no. 137.

(3) *Tuḥfah-i-Šibyān*: This is mentioned by Garcin de Tassy who had a MS. copy of the work. See Storey, *Persian Literature*, Section 2 Fasciculus 3, p. 778.

(4) *Mathnavī-i-Haft Jauhar*: A Persian *Mathnavī* on Bahrām Gūr. A copy is in the library of Shamsul 'Ulamā 'Ubaid Allāh, Madras, see Naẓīr Aḥmad, Notes on Persian MSS., no. 219.

(5) In *Gulzār-i-A'ẓam*, p. 23, three other works by the author, viz. (1) *Muwaddat Nāma* (2) *Qiṣṣa-i-Rāghib wa Marghūb* and (3) a commentary on *Tuḥfat al-'Irāqain* of Khāqānī, are also mentioned.

2. توزك والاجاهى : A history of the Carnatic, especially of the time of Anwar Khān (died A. H. 1162, A. D. 1749) and of his son and successor Nawāb Wālā Jāh Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, ruler of the Carnatic

1. Sprenger in *Oudh Cat.*, nos. 64-5, pp. 307 and 308 and Pertsch in *Berlin Cat.*, no. 973, p. 944 write 'Umdat al-Umarā in place of 'Umdat al-Mulk, but I think that they are not right as 'Umdat al-Umarā was the epithet of Wālā Jāh's son who ruled over the Carnatic after his father, from A. H. 1210 to 1216, A. D. 1795-1801.

2. Bibliography :—*Tadhkira Gulzār A'ẓam*, pp. 22-27, *Tadhkira Şubḥ Waṭan*, p. 27; *Éthé, India Office Cat.*, nos. 1716, 2904; Garcin de Tassy, pp. 98-9; and Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 15.



from A.H. 1162-1210, A.D. 1749-1795, by Sayyid Burhān Khān Hāndī, poetically known as "Burhān," bin Sayyid Ḥasan Khān Hāndī. His ancestors lived in Bijāpūr, but he was born at Nathar Nagar (Trichinopoly). He was a pupil of Ghulām Ḥusain "Jawdat," the son of Muḥammad Yār Khān Nā'itī (died A.H. 1213, A.D. 1798, see *Gulzār A'zam*, p. 150), and his fame as an excellent writer of the Persian language spread far and wide in India. He was commissioned in A.H. 1195, A.D. 1781, by the Nawāb to compose a history of the rulers of the Carnatic from his first ancestors who resided in Madīna to his own time. It was suggested to the author that this history should give elaborate accounts of the dynasty in simple language, avoiding the incongruities and deficiencies which are generally caused by a poetical treatment of historical facts owing to the necessity to observe rules of rhyme and metre. The author fulfilled the task with credit and based his history not on Abjadī's *Anwar Nāma* alone, but also consulted other materials which were made accessible to him. Later on, the author came to Madras and settled there. He died in A.H. 1238, A.D. 1822.<sup>1</sup> From *Tadhkira Gulzār A'zam*, p. 112, it appears that he is also the author of the following works :—

(1) *Na'ra-i-Haidarī*, (2) *Inshā-i-Burhānī*, (3) *Munsha'āt bi-Nazīr*, and (4) *Ṭūṭī Nāma* in poetry.

For copies see *Éthé, India Office Cat.*, no. 501. *Aṣafiyah Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 100, no. 1299, and Mr. P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri, *Descriptive Cat. of the Islamic MSS. in the Government Library*, Madras, no. 304, p. 382. It has 219 foll.

From the preface, it appears that the author wanted to write a *Muqaddama* (prologue), two *Daftars* (books) and a *Khātima* (epilogue) for this history dealing with the following :—

**MUQADDAMA** : On the accounts of Abjadī and the occasion for compiling *Anwar Nāma*.

**DAFTAR 1** : On the accounts of the ancestor of the Nawāb Wālā Jāh and on the former rulers of the Carnatic and on the civil administration of the Nawābs Anwar Khān and Wālā Jāh till the capture of Pondicherry by the latter.

**DAFTAR 2** : On the subsequent events and particularly on a series of political correspondence between the principal historical personages of that period.

**KHĀTIMA** : On the description of India and particularly of the Carnatic.

The author could not complete the plan on which he wanted to write this work. Only the *Muqaddama* and the first *Daftar* were finished.<sup>2</sup>

The work has been translated into English by Dr. S. Muḥammad Ḥusain Nainar. Part I, from the early days to the Battle of Amboor

1. Bibliography in *Tadhkira-i-Gulzār A'zam*, pp. 111-112.

2. Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, p. IX, says, "The available copy contains only the *Muqaddima*, the first *Daftar* and the *Khātima*."

(A.H. 1162), printed in Madras 1934. (Madras University Islamic Series, no. 1); Part II, from the Battle of Amboor in A.H. 1162 to the capture of Pondicherry in A.H. 1174, A.D. 1761, printed in Madras, 1939, (Madras University Islamic Series, no. 4, Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A. has given in English a description and a summary of the work under the title "Nawab Anwārū'd-din Khān of the Carnatic" from the *Tuzuk-i-Wālājāhī* of Burhānu'd-dīn, published in pp. 121-129, in the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XIII, Meeting held at Patna, December, 1930, printed, Calcutta, 1932.

3. وقائع سعادت: A very short history of the rulers of the Carnatic and the Nawābs of Arcot and the Jāgirdārs of Vellore by an unknown author.<sup>1</sup> It was compiled in A.H. 1218, A.D. 1803, and was based on Khāfī Khān's (died A.H. 1143 or 1144, A.D. 1731) *Muntakhab-i-Lubāb*, Bāqir 'Alī Khān, the Jāgirdār of Vellore's *Nukāt al-Kā'ināt* and on some traditional information. The work is divided into three chapters as follows:—

THE FIRST CHAPTER: On the Nawābs of Arcot, Sa'adat Allāh Khān, 'Alī Dūst Khān, the son of Sa'adat Allāh Khān's brother of Ghulām Ṣādiq 'Alī Khān<sup>2</sup> (commonly called Ghulām 'Alī Khān), and Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān (who was murdered on the 15th Shā'bān A.H. 1155, 15th October A.D. 1742), with their offsprings.

THE SECOND CHAPTER: On the Jāgirdārs of Vellore from Ghulām 'Alī Khān to Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān's death in Trichinopoly, A.H. 1176, A.D. 1763.

THE THIRD CHAPTER: On the Jāgirdārs of Vellore from Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān to A.H. 1218, A.D. 1803, the date on which this historical treatise was completed.

For copies see *Ethé, India Office Cat.*, nos. 2844 and 2845. See also Storey, p. 779. It has 37 foll.

4. سوانحات ممتاز: A detailed history of the reigns of the Nawāb 'Umdat al-Umarā Wālā Jāh II, (the eldest son of 'Umdat al-Mulk Wālā Jāh I) (A.H. 1210-1216, A.D. 1795-1801) with an account of the last year (*viz.* A.H. 1210, A.D. 1795) of the reign of his father, the Nawāb 'Umdat al-Mulk Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Wālā Jāh I (A.H. 1162-1210, A.D. 1749-1794), with a summary of the later events under 'Abd al-'Alī Khān Nawāb 'Azīm ad-Dawla Wālā Jāh III<sup>3</sup> (the second son of Nawāb 'Umdat al-Umarā Wālā Jāh II) (A.H. 1216-1235, A.D. 1801-1819); Nawāb A'ẓam Jāh Wālā Jāh IV (the son of Nawāb 'Azīm ad-Dawla)

1. Nawāb 'Azīz Jung in his work *Tārīkh-an-Nawāyūt*, p. 549, gives the name of the author of this work as Muḥammad Amīn.

2. For 'Alī Dūst Khān see *Tārīkh-an-Nawāyūt*, p. 364, and *Ma'aṭṭhir al-Umarā* in the accounts of Nawāb Sa'adat Allāh Khān, Vol. II, p. 513.

3. The eldest son of Wālā Jāh II was Nawāb 'Alī Ḥusain Taj al-Umarā but he was deposed from the throne after 18 days by the East India Company, and his brother 'Azīm ad-Dawla was appointed the Nawāb of the Carnatic. Taj al-Umarā died in A.H. 1216, A.D. 1801. See *Asās Riyāsat Carnatic*, p. 29.

(A.H. 1235-1241, A.D. 1819-1825); and Nawāb Muḥammad Ghauth Wālā Jāh V, (the son of Nawāb 'Azīm Jāh) (A.H. 1241-1272, A.D. 1825-1855) under the regency of his uncle 'Azīm Jāh, the son of 'Azīm ad-Dawla.

Muḥammad Ghauth Wālā Jāh V assumed the reins of the administration of the Carnatic in his eighteenth year in A.H. 1258, and died in A.H. 1272. He was an eminent scholar and a poet of high order. His poetical name was A'zam. He is also the author of two biographical books on Persian poets, one is called تذکرہ صبح وطن, lithographed at the Kishan-rāj Press, Madras, A.H. 1259, and the other is named تذکرہ گلزار اعظم, lithographed, Madras, A.H. 1272. His uncle 'Azīm Jāh, whose full name is Nawāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, approached the East India Company after the death of his nephew, Wālā Jāh V, in A.H. 1272, A.D. 1855, with a view to assuming the charge of the Carnatic, but his request was not granted and he was appointed the first prince of Arcot with an allowance of rupees twenty-five thousand per month till his death, which took place in A.H. 1290, A.D. 1873.<sup>1</sup>

The author of the work: سوانح نامتاز<sup>2</sup> is Khair ad-Dīn Ḥasan Ghulām Dāmin, son of Iftikhar ad-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāsir Khān Bahādur Šamšām Jang. He was a grandson of the Nawāb Wālā Jāh I, and was born in A.H. 1194, A.D. 1780. He received the title of Šāhib ad-Dawla Jalādat Jang in A.H. 1210, A.D. 1795, that of Khurshīd al-Mulk in A.H. 1231, A.D. 1815, and on his father's death in A.H. 1236, A.D. 1820, that of Iftikhār ad-Dawla and Šamšām Jang. In the beginning of Rajab, A.H. 1249, November A.D. 1833, when he was living, in Madras, he paid a homage to 'Azīm Jāh, the regent, and was requested by him to write a history of his great ancestor and forefather, 'Umdat al-Umarā, as the poet Abjadī had done for Anwar Khān in his famous work *Anwar Nāma*.<sup>3</sup> He, therefore, wrote this history which he completed on the 27th Dhū'l-Hijjah A.H. 1252, 4th April 1837.

For copies see Ethé, *India Office Cat.* no. 502; Subrahmanya *Cat. of Islamic MSS.*, Madras, no. 447, p. 486 and No. 535 p. 546; Ahl-i-Isām Library, Madras, vide Nazīr Aḥmad's, *Notes on Persian MSS. Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. 14, 1918, no. 8, p. ccxlix, no. 68; and *Aṣāfiyah Cat.*, Vol. III, no. 1299, p. 100. It has 129 foll.

The work is divided into four parts each called گلزار, (each of which contains four chapters, گلدسته) and a Khātima (epilogue) as follows:—

The first part describes the events during the years A.H. 1209

1. See *Asās Riyāsat Carnatic*, pp. 33 and 35.

2. In the preface to the translation of this work Dr. S. Muḥammad Ḥusain Nainar names the author as "Muḥammad Karīm Khairu'd-Dīn Ḥasan Ghulām Dāmin."

3. Bibliography:—Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, no. 502, and Storey, p. 780, Dr. Muḥammad Ḥusain Nainar, preface of *Tuzuk-i-Wālā Jāhī*, p. 13, and the preface of the *Sawānīhāt-i-Mumtāz*, pp. 3-6.

and 1210. It deals with the last year of the Nawāb Wālā Jāh Muḥammad 'Alī Khān's reign, his death on the 29th Rabi' I, A.H. 1210, 13th October A.D. 1795, and 'Umdat al-Umarā's accession.

The second contains accounts of the years A.H. 1211-1212.

The third gives accounts of A.H. 1213-1214.

The fourth describes the events of the years A.H. 1215 and 1216 with a short summary of later events and a detailed genealogy of the family and descendants of Anwar Khān.

The Khātima gives an account of the circumstances which led to the composition of this work. For details see Nainar's *Tuzuk-i-Wālā Jāhī*, Part I, pp. xiv-xvi and the translation of the *Sawānīhāt-i-Mumtāz*, pp. 9-12. It has 129 foll.

5. اساس رياست کرناتک : A history of the Carnatic by Muḥammad Khair ad-Dīn Khān Maḥmūd Jang. In this history, the author gives short accounts of the rulers of the Carnatic and begins his book with the accounts of Nawāb Anwar ad-Dīn Khān. He records at the end that Ghulām Muḥī ad-Dīn Khān, entitled Mu'izz ad-Dawla, son of Nawāb 'Azīm Jāh, died on the 14th Jumadā II, A.H. 1301. This indicates that the author was of modern times. His son Zahr ad-Dīn Aḥmad Khān has lithographed the work of this father in Fakhr-i-Nizāmī Press, Hyderabad, Deccan. See Storey, p. 780.

6. عظیم التواریخ : A political and natural history of India in general and particularly of the Carnatic, by Mawlānā Maḥammad Šibghat Allāh Muftī. The work was undertaken by the order of Nawāb A'zam Jāh Wālā Jāh IV Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Dhū'l-Fiqār Jang Sirāj al-Umarā, who was installed by the British Government as Nawāb of the Carnatic on 3rd February 1819, A.H. 1235. He died in A.H. 1241, A.D. 1825.

The Mawlānā Šibghat Allāh was a reliable official of the Nawāb A'zam Jāh and had the epithet of Maḥmadat al-'Ulamā, Badr ad-Dowla, Muftī (see fol. 3a of the India Office, copy no. 430) or as he is called on fol. 220a, Nawāz Khān Bahādur Mu'tamad Jang 'Umdat al-'Ulamā Muftī Badr ad-Dowla. He selected eminent scholars as collaborators for the various parts of the book. The most prominent of them was Ridā Šāhib, known as Ḥakīm Bāqir Ḥusain Khān Bahādur. He applied himself particularly to the history of the rulers of the Carnatic from Sa'adat Allāh Khān to Nawāb Wālā Jāh IV Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Sirāj al-Umarā. After Ridā Šāhib's death Sayyid Murtaḍā took the work in hand in order to supply other necessary portions of the political history of the Carnatic. The Nawāb's death in A.H. 1241, A.D. 1825, interrupted this work and thus it was left for ever unfinished. Both the superintendent, Šibghat Allāh,<sup>1</sup> and the principal compiler, Sayyid Murtaḍā, were still alive in A.H. 1276, A.D. 1859,<sup>2</sup> the latter was a teacher in the Madrasah.

1. According to *Tārīkh an-Nawāyāt*, p. 471 Sibghat Allāh died in A.H. 1280, A.D. 1863.

2. See Ethé, *Cat.*, no. 430.

The work, for a copy of which see Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, no. 430, contains two parts. The first part contains the political history, and the second part the natural history of the Carnatic, which is divided into eight chapters as follows :—

- (1) Roses and other flowers.
- (2) Tobacco and other kinds of trees and plants.
- (3) Vegetables.
- (4) Cereals
- (5) Birds and poultry of Pāyīn Ghāt and Bālā Ghāt.
- (6) Beasts of prey.
- (7) Waterfowl and fishes.
- (8) Domestic animals, principally the horse.

The Nawāb's zeal for the compilation of this work was particularly stimulated by the establishment of the Royal Asiatic Society in London in 1822, as is mentioned on fol. 3 of the MSS. It is some times called *سراج التواریخ* from the epithet of the Sirāj al-Umarā which the Nawāb had. It has 337 foll.

7. *مجمع الانشاء* : A collection of refined prose-writing, intermixed with verses, chiefly letters and a large percentage of them written in the name of Sa'adat Allāh Khān, the governor of the Carnatic, who died in A.H. 1145, A.D. 1732. The author of the work is Muḥammad Amīn Isrā'īlī, poetically known as Amīn. He was a pupil of Bidil (died A.H. 1133, A.D. 1720), and in A.H. 1131, A.D. 1718, he left Upper India and went to the Carnatic. Through the help of Rāi Dakhnī Roy, the Dīwān of Nawāb Sa'adat Allāh Khān, he entered the service of the Nawāb and was appointed in the epistolary department of the State. He was in friendly terms with the Dīwān and his son Rāi Budhchand whom he has mentioned with respect in his composition. This collection was made at the request of the latter in A.H. 1146, A.D. 1735.<sup>1</sup>

For copies see Rieu, *Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 1067, and Ethé, *Cat.*, no. 2122. It has 177 foll.

8. *سوانح دکن* : Statistics and revenue accounts of the six Śūbas of the Deccan<sup>2</sup> with a historical account of the Āsifs or Nizāms of Ḥaidarābād from their origin to A.H. 1197, A.D. 1178, the year when this work was compiled by Mun'im Khān al-Hamadānī al-Aurangābādī. His grandfather, 'Abd al-Laṭīf, settled in Aurangābād and his father 'Abd al-Mughnī died in Ḥaidarābād in A.H. 1181, A.D. 1767.<sup>3</sup>

In the fifth chapter of this work the author gives an account of the Śūba of Bijāpūr and of a part of the Carnatic, and in the sixth chapter

1. Bibliography :—*Tadhkira Gulzār A'zamī* ; p. 21 ; *Tadhkira-i-Šubh Watan*, p. 33 ; Rieu, *British Museum Cat.* Vol. III, p. 1067 ; and Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, no. 2122.

2. The names of the six Śūbas, are as follows :—

(1) Aurangabad. (2) Khāndēs. (3) Berār. (4) Muḥammadābād (Bīdar). (5) Bijāpūr and a portion of the Carnatic. (6) Ḥaidarābād and a portion of the Carnatic.

3. Bibliography :—Rieu, *Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 322.

he also gives an account of Haidarābād and a part of the Carnatic. In the twelfth chapter he gives the life of the Nawāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān ruler of the Carnatic from A.H. 1162-1210, A.D. 1749-1795.

For copies see Ethé, *Cat.*, no. 2836; and Rieu, *Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 322. It has 186 foll.

9. احوال باغ ادم : An account of the wonderful garden called Bāgh-i-Iram in the Carnatic, by Mīrzā Iqbāl. He was in the service of Tīpū Sulṭān (A.H. 1197-1214, A.D. 1782-1799) this garden named Iram owing to its beauty and splendour after the name of the garden devised by Shaddād bin 'Ad, mentioned in the Holy Qur'ān as ادم ذات العاد. For copies see Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, no. 2813. It has 5 foll.

10. تاريخ الشفاء باوصاف والاجاه : A history of the Carnatic by Madār al-Mulk Raṣṣhan ad-Dawla Bahādur Jang bin Nawāb Wālā Jāh. From Nainar's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Wālā Jāhī*, Vol. II, p. 8, it appears that he was the second son of Nawāb Wālā Jāh I (A.H. 1162-1210, A.D. 1749-1795). His name was Muḥammad Munawar and he held the title of Madār al-Mulk. He grew up to be a famous man of his time and commanded great honour and respect and held the title of Amīr al-Umarā. This title was conferred upon him by Shāh 'Ālam (A.H. 1173-1221, A.D. 1759-1806) as a reward for services rendered in the subjugation of Tanjore.

For copies see *Aṣafīyah Cat.*, Vol. II, p. 1740, no. 34 (4). See also Storey, p. 780.

11. تاريخ نيابت اعظم : A history of the Carnatic by Nawāb Ghulām Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, entitled 'Aẓīm Jāh.<sup>1</sup> He was the son of 'Aẓīm ad-Dawla, Wālā Jāh III, and the brother of A'zam Jāh Wālā Jāh IV. After the death of his brother, 'Aẓīm Jāh was appointed regent for his nephew Muḥammad Ghauth, a young prince of 15 months. He served in that capacity from A.H. 1241-1255, A.D. 1825-1839. In this history, he gives an account of the period in which he served as a regent. He died on the 24th Dhī'l-Qa'da A.H. 1290, A.D. 1873.

For copy see *Aṣafīyah Cat.*, Vol. III., p. 98, no. 1092.

12. بهار اعظم جاہی : A detailed account of the journey of Nawāb A'zam Jāh Wālā Jāh IV, to Nagore and back in A.H. 1238, A.D. 1822, to visit the shrine of Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir Walī, by Ghulām 'Abd al-Qādir Nāẓir bin Ghulām Muḥī ad-Dīn Mu'jiz with the title of Qādir A'zam Khān Bahādur. He accompanied the Nawāb on this journey and was ordered by him to compile an account of the journey to Nagore mentioning the names of villages, tombs of saints, rivers and other places of interest which they have come across in the course of their journey. The work has a preface, four chapters and an epilogue. For other particulars see Nainar's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Wālā Jāhī*, part I, the preface, pp. xvii-xviii.

1. Bibliography:—*Asās Riyāsat Karnatic*, pp. 32-33, and Storey, p. 780.

For an autograph copy see P. P. Subrahmanya, *Cat. of Islamic MSS.*, Madras, no. 529, p. 543. It has 324 foll.

۱۳. نکات السکائنات : This work is one of the sources of the history of the Carnatic called *Waqā'i' Sa'ādat* or *Sa'id Nāma* (see p. 443), by Bāqir 'Alī Khān, the son of the brother of Nawāb Sa'ādat Allāh Khān of the Carnatic. The latter had no male issue and consequently adopted the sons of his brother, appointing the elder, Dūst 'Alī, to succeed him to the Nawābship of the Carnatic and conferring on the younger, Bāqir 'Alī, the government of Vellore.<sup>1</sup>

I was unable to trace a copy of this work in any library. Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, no. 2844, p. 1543, makes a casual reference to this work.

M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN.

1. See *History of the Military Transaction of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745*, Vol. I, third edition, London 1780, pp. 37 and 38; and *Tārīkh an-Nawāyāt*, p. 256.

# CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

## HYDERABAD

### LITERARY TREASURES OF AURANGABAD

THE Nizam's Dominions abound in big family collections of Oriental MSS., but only a few of them, like the Sa'idīyah Library of Hyderabad City, have so far been brought to light. A thorough survey of them all has great prospects, and would yield results of great scientific value. The writer of these lines had the good fortune of recently visiting in Aurangabad City two important collections of rare MSS. :

#### *Panchakki Library.*

The *Panchakki*, or water-mill, is a Muslim monastery of the time of Aurangzēb. It is related that once it possessed a library consisting of 100,000 MSS., but now only a few hundred have survived and most of them are incomplete. The following are the more important of the MSS. :—

1. اخلاق ہندی, pp. 95, by an unknown author, on the lines of *Arabian Nights*. It was owned by an Englishman in Secunderabad under the date 17th October 1871. It is in Urdu. Here and there are some meanings and notes in English.

2. By order of Naṣīruddīn, ruler of Oudh, the Sanskrit work *Hōbdēs* (?) was translated into Persian under the title مفرح القلوب. Here we have its Rēkhtī (i.e. Urdu) translation done by Mīr Bahādur 'Alīy Ḥusainīy in 1217/1802 by order of John Gilchrist, and completed in Calcutta on 7th Ramaḍān 1218/1803.

3. هداية الرامی, on archery, by Muḥammad Barrah *alias* Saiyid Mīr 'Alawī, size 4×6, in Persian, incomplete.

4. An illustrated copy of يوسف زليخا calligraphed by Sharafuddīn ash-Sharīf al-Khawārizmīy, dated 9th Jumādā II 981.

5. Second volume of مکتوبات مجددالف ثانی from the library of emperor Rafī'uddarajāt, in different hands.

6. مثنوی, by Saiyid Muḥammad Taqīy, in Urdu, incomplete. It begins :



بسم الله الرحمن - داستان عجیب

ای قلم سر اوٹھا کے بہر سجدہ پہلے صفحے پر لکھ تو یا معبود

7. An anonymous Urdu poem by some one with apparently *Bahram* as his poetic name, on foolscap size. It begins :—

بنام ایزد بخشائندہ بخشائشگر مہربان

ساتھ وہ گلو جو دل سرگلستان میں تھا شکل گل کیا چاک تا دامن گریبان میں تھا

Part 2 of the MS. is a Persian poem by the same.

8. An incomplete copy of *بہارستان*, by Jāmī, showing entry into the library of emperor Aurangzēb in 1069. Some other record dated 1065 H.

9. Incomplete copy of الرسالة الوجودية المباركة by Makhdūm Saiyid Muḥammad Ḥusainīy Bandenawāz Gēsūdarāz 'Ashaq Shāhbāz.

10. *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ dated 1223 H.

11. انشای دستور الامتياز, by *Khush* Ḥāl Rāe, compiled at the instance of Lālah La'ldās son of Rājah Rām Kāyat Bhatnākar, dated Friday, 24th Shā'bān 1173. A few Urdu couplets are on pages detached from the text. The title is pasted with the following printed slip with the exception of the figure 24 which is handwritten :—

بولص میخائیل کبابہ فی  
مانشیستر  
Paul Cababe  
Manchester  
24 Yds.

12. A volume with a few pages missing in the beginning and at the end, consisting of three MSS :—

(a) سیر المتاخرین, dated 24th Jumādā II 1248. It is a history of the later period of the Mughal empire down to the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. Calligraphed, in Persian, by Ṣā'ib Rāe, by order of Ḥaidar Ḥusain Khān Bahādur.

(b) احوال سید حسن علی خان و حسین علی خان و آصف جاہ و ناصر جنگ از کتاب  
سرو آزاد

calligraphed by the same calligraphist for the same patron on 17th Jumādā II 1247.

(c) وقائع سلطنت محمد شاہ

13. بوستان of Sa'dī along with Urdu translation, sentence by sentence which is in the beginning in red ink to distinguish the Urdu

from the Persian text. Size 8×12. About 150 years old. It begins :—  
 بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ . مَنّت خدای را عزوجل / شکر و احسان ہے خدا کہ غالب ہے سب پر  
 اور بزرگ ہے سب سے / طاعتش .....  
 14. غرائب الکرامات ملفوظ حضرت شاہ برہان الدین اولیا صاحب قدس اللہ سرہ.

consisting of *obiter dicta* of Hadrat Shāh Burhānuddīn Auliya (died 738 H.), on the lines of the work of Khawājah 'Imād.

15. خلاصۃ الاحکام, a law compendium in Persian, calligraphed by 'Abdul Wāhid son of Shaiikh Muḥammad Tāhir, administrator of the mausoleum of Pir Khōjan Ganjnashīn, dated 1st Jumādā I 1056.

16. انشای برہان اللہ چشتی, dated 26th Ṣafar of the year of reign of Muḥammad Shāh 24/1155, calligraphed in Hyderabad by Dhanīrām son of Tarēnmāl son of Prasōtamdās Kayasth of Etawah near Akbarābād. There are a few Urdu couplets on the first page.

17. (?)...دوائر العلماء و سلاسل, an Arabic biographical work, a thick volume of about a thousand pages, with illustrative genealogical trees. The work is not known to Brockelmann, *GAL*.

18. سیرۃ ابن اسحاق, in Persian, has pages missing in the beginning, the middle and the end. There is complete copy of this rare work in Paris which the present writer had utilised. The MS. in question is only about 1/10 of the whole.

19. A few leaves of a poem in Turkish.

20. A *dirrah* or whip to punish those who drink wine, etc. It appears to be several hundred years old, preserved in good order. Its shape is



Wooden  
handle

Leather strap

*Library of Mr. Gēsūdarāz.*

Mr. Muḥammad Gēsūdarāz Khān of Nawābpūra Street, Aurangabad City, has not only inherited a collection of MSS., etc., of considerable value, but has himself enriched it with many costly and valuable new acquisitions. The library contains, beside miniatures, about one thousand Arabic, Persian and Urdu MSS., which are kept in very good state of preservation. In this first short notice, it will not be possible to do full justice to it. A few of the more important MSS. may be dealt with here :—

*Construction of Bibi Mausoleum.*

Aurangzēb's son had built in Aurangābād a copy of the *Tāj*. This library possesses papers which give the estimates of the Imperial Public

Works' Department. Besides being of great historical interest, its proper study may be of considerable value to the understanding of architectural, engineering, masonic and other technical achievements of the hay days of the Mughal period, and may even prove of practical value in the conservation of those old monuments.

### *Other Manuscripts.*

There are many Arabic works not recorded even by Brockelmann. There is a Urdū *Dīwān* of Walī, which contains several poems not found in other MSS. of this work. It was copied in 1145 H. There is the *Mathnawī* of Mīr Ḥasan which is of considerable rarity. There is an album of calligraphy with 17 miniature illustrations. Persian translation of *Bhagvat Gīta*, translation of a Syriac prayer attributed to Ibn-'Abbās, *Majmu'ah 'Ālamgīrī* by Amīr Qiwāmuddīn Sinjānī, daily prayers and litany of Naṣīruddīn Chirāgh-e-Dehlī, *obiter dicta* of Mu'īnuddīn, Chishtī, of Quṭbuddīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, and of Nizāmuddīn Maḥbūb-e-Ilāhī are some of the other interesting works found here.

### A MAP OF THE BATTLE-FIELD OF KHADLAH.

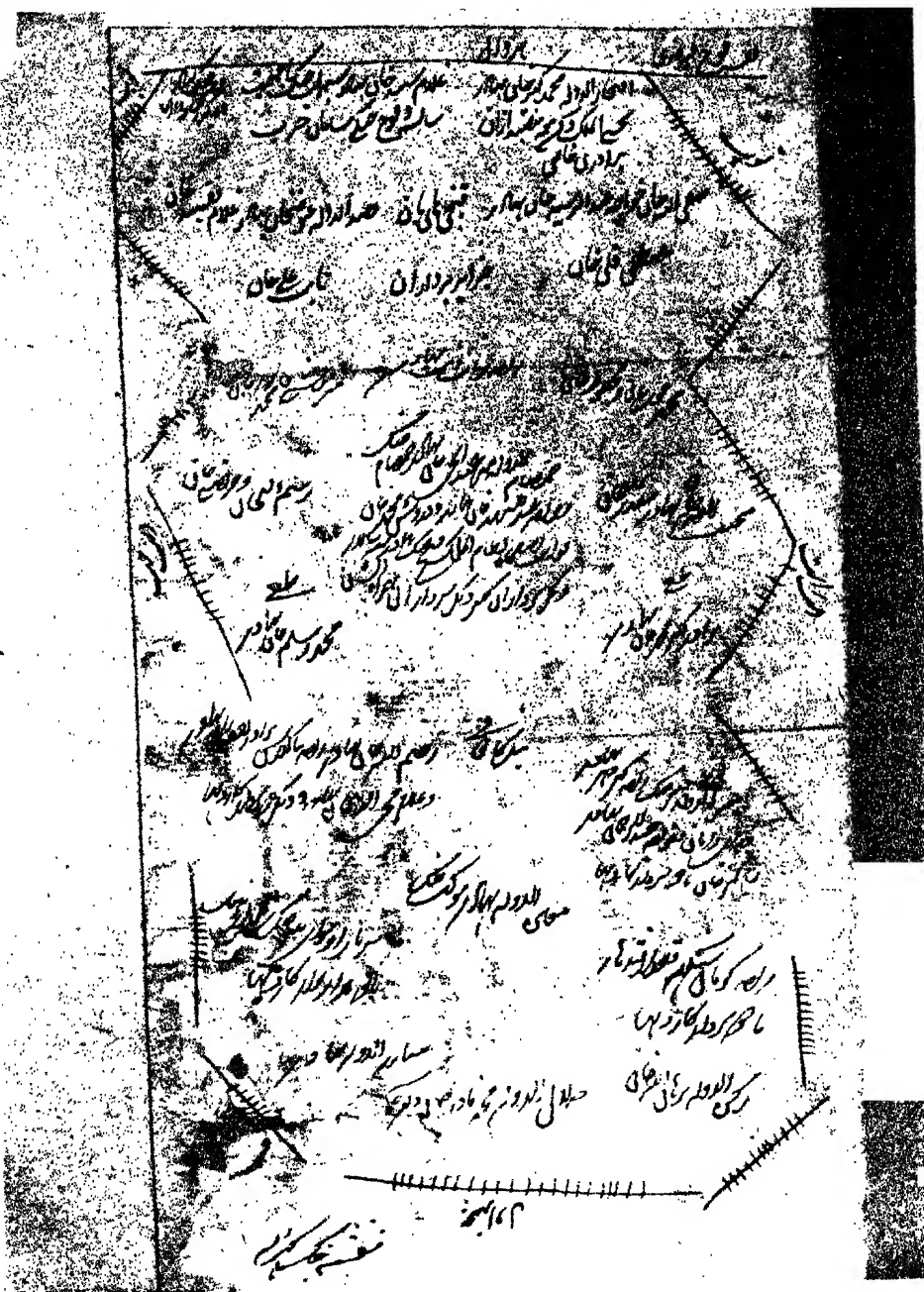
This unique copy of a staff map of this historic battle, from the same collection, is 13½ inches long and 6½ inches wide. The paper is hand-made and is getting yellowish by age. Apparently it is as old as it claims to be. Its proper study will fall in the domain of the students of history. Here I reproduce the photograph of the said map, with the kind permission of its owner, along with a brief note :

### *Historical Background.*

As a result of the disintegration of the Mughal empire in India, many petty independent States had sprung up in various parts of the country. During the closing years of the 18th century, the Daulat *Khudādād* of Mysore, the Marathas in Poona, and the Aṣafjāhīs in Hyderabad were, beside the trading companies of the French and the English, the principal actors in the political drama of southern India.

Owing to internecine feuds between these Deccanis, some treaties were concluded between Hyderabad and Poona, which were unfavourable to the former. When under Nizām 'Alīy *Khān* a more stable and powerful government ruled over the Nizām's Dominions, negotiations were opened in order to revise these treaties.

Hyderabad was on good terms with the English East India Company, and there were treaties between them for mutual military help. The



### MAP OF THE BATTLE OF KHADLAN



Nizām, not unnaturally, relied upon the British for the purpose of mediation between him and the Marathas and also for military help in case of the negotiations proving futile. The British declined either to mediate or to render military help, which led to the Marathas stiffening their claims, and the conference broke out after an exchange of hard words; war became unavoidable.

The Nizām was forced to lean more and more towards the French mercenaries, and he increased their strength. A Maratha chief, Mahārāja Sindhia was also won over by the diplomacy of the Nizām.

After these preparations, the Nizām marched with his army of a hundred, or a hundred and thirty thousand horsemen and about two hundred thousand infantry, towards the Maratha frontier. En route he learnt the news of the sudden death of Mahārāja Sindhia. His son and successor not only did not honour his father's pledge but he actually joined forces with the opposite camp.

The enemy took the initiative and entered the Nizām's Dominions. Pillage and havoc followed in his wake. War had now to be faced in self-defence. Early in March, 1795, the two forces met near Khadlah fort. According to Grant Duff (*History of the Mahrattas*, II, 248), and Hyderabad histories, in the first encounter the trained forces of the Nizām had control over the situation. Next day when he proceeded forward towards Parenda, another battle ensued on the right flank of the Hyderabad army. Nizām 'Alīy Khān at once made his elephant halt, and the cavalry of Asad Khān as well as the "Gārdīs" (army organised on European model), 17,000 strong under M. Raymond were ordered to face the Marathas led by Persrām. The disposition of the Maratha army was as follows :—

LEFT FLANK	CENTRE	RIGHT FLANK
<i>Daulat Rāo Sindhia</i>	<i>Persrām Bhāo</i>	<i>Rāghūji Bhōsla</i>

According to Sirājuddīn Ṭālib, author of *Nizām 'Alīy Khān*, scarcely had Persrām advanced when Lāl Khān Ballūchī opposed him with his band of Pathāns, and was even able to come close to Persrām whom he wounded. But in the meanwhile Persrām's son came to the rescue of his father and Lāl Khān was killed. The Pathāns did not get disheartened at the loss of their commander, and were soon reinforced by the troops of Alif Khān, the Nawab of Karnool, and by Ṣalābat Khān son of Ismā'il-Khān Pannī. The Marathas were soon driven to hard straits.

When the "Gārdīs" under Raymond and Asad 'Alīy Khān were advancing to give battle, the Maratha artillery under Perron was able to disperse the Hyderabad cavalry. Raymond's forces still remained intact, and fought on until night separated the opponents.—The map refers only to the part of the battle fought on the road to Parenda.

To complete the story, the Maratha patrols traced, during the night, the camp of Raymond; and when some fires were exchanged and other fires followed point blank, the main Hyderabad army concluded from

a distance that the Marathas wanted to pursue their attack even during the darkness of the night ; and so the Nizām ordered his army to strike tents and proceed at once to the fort of Khadlah. In the morning the Maratha scouts were surprised to find that the Hyderabadis had left the field in dismay without fight and had left much ammunition. The Marathas then marched forward and besieged the fort of Khadlah where scarcely 1/10 of the original army had followed with the Nizām. Soon the inglorious treaty of Khadlah had to be accepted.

The unexpected defeat of the Hyderabad army is believed by the author of *Gulzār Āṣafīyāh* (p. 160-161) to be due to the defection of certain officers, presumably Ruknuddaulah; a former upstart minister. He records the following dialogue between the Hyderabad hostage (Prime Minister Aristū-Jāh) and Nāna-Farnawīs :—

“ Well, Nawab Sahib ! our seven lakhs of rupees have achieved greater success than your ten millions ”—(referring to the alliance of the deceased Sindhia with the Nizām).

The map which we are publishing shows the distribution of Nizām's army when, en route to Parenda, it encountered the Marathas :—

### *Disposition of Hyderabad Army.*

نقشه فوج فیروزی Disposition of the “ Victorious army.”

هراول Vanguard

Artillery توپ	1	2	3	artillery توپ
	4	قینچی های بان Rocket dischargers	5	
	6	جزائر برداران Musketeers	7	
	8	9	10	
Left Wing دست چپ	11	12, 13,	14	Right Wing دست راست
	?	15	?	
	16		17	
	18	19	20	
		21		
	22		23	
	24		25	
		26		

Rear Guard

جند اول

نقشه جنگ کهڑله Map of the battle of Khadlah

## Keys :

1. Dilējung (?) Bahādur and other cavalry officers دلیہر (؟) جنگ بہادر  
و دیگر رسالہ داران
2. Ghulām Sayyid Khān Bahādur Suhrābjang, with a trained army,  
and troops equipped with armaments.  
غلام سید خان بہادر سہراب جنگ با جمعیت شائستہ و فوج جنگی ، سامان حرب
3. Iftikhārullah Muḥammad Kabīr Khān Bahādur, the Pay-  
master-General of Deccan, along with Maṣabdar.  
افتخار الدولہ محمد کبیر خان بہادر بخشئی الملک دکن معہ منصبداران برادری خاص
4. Aḍuddaulah 'Iwāḍ Khān Bahādur Ghulām Naqshband Khān  
عضد الدولہ عوض خان بہادر ، غلام نقشبند خان
5. Ṣafīullāh Khān Khwājah 'Abdurrahīm Khān Bahādur.  
صفی اللہ خان ، خواجہ عبدالرشید خان بہادر
6. Thābit 'Alīy Khān ثابت علی خان
7. Muṣṭafā Qulī Khān مصطفیٰ قلی خان
8. Mīr Mūsā Khān Muḥammad Nawāz Khān میر موسیٰ خان محمد نواز خان
9. Rāja Partābwant Bahādur راجہ پرتاب و نت بہادر
10. Muḥammad Ghauth Khān and Maḥfūz Khān محمد غوث خان و محفوظ خان
11. Rustamdil Khān and Murtaḍā Khān رستم دل خان و مرتضیٰ خان
- 12 & 13. Ṣamsāmuddaulah Mīr 'Abdul-Haīy Khān Bahādur Ṣamsām-  
jang and Khwāja 'Abdurrahīm Khān Bahādur and Darwīsh Muḥammad  
Khān.  
صمصام الدولہ میر عبدالحی خان بہادر صمصام جنگ  
و خواجہ عبدالرشید خان بہادر و درویش محمد خان
14. Mujībullāh Khān Bahādur Ṣafdar 'Alīy Khān  
مجیب اللہ خان بہادر ، صفا علی خان
15. Nawāb Aṣafjāh Nizām mulk Fataḥjang Bahādur, the Supreme  
Commander, along with higher officers and other officers in his company.  
نواب آصفجہ نظام الملک فتح جنگ بہادر سپہ سالار  
دیگر سرداران دلاں ، و دیگر سرداران ہمراہ ایشان
- ? (a certain sign طے، which I could not decipher).  
? Do do do
16. Muḥammad Aslam Khān Bahādur محمد اسلم خان بہادر
17. Brother of Kabīr Muḥammad Khān Bahādur برادر کبیر محمد خان بہادر



18. Raḥīmullāh Khān Bahādur, Rājah Mākandās, the nephew of Rājah Bahādur and Ghulām Muḥiuddīn Khān Bahādur and two other officers of the "Gārdīs" (i.e., troops organised on European model).

رحیم اللہ خان بہادر ، راجہ ماکنداس (؟ ماکنداس) برادر زادہ راجہ بہادر و غلام محی الدین خان بہادر و دیگر دو سرداران گاردیہا

19. Her Majesty the Queen of Hyderabad, بندگان عالی

20. Mu'īnuddaulah Munīrjang, Rājah Girdhar Bahādur and Rai Rāyān and Khawājah 'Abdurrahmān Bahādur, Sālīm Khān along with two officers of the "Gārdīs"

معین الدولہ منیر جنگ ، راجہ گردھر بہادر و رائی رایان و خواجہ عبدالرحمن بہادر ، سالمخان بادو سرداران گاردیہا

21. Mu'īnuddaulah Bahādur Shaukatjang معین الدولہ بہادر شوکت جنگ

22. Sarnā Rāo Sawāi, . . (?) jang, . . . (?) along with two thousand horsemen of the "Gārdīs".

سرنا راو سوائی ، . . . جنگ ، . . . بادو ہزار سوار گاردیہا

23. Rājah Gōpāl Singh the keeper of the fort of Qandhār, along with two officers of the "Gārdīs."

راجہ گوپال سنگھ قلعہ دار قندھار با دو سردار گاردیہا

24. Mubārizuddaulah Bahādur

مبارز الدولہ بہادر

25. Ruknuddaulah Burhānullāh Khān

رکن الدولہ برہان اللہ خان

26. Jalāluddaulāh Muḥammad Nādir Khān Dilērang.

جلال الدولہ محمد نادر خان دلیر جنگ

N.B.—The difference between nos. 15 and 19 would ordinarily be not clear. The word *Bandagān-e-Ālī* usually denotes the royalty; but it means here Her Majesty and other female members of the camp, who displayed wonderful bravery and courage.

Between posts 4 and 5 were قینچی ہائے بان (Rocket discharged); and between posts 6 and 7 were جزائر برداران, which word seems to be a corruption of جزائل (i.e., muskets, cf. Steingass in loco).

M. H.

*A Conference of the Islamic Sciences in the Osmania University:—*

THE spectacle of the present day world as spread before our eyes shows clearly what havoc and destruction this materialism of the 20th century has brought about in its wake. In fact we are disgusted with the moral degradation and the political and social chaos prevalent in our days.

Man is therefore anxiously waiting for a new order which may purge the modern world of evil. New theories for the reconstruction of the world are being evolved. The concepts of the east and the west are being weighed and balanced. At such a time the students of the faculty of theology of the Osmania University have rightly felt the need for organizing a conference under the auspices of the Faculty of Theology in order to bring to light the salient features of Islam, which has yet the power to cure this disabled world. Apart from the lectures and poems delivered at this conference, the following articles were also contributed :—

1. The Position of the Capitalist and the Labourer in Islam, by Mr. Yusuf al-Dīn, M.A.
2. Imām Ṭaḥāwī and the Science of Tradition, by Mr. Syyed 'Abdul-Razzāq, M.A.
3. The Economic Thoughts of Ibn-Khaldūn, by Mr. 'Abdul-Qādir. (of the Economics Department).
4. The Natural Religion, by Moulānā 'Abdul-Qadīr Ṣiddiqī, ex-Head of the Faculty of Theology.
5. The Relation between Scholasticism and the Science, by Mr. Syyed Moḥammad Ṣādiq, M.A.
6. Furqān, by Muftī Raḥīmuddīn.
7. History and Holy Tradition in Balance, by Moulvī Moḥammad 'Alī (of the Faculty of Theology).
8. Theocracy, by Mr. Ya'qūb al-Raḥmān (of the Faculty of Theology).
9. Qur'ān and the Remedy of Fear, by Dr. Mīr Walīuddīn (of the Department of Philosophy).

This conference has also passed some useful resolutions two of which deserve special mention :—

1. That the education of the Faculty of Theology should be extended to the high schools, and intermediate colleges of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions.
2. That arrangement for higher education of the Islamic sciences should be made in the girls' colleges also.

These resolutions require no comments. There is no denying the fact that the Islamic sciences are the most essential study for the young Muslims and especially for the Muslim girls who must be properly equipped to play their destined role in the reconstruction of the Muslim nation as did their mothers and sisters in the glorious past.

### *Celebration of the Prophet's Birthday in the Osmania University :—*

The birthday of the Prophet (Peace be on him!) is as usual being celebrated under the auspices of the Osmania University hostels. On this occasion the following subjects for the prize essays have been selected :

1. The Relation of the Prophet with his Contemporary Rulers (for

the students of F.A., B.A., B.Sc., B.E. & M.B.B.S.)

2. The Islamic Conception of Internationalism (for the students of M.A., M.Sc., LL.B., LL.M.)

3. The Place of the Prophet as a Teacher of Mankind (for non-Muslim students competing for the Prof. Subba Rao Prize).

4. The Home-Life of the Prophet (for girl students).

5. The Early Life of Muḥammad (Peace be on him!) (for the students of the secondary schools).

### *The Education of Geography in the Osmania University :—*

IT is learnt with great satisfaction that the Osmania University will very soon possess a Chair of Geography. Necessary arrangements are being made and the syllabus for classes from Intermediate up to M.A. has already been prepared. This highly important subject deserves to be given its due place among the studies carried out in this University. It is not unjustly hoped that the scholars of the Osmania University, in keeping with their tradition, will throw further light on the contributions of the Muslim geographers and enlighten the Muslim public with their researches into this subject.

### *Islamic Research Institute.*

THIS institute was founded in 1939 with Mr. Khawāja Mo'in ad-Dīn, as its founder and secretary. It aims at publishing works for the general public on Islam and modern Islamic States both in the Urdu and the English languages. This institute has so far succeeded in compiling and publishing the following works :—

1. *Pan-Arabism* (in Urdu) by Mr. Khawāja Mo'in ad-Dīn, B.A.

2. *Modern Afghanistan* Do.

3. *Musalmanan-e Chin* Do.

Besides these published works, treatises on *Islam and Contemporary Doctrines of Europe* and *New World-Order and Islam* are being prepared. This association deserves encouragement as it is doing a useful service in educating the public opinion.

### *The Majlis-e-'Ulama of Hyderabad-Deccan.*

AT its session of this term, this association of the Hyderabad 'Ulama has given its verdict upon a highly important question for the Muslim community. It is well-known that the 'Ids or Muslim festivals are dependent upon the appearance of the new moon, the visibility of which should be declared by trustworthy witnesses. Owing to the climatic

differences the dates and days of the Muslim festivals differ in every part of the Muslim world. The Hyderabad Ecclesiastical Department wished to utilize radios and to broadcast the appearance of the new moon throughout India from all radio stations. But the learned members of this association are not in favour of such a move as it would not conform with the principles of Islam. The main points of the argument as described by Dr. M. Hamīdullāh are as follows :—

1. To celebrate the 'Īds on one and the same day all over the world is not an Islamic necessity as it is obvious that the time-tables of daily prayers and breakfasts during the fasting days of Ramaḍān are not uniform in all parts of the world.

2. The nature itself likes variety ; so much so, the duration of the day is not equal in all parts of the world.

3. The Holy Tradition informs us that an authoritative report regarding the sight of new moon in Syria was not considered binding in al-Madīna by the Companions of the Prophet.

4. Owing to the globular shape of the earth a traveller after crossing a certain longitude on the surface of the ocean notices that if on the one side of the longitude there is Friday, on the other side of it at the same hour there is Thursday only a few yards away ; that is a difference of full 24 hours.

5. Similarly, if a person flies from the east to the west or vice versa round the equator at a speed of about 1,000 miles an hour in order to cover the whole circumference of the earth, due to the globular shape and rotation of the earth, in one direction of the earth the traveller will never come across a sunset in case he started at noon ; and in another he will see the sunrise and sunset twice in 24 hours.

6. In the northern and southern zones of the earth, the days are so short that there the timings set in the temperate zones for praying and fasting are of no use at all ; and at the poles the days and the nights alternate for six months at a stretch.

7. Moreover, the new moon in the horizon is not necessarily seen in all places at one and the same time as its visibility is dependent upon certain laws of Nature. According to the superintendent of a renowned observatory, the new moon can be observed in all parts to the west of the place where it is seen, but the east of the place, the new moon can be sighted only within a limited distance on the same day.

8. Imām Abū-Ḥanīfa or any one of the early Imāms never held that the horizon مطلع of the whole world is one and the same. Nor the Qur'ān or the Ḥadīth leave to understand that the new moon is seen all over the world on the same day. It were a few of the later jurists who held such opinion.

9. To rely upon radios for confirmation of the news of the sight of the new moon is not advisable as in this case the religion is brought under the control of the machine which cannot be trusted.

10. A report regarding the sight of the new moon in a country,

however, can be acceptable to those neighbouring countries only which are at a night's journey according to the speed of a natural means of conveyance.

*The Collegian*, Vol. XI, 1942, No. 2.

IN this magazine of the Nizam College (Hyderabad) there are two interesting articles dealing with Islam; one of them is "Cairo and Arabic Language and Literature" by Dr. Zāhid 'Alī. This article describes the part played by Egypt in the development of the Arabic language. The other article is "Hints to the Younger Generation" by Nawab Sir Nizāmat Jung. The gist of Nawab Sir Nizāmat Jung's message in his own words is "For us Muslims there is nothing so truly inspiring as the contemplation of our splendid past. Inspired by our religion, we achieved much of that progress which has stamped itself upon the world. So, I say, that let us not be hurried away by our modern hybrid education and go hunting for false enthusiasm under the guidance of those who willingly or unwillingly misguide us. Let us remember that our utmost efforts in that direction cannot carry us beyond feeble imitation. To put real life into our enthusiasm, let us draw power from our own long-neglected stores and if we wish to march towards progress, let us first learn to stand on our own feet. The lesson of experience and the lesson of history both teach us that there must be inward power for all true progress. And power cannot be borrowed; it must grow from within."

This thought-provoking message deserves special attention of the young Muslims as it is from the pen of a leading thinker who says of himself, "I have travelled many a league since my student days at Cambridge, seen many aspects of life and passed through different worlds of thoughts and imagination and faith."

M. A. M.

## DECCAN

### 1. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala*, Poona (Quarterly, June 1942).

IT contains an article on a *Farman of Shahjahan to Kheloji Bhonsle*. The writer of this article has not consulted contemporary sources. He has further avoided the scientific verification of the authenticity of the Farman, and deliberately neglecting the reproduction of its facsimile has drawn the following conclusions:—

"Here we find that no account of the meritorious services of Kheloji in the campaign of Gulbarga is given by the court chroniclers of Shāh Jahān. This Farman, thus, furnishes us with one more document signifying that the court chroniclers generally avoided giving any reference to the great deeds of the Hindu nobles and commanders of the army."

Ignoring the motives of the writer of this article, we give here for the information of our readers some of the references which supply all necessary details of Kheloji Bhonsle's activities, viz., *Badshah Nama* of Mulla

Abdul Hamid Lahori (Vol. I, p. 413, II, p. 166), 'Amal Ṣāliḥ (Vol. I, p. 460), *Khafī Khān* (Vol. I, p. 479), *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā* (Vol. III, pp. 520-524).

2. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, Vol. III.*

In this issue there is another instalment of Prof. C. H. *Shāikh*'s article on *Some Literary Personages of Ahmadnagar*. It contains the account of two most important literary figures of the Deccan, viz., Malik Qummi and Ṣalabat *Khān*, who contributed a good deal towards the general history of the Deccan.

Dr. M. A. Chaghatai's important monograph on the *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad through their Inscriptions*, covers more than one hundred pages. This monograph helps the study of mediæval Gujarat. It comprises not only the text and translation of the inscriptions from different monuments of Ahmadabad but also reproduces eighteen plates of the facsimiles of the inscriptions.

3. *The Iran League Quarterly, Bombay, April 1942.*

To this magazine Furdoonjee D. J. Paruck has contributed a summary of one of his lectures on *The Political Relations between Persia and India* in which he has traced the cultural relations existing between these two countries from very remote times and has divided his thesis into many sub-heads, some of which are Indianised Persian Settlers, Circulation of Persian Coins in Ancient India, Architectural and Inscriptional Models, Sassanian Domination in India, Immigration of the Parsis into India, Timur's Time, and Conclusion.

The remarks made by the learned lecturer under the caption "In Timur's Time" are of particular interest to us. The mention of the word *Gabr* for an Indian infidel in the *Zafar Namah* of Sharfu'd-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (Vol. II, pp. 129-145) has been the cause of some misunderstanding; despite the fact that Elliot and Dowson (Vol. III, p. 506) have tried to clear the ambiguity in a footnote saying that *Gabr* has come to mean an infidel in general and so Musalman's intolerance and contempt made all infidels *Gabrs*. To amplify this assertion we cite here one very interesting incident. When *Shāikh* Sa'di *Shirazi* paid a visit to the famous temple of Somnāth, he beautifully described it in his verses (*Bostan*, Bombay ed., p. 114), and one of them is worth quoting:—

همین برهمن راستودم بلند      کہ اے پیر تفسیر استاد ژند

Now from this particular verse of *Shāikh* Sa'di referring to the chief Brahman of the temple reciting *Avesta*, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians, we can easily conclude that *Avesta* is supposed to be the holy book of the Brahmans by Sa'di, because he was ignorant of the sacred books of the different Indian religions. The meaning of *Avesta* in this general sense is obviously based on *Shāikh* Sa'di's knowledge of the infidels of Iran

whose sacred book according to him was no other than *Avesta*. For this reason we disagree with the view that the mention of *Gabr* in the histories of Timur is used for the Zoroastrians, since it is a general term for all infidels.

M.A.C.

*Majlis-e-'Ilmi (Academy of Islamic Sciences) of Dābhīl, Surat (Gujarat).*

IN 1350 A.H. this academy was founded by Maulānā Muḥammad Anwar Shāh Kashmīrī, Shaikh-al-Hadīth, in the Islamia College, Dābhīl ; and it is now working under the patronage of Moulānā Shabbīr Ḥasan 'Uthmānī with Moulvī Syyed Aḥmad Riḍa Bijnori as its director. The aims and objects of this academy are—

1. To edit in the best possible manner rare MSS. and the scientific works of the eminent Muslim scholars.
2. To compile useful works on religious and literary subjects with a view to supply the urgent needs of the Muslim community.
3. To prepare and publish books useful to the students of the Muslim schools and to the Muslim teachers or Professors.

This learned body has so far published the following works :—

1. نصب الرأيه لاحاديث الهدايه : by Imām Jamāl al-Dīn al-Zaila'iy (d. 762 A.H.). It contains all the holy Traditions authenticated by the four schools of the Islamic jurisprudence. This academy has spent much time and labour in producing an accurate text and adding valuable foot-notes, and necessary commentaries to this highly important work. It is published in four volumes with great care.

2. فيض الباري على صحيح البخاري : It is a highly useful commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in four volumes by a famous Indian scholar Moulvī Moḥammad. Anwar al-Kashmīrī (d. 1352 A.H.).

3. الخير الكثير : (In Arabic), by Imām Shāh Walī-allāh, the famous traditionist of India. This book is a supplement to Shāh Sahib's famous work *Ḥajj al-Lah al-Bāligh* ; as the latter explains the secrets of the Islamic tenets and jurisprudence while the former deals with ontology. This valuable work of Shāh Walī-allāh is very carefully edited after it had been collated with a rare MS. preserved in a Russian Library.

4. الدور البازغ : This is another important Arabic work of Imām Shāh Walī-allāh. It deals with such problems of Islamic theology and metaphysics as are not generally explained by a majority of the scholastics. The edition of this work is based on two MSS. one of them is a copy of the MS. of Dār-ul-'Ulloom, Deoband, and the other belongs to Maulānā 'Ubaidullāh al-Sindhī.

5. تفهيمات الالهيه : by Imām Shāh Walī-allāh.

6. معارف لدنيه is in Persian on Sufism written by Haḍrat Mujaddid Ṣaḥib Elfe-Thānī.

7. حق اليقين is another treatise in Persian on Sufism written by Allama Maḥmūd al-Tabrīzī.

Besides these critical editions, the following original works of the founder of this academy—Maulānā Moḥammad Anwar Shāh Kaṣhmīrī are also published.

(١) نيل الفرقدين (عربي) ، (٢) بسط اليدين لنيل الفرقدين (عربي) ، (٣) كشف السترن صلوة الوتر (عربي محشى) (٤) اكفار الملحددين (عربي) (٥) تحية الاسلام في حياة عيسى عليه السلام (٦) مرقة الطارم لحدوث العالم (عربي) (٧) خاتم النبيئين (فارسي) (٨) خزان الاسرار (عربي) (٩) مشكلات القرآن

The Urdu publications of this Academy are :—

- |                    |                                    |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. خوارق عادات     | by Moulānā Shabbīr Aḥmad 'Uṭhmānī. |
| 2. الروح في القرآن | by .. .. .                         |
| 3. رسول كريم       | by .. .. .                         |

These achievements of the academy really deserve every encouragement. It is hoped that it will soon receive the due attention of the Muslims. We wish it success in its ever-increasing utility.

M. A. M.

## NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

### *The Celebration of H.E.H. the Nizam's Birthday in the Muslim University.*

To celebrate the birthday of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, Chancellor of the Muslim University, an 'At Home' was given by the Vice-Chancellor, Lt.-Col. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad in the befitting surroundings of the Nizam-Wellington Pavilion. Members of the staff, district officials and the gentry of the town attended the function.

Speaking on the occasion, the Vice-Chancellor of the University referred to the close connections existing between Hyderabad and Aligarh and remarked, "Hyderabad at present is the centre of Muslim culture and Urdu language and the munificence of His Exalted Highness is extended to every institution and also to learned men all over India. The university is particularly indebted to His Exalted Highness for his personal interest and generous assistance." Dr. Hadi Hasan, speaking as a Hyderabadī, eulogized the services of His Exalted Highness to the cause of learning and said, Hyderabad had the unique distinction of spending Rupees two crores, which amounted to one-fifth of its income, on the



education of its people. Hyderabad, he further said, was also the foremost in recognizing the value and promoting the use of Urdu as the medium of instruction. He also referred to the happiness, contentment and perfect harmony prevailing among different sections of the people of Hyderabad. The University Dean offered prayers for the long life and prosperity of H.E.H. the Nizam and the function came to an end amid scenes of fervour and enthusiasm.

### *Discovery of the first Muslim Work on Optics.*

The students of Physics would be gratified to learn that Dr. M. Zakiuddin of the Muslim University (Aligarh) has discovered in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, a long neglected work of Al-Kindi on the science of optics. The learned world is well aware of the importance of this science. With Ptolemy of Alexandria, who made experimental observations about the passage of light in matter, closed an age of this scientific achievement. After him 'Ali ibn al-Haitham (known as Al-Hazan in Europe) made pioneer experiments in optics. Between A.D. 139 (Time of Ptolemy) and A.D. 990 (Time of Al-Haitham) is a gap of about 850 years. Dr. Mohammad Zakiuddin has been trying to fill up this gap and has found a work which does throw light on the Muslim experiments in optics during this intervening period.

Dr. Zakiuddin's interest in works of Al-Kindi, the Arab philosopher of Baghdād, needs no elucidation as the doctor has already published an Urdu translation of al-Kindi's document on the blue colour of the sky, in the *Aligarh Magazine* in 1931. The work under reference was discovered by Dr. M. Zakiuddin in 1931. The Patna MS. of this work was copied in Cairo about 850 A.H. Ibn al-Nadim mentions this work as رسالة في مطرح الشعاع, and in the Patna Library Catalogue it is quoted as رساله في الشعاعات. But the text of the MS. denotes that it deals with geometrical optics, especially about mirrors which were used to burn the ships of the combatant enemy. The importance of this work can be further realized by the fact that these experiments of the Muslim scholars in this science were not confined to theoretical studies, but they were actually put into practice during Al-Kindi's time. (See *Tajārib al-Umam*, Vol. II, p. 278, l. 18). Though Al-Kindi mentions (اتنامبوس) in this work repeatedly, yet it does not mean that he has simply given an Arabic version of the Roman or Greek Theories. On the other hand it is a drastic criticism of اتنامبوس, as in the very beginning of his work Al-Kindi criticises اتنامبوس in the following words:

فهذا قول اتنامبوس و قد كان يجب على اتنامبوس ان لايقبل خبرا بغير برهان الخ (صفحه ۲ مخطوط الاستاد ذكى الدين)

There is no denying the fact that this work, if duly edited, will make a definite contribution to the history of optics. The doctor had actually started a critical edition of this work in collaboration with Moulvi Raghib al-Badayuni, but as some pages of this work are missing, he could not send for other MSS. from foreign libraries owing to the obstacles created by war, and therefore its edition has been postponed for the duration of war. The Muslim University, however, should be congratulated on having on its staff such scholars who are busy in the revival of the Muslim legacy even in the domain of Physics.

### *Educational Activities of the Muslim University.*

A growing interest of this University in the promotion of the Islamic studies can be gauged by the fact that it has recently conferred the degree of Ph.D. in Arabic on one of its scholars Syyed Mohd. Yusuf. The subject of the thesis of Dr. Yusuf is the "Life of al-Muhallab-b.-Abi Šufra." Al-Muhallab was the leading military general of his time who in the year 78 A.H. achieved a decisive victory over the Azariqa after a prolonged campaign extending over thirteen years. This thesis aims at presenting the tactical methods, the military strategy and the elaborate organization to which Al-Muhallab owed his great victories. An attempt has also been made to estimate his contribution to the Arabs' art of warfare. His most remarkable contribution to the art of warfare was the transition from the strategy of quick lightning blows to prolonged war of exhaustion.

### *The Treasure of the Habibganj Library.*

Recently the writer of these lines had an occasion to visit the well-known family collection of Nawab Šadr Yar Jung—Habīb al-Rahmān Khān Sherwānī of Aligarh. This is a fine collection and the library is equipped with different types of catalogues which provide references not only to the author and the subject of the books but to the scribe and the quality of the MSS. also.

There are about two thousand works out of which 1,000 are MSS. A descriptive list of some rare MSS., which are mostly Persian, dealing with the oriental history has already been published by Hakim Shamsullah Qadri in 1939. A few rare Arabic MSS. of this library, which deserve attention of the scholars are given below :—

#### *Commentaries of the Qur'ān.*

1. *درة البيضاء*, a commentary of Sūra Yūsuf, by Imām Ghazzālī.
2. *الدر المصنوع*, by Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad-b.-Yūsuf. It deals with the syntax of the Qur'ān.

3. تيسير البيان في احكام القرآن, by Shaiikh Abī-'Abdallāh Jamāl al-Dīn Moḥammad-b.-'Alī-b.-'Abdallāh al-Shāfa'i, compiled in 808 A.H.

4. لباب التفاسير معروف به فصوص النصوص, pages missing both in the beginning and at the end.

5. ملاك التاويل, by Abi-Ja'far Aḥmad-b.-Ibrāhīm-b.-al-Zubair al-Thaqafī (d. 708 A.H.), transcribed by Mohd. Ḥayāt in 1282 H.

6. جد اول النورانيه في استخراج آيات القرآنيه, by Naṣir-b.-Hasan. It is dedicated to al-Sultān Aurangzēb.

### *Holy Tradition and Fiqh.*

1. مسند ابى يعلى, it was recently copied from the MS. of Qāḍī Moḥammad Yahyā Bhopālī.

2. اختلاف الحديث, by Imām Shāfa'i, transcribed by 'Abdul-Raḥmān al-Fārsī in 1310 H.

3. مصنف ابى بكر بن ابى شيبة, transcribed by different scribes.

4. الجمع بين صحيحين, by Al-Ḥumaidi, copied from the Bankipur MS. by Surti in 1345 H.

5. صحيح ابى عوانة. There is only one part containing the chapters on Faith, Ablution and Prayer.

6. الكشف عن حقايق السنن, by Al-Ṭibiy (d. 723 H.).

7. اكمال, by Ibn-Makola.

8. خلاصه اصول الحديث, by Al-Ṭibiy.

9. خزانة الفقه, by Abī Laith al-Samarqandī.

### *Biography.*

1. خلاصة السير سيد البشر, by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī.

2. السيرة النبوية, by Ibn-Hazm, copied by Surti from a MS. of Shaiikh al-Islam's Library at Al-Madīna.

3. المختصر المواقفه من اهل البيت والصحابه, by Al-Zamakhsharī, the original work from which this is abridged is by Abū Sa'd al-Samman (d. 443 A.H.). It is calligraphed in fine Naskh by an unknown scribe.

### Sufism.

1. ارتياح الالكباد (?) بارياح قند الاولاد, by al-Sakhāwī; references to the students who read this work from al-Sakhāwī are given in author's own handwriting at the margin.

2. عيون الاجوبة في فنون الاسئلة, by Imām Abī Al-Qāsim Abdul Karīm-b.-Hawazin al-Qushairi (d. 465 H.) in the author's own handwriting.

*Anjuman-i-'Arabi, U. P., Allahabad.*

This society was established in 1939 with the object of fostering, encouraging and protecting the Arabic education in the Province. Nawab Šadr Yar Jung is the Patron of this Anjuman and Prof. A. Siddiqi and Mr. Na'imur-Rahmān (both of the Allahabad University) are President and secretary-cum-treasurer respectively.

During six years of its existence, it has already made considerable progress in achieving its object. Its chief method of encouragement being the award of scholarships and prizes to all grades of Arabic students, about Rs. 2,500 have already been spent on this account. It awards prizes to the most successful Arabic students at the High Schools, Intermediate and Fazil examinations of the U. P. It has published four small booklets on Arabic grammar, and has already distributed about 3,000 of them among Arabic students of the Province. It has been instrumental in spreading Arabic education in several parts in the Province, and through its efforts the number of Arabic students has more than doubled. It is hoped that the Anjuman will continue to prosper and flourish through the good efforts of its members and donors.

M. A. M.

## NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

*Oriental College Magazine, Lahore (Feb.-May 1942).*

THE Last concluding instalment of Prof. H.M. Šhairānī's article on *The Criticism on the 'Āb-i-Hayāt of Muḥammad Husain Āzād* can be taken as a supplement to the history of Urdu literature in general and apart from it if the *Āb-i-Hayāt* would be studied along with this criticism of Prof. Šhairānī, it is hoped that it will prove a valuable contribution in the study of the biographies of various renowned poets of Urdu language.

It was in 1925 when the Oriental College Magazine was started under the able guidance of Khan Bahadur Dr. Muhammad Šafi, Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, as a quarterly both in Hindi and Urdu languages. Dr. Muhammad Šafi is going to retire next October, after completing eighteen volumes of this most scholarly magazine. For a long time the need of publishing the lists of the contents of the articles which have so far appeared in this magazine, was keenly felt by the scholars.

Thanks to Dr. Shafi's efforts, the list has been published in the May issue, and covers about sixty pages.

Other useful articles published in this magazine are :—

*Farahangistān-i-Irān* by Prof. Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl.

*Ghanīmat-i-Kunjāhī* by Sh. Sādiq 'Alī.

*Jang Nama* (account of wars between the Sikhs and the English) by Sardar Baldev Singh.

*The Urdu, Delhi (Jan.-April 1942).*

Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arshī has contributed a long article on the *Dasturū'l-Faṣāḥat* in which the writer has fully discussed the sources of this important work, and in this connection a good deal of useful information concerning many other unknown, useful and authoritative books dealing with this particular theme has come to light.

Sakhāwat Mirzā's contribution on *Makhdūm Bijapūri*, who was also known as *Dastgir Sahib Gayan Bhandari*. Makhdūm was born at Bijapūr in the latter part of the 'Ādil Shāhī regime, where he was educated by his parents and afterwards died at Hyderabad in 1165 A.H. He had travelled far and wide in search of knowledge. When we turn to his literary career, we come to know that he was the last link in the chain of those Deccani savants who had contributed a good deal to literary history of the Deccan.

*The Burhan (Urdu Monthly), Delhi (Jan.-Aug. 1942).*

The editor Moulānā Sa'īd Aḥmad delivered a lengthy lecture before the members of the 'Anjuman-i-Islami Tārīkh wa Tamaddun' of the Muslim University, Aligarh, on *The Causes of the Rise and the Fall of Muslim Community* (*Asbāb 'Uruj wa Zawāl-i-Ummat*) which has been published in many instalments. He has very ably discussed all possible pros and cons of the problem in the light of available data.

Moulvī M. Hifẓu'r-Rahmān writes a very important article on *Alexander and the Rampart of Alexander* basing his arguments on the Qur'ānic text in the Surah Kahf.

*The Holy Qur'ān and the Natural Science*, by M. Abdul Qayyum Nadavi. *Al-Madkhal fi Uṣūl-i'l-Hadīth of Ḥakīm Nishāpūrī* (d. 405 A.H.) by M. Abdur-Rashīd Nu'mānī is full of very important information dealing with the science of traditions and the writer has also discussed other such works on comparative basis.

Sayyid Husain Shōr has contributed an article on the *Adam and the Qur'ān* which is mostly based on the holy text. The other articles of this issue are *What is Philosophy?* by Dr. Mir Waliyu'd-Din and *The Holy Qur'ān and its Preservation* by Moulvī Badr-i-'Ālam.

M. A. C.

## NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

**INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON INDIAN CULTURE**, by Dr. Tara Chand ; publishers, the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad ; pp. 327.

IN this book Dr. Tara Chand has very ably maintained his thesis that Indian culture is synthetic in nature, eternally seeking to find a unity for the heterogeneous elements which go to make up its totality. Foreign influence has played an important part in the process of Indian cultural development.

The advent of Muslims in India introduced an altogether new element in Indian society, pregnant with immense potentialities. It influenced the Hindu mode of thought profoundly, giving rise to various forms of Bhagti movement in different parts of the country.

This movement was characterised by its emphasis on monotheistic teaching and human equality. Kabīr is the greatest exponent of this new Bhagti doctrine.

Kabīr refused to acknowledge caste distinctions and preached the unity of God in his own inimitable and vehement style, having a ring of profound sincerity about it. In the words of the author, "Kabīr was conscious of his apostolic mission and his life and teaching followed the line which is analogous to that of the Imams and Shaikhs of Shia and Sufi sects." Kabīr says with confidence, "I am the servant of the absolute God and I have come to save the devotees. I have taught to the world by word of mouth the knowledge which has the true stamp. I was sent here because the world was seen in misery, all were bound in chains of birth and death and no one had found the lasting home. The Almighty sent me to show clearly the beginning and the end."

The Bhagti cult had numerous followers throughout the country in the sixteenth century. The Bhagti condemned idol-worship and caste-system with all its externals and preached devotion to one God, the Creator of all.

The author's views on Indian architecture and painting are also illuminating. In Mediæval Indian Art, too, the synthetic influence is striking, the differences of technique being negligible. The compelling force of the Mediæval Art values found its expression in the synthetic Hindu-Muslim style of architecture and painting.

The book is fully documented with copious references from the poetry of the Bhagat saints. The treatment of subject is lucid and thought-provoking. It should be read with interest by all those who are interested in the cultural history of India and also by those who seek to find a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem in this country.

**MUSLIM INDIA**, by Moḥammad No'mān, published by Kitabistan, Allahabad, pp. 433; price Rs. 4-8-0.

IN this book the author has endeavoured to analyse the steps and the many factors responsible for the rise and growth of the All-India Muslim League as a vital political force. It was founded by the Muslims of India on the eve of Minto-Morley Reforms in 1906, in order to make their demand for separate electorate effective and to make their voice heard by the Government.

In 1916 the League and the Congress stood on one platform, fighting for common cause and for a common goal, all for the glory of the Motherland. Then came the Reforms of 1919 and the non-co-operation movement. It was, in fact, in the *Khilāfat* Conference of Delhi in November 1919, that Gandhiji first proposed his non-co-operation remedy for the *Khilāfat* wrong. Later on its aim was extended to cover *Swaraj* for the whole country. Before long the relations of Hindus and Muslims which stood on weak foundation began to crumble down. The leaders of both the communities failed to find a satisfactory solution to the Hindu-Muslim problem. The relations between the two communities deteriorated at the time of the appointment of Royal Commission in 1927. Then followed the Simon and Nehru Reports and the Round Table Conferences. The Government of India Act of 1935 ushered in a new era of provincial Autonomy resulting in the complete estrangement between the League and the Congress, with all its unfortunate repercussions on the collective life of the country.

Y. H.

*MY LIFE—A Fragment* : by *Mohammad 'Alī*, edited by *Afzal Iqbal, M.A.*; published by *Sh. Muḥammad Ashraf, Lahore*.

THERE are people of intellect and abundant knowledge who do not write books while less gifted people assume the role of authorship. *Mohammad 'Alī* had scholarly attainments and scholarly ambitions but his desire to be an author either lacked the strength of purpose or his hectic political life left him neither leisure nor peace of mind to give his attention to authorship.

It seems that journalism and political activities are hostile to a life of authorship. *Mohammad 'Alī* who wielded a facile pen never wrote a book and he carried to his grave the unfulfilled desire of writing one. Only in the forced solitude of prison life did he find some leisure to venture into

the realm of authorship. A longer and unbroken term of imprisonment coupled with the facility of access to necessary documents would have enabled him to produce a real work ; but alas ! he was not destined to do so. The book before us is entitled *My Life : A Fragment*. No individual is born nor does he grow or develop in a social vacuum. We find in this fragment the action and interaction of personalities and environment and it is as much a mirror of contemporary events as a record of personal experiences. It is really two books loosely welded into one. The fragment of biography is much bigger than the fragment of thoughts on Islam.

One peculiarity about the book which is reflected almost on every page is that it is addressed to a Western audience. It is difficult to justify that attitude. A man who lived and worked for his nation and his creed should have written primarily for his own people or should have addressed humanity in general.

The portion on Islam and the sketch of the historical evolution of its theology, jurisprudence and general ideology brings out nothing very original or forceful. The reason is that that was not his sphere and he was not sufficiently equipped for such a task. His forceful presentation is there ; there is such a freshness in the manner but very little in the matter.

The book is written in a lucid, fluent and easy style, and as a partial record of the feelings and thoughts of a man who lived and died for his convictions, its study is certainly edifying. Even facts already widely known when presented by such a personality assume new vitality and make a more effective appeal.

*SHAH ABDUL LATIF OF BHIT*, by *H. T. Sorley, D. Litt., I.C.S., C.I.E.*, *Oxford University Press*, pp. 432; price 18sh. net.

THIS volume beautifully and elegantly brought out by the Oxford University Press, really incorporates two books into one. About half of the big volume gives the history of Sind from

1690 onward. It is easy to understand that a detailed study of the life and thought of a great religious personality should give a social, political and economic background because even the greatest men act and are reacted upon by environment.

But it is not necessary to write the entire history of a country for centuries in order to provide a background to the religious activities and meditations of a saint. Even the economic history of the country is presented to us with remarkable detail and in a scholarly manner. Surely the tonnage of ships in the port had nothing to do with the religious experiences of Shāh 'Abdul-Latīf. One half of the book is a scholarly study of the history of Sind and the other half gives the reader a good understanding of the saint. The lyrics of the *Risālo* are well rendered though it is almost an impossible task to import into the translation, the melody, the fervour and the originality of the lyrics. The translation of such mystical love lyrics is at best only the wrong side of tapestry. For that there is no remedy and it is unjust to accuse any translator for having failed to attain the heights of the original. Mysticism has a universal appeal and it is gratifying to find that a European has striven to enter into the spirit of a saint foreign in race and religion. Both as a complete history of Sind of more than two centuries and as a thorough appreciation of a Muslim saint the book is a praiseworthy effort.

K. A. H.

*ORIENTAL TREASURES*, by Jamshed Cawasji Katrak, B.A., *Fairy Manor, 4th Floor, Gunbow Street, Fort, Bombay*; price Rs. 20.

THIS modest-looking work is large in size but too condensed for leisurely reading.

This book contains a condensed tabular descriptive statement of over a thousand manuscripts and colophons, in Iranian and Indian languages, with classified contents and introduction. It also deals with historical, biographical scientific and

literary subjects critically and philologically discussed.

The colophons show the prior claim of the Parsis to the Gujrati language, which originally was analytical; and its script without any horizontal and vertical strokes shows its complete independence of the Sanskrit and Devnagiri scripts, from which it is wrongly supposed to have been derived. The discovery of the Sumero-Accadian records prove the similarity of some words of those languages, still persistent in Gujrati, especially as spoken by the Parsis.

European savants, and following their steps, some Parsi and even Indian scholars, have drawn wrong conclusions regarding the supposed ignorance of the Parsis before the 16th century, and some have even gone to the extent of calling them hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Most of the records of the achievements of the Parsis are missing; the reason being that ever since their coming to India, they have been persistently prosecuted even in this country at intervals of twenty-five or fifty years till the nineteenth century—this victimization has been due to their being like buffers between contending communities and races in matters religious, racial and cultural.

As regards the cultural achievements of the Parsis, we might state that as early as the first half of the 15th century A.D., an outstanding Parsi scholar Lakshmidhar Behram had rendered the Pahlavi *Arda Viraf Nameh*, first into Pazend, then into Sanskrit, and ultimately into Old Gujrati language in prose. Prior to this no Gujrati Hindu writing can be claimed.

Later, at the end of the 17th century two outstanding Parsi poets are to be found, one of whom Mobed Rustom Peshotan Hamajiar has composed in high Gujrati verses, four works on ancient Iranian history and legend, the diction and style of which closely resemble those of his junior contemporary, the Gujrati poet Premanand, who began to write after 1740 A.D.

Another poet of equal merit was Noshervan Jamshed (Tata), a junior contemporary of Rustom Peshotan. One of his poetical compositions in Gujrati



is still preserved. It is a fine work, not only in point of poetic diction and style, but also as regards its high Gujrati phraseology like that of Mobed Rustom.

By looking through the book of Mr. Katrak as well as into the library catalogues, we learn that there are works written or copied, by and for the Parsis, on matters religious, social, ethical, legal, medical, historical, philosophical and scientific, in various Iranian and Indian languages like Avesta, Pahlavi, Pazend, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Urdu, Hindi, Marathi (by Kalyan people) and Gujrati.

Some of the manuscripts especially written in Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit and Old Gujrati contain not only flowery and exquisite script, but also fine realistic paintings of the Persian and Mughal style.

The art of calligraphy, and seven-styles of penmanship of the Iranians had reached the zenith in some of these manuscripts. This proves the artistic and æsthetical taste of the older Parsis.

The handwriting of most of the manuscripts is simply amazing in point of neatness, elegance and uniformity. The freshness of the ink used and the rich quality of the paper prove the scribes' foresight, and knowledge of technique, for the preservation of their manuscripts for ages.

It must not be lost sight of that most of the Persian works or their translations transcribed by the Parsi calligraphists, were, in their original, written by scholarly Muslims, whose attempt at revival of learning in the Orient is most praiseworthy. These Persian compositions covered a very wide range of subjects. It must be noted that the Persian and Indian Muslims under the Saffavides and the great Mughals were deeply interested in Prakrit and Sanskrit, just as the Hindu Pandits of the Mughal and the Bahmani courts, and still later, of the Maratha and the Peshwa courts, were well versed in Islamic culture and in Arabic, Persian and Urdu literature. In their company the Parsis also had made their mark, as could be seen from the examples of Dastur Azar Kaiwan and his host of Sabeen Zoroastrian disciples. Other noted scholars of outstanding merits were Dastur

Ardeshir Noshervan Kermani, who was sent by Shāh 'Abbās the Great to India at the request of Akbar the Great, to help Mīr Jamāluddīn Husain Injū in the compilation of his famous lexicon *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī*, with regard to the Avesta, Pahlavi, Pazend and Dari words. The other scholar was Rustom Gustasp Ardeshir, a layman made Dastur for his outstanding literary and religious merits.

The Earliest Sanskrit and Prakrit writings of the Parsis date back to 8th Century A.D. They are attributed to one "Agah Daru." They are the famous 16 Sanskrit shlokas supposed to have been recited a century before Yadava Rana by the Pilgrim Fathers of the East (Parsis). At the end of the 10th century some Parsis supposed to have been of Sabeen school came to Kanheri, near Bombay, in three groups within 25 years. Their records are still preserved in the caves in the Pahlavi script and language inscribed on the rocks. Another outstanding scholar was the famous Neryosang who translated several Avesta and Pahlavi works including *Ashirwad* into Sanskrit. Neryosang's version is the solitary example of translations from extinct Iranian (Avesta and Pahlavi) languages into obsolete Sanskrit or Prakrit. This scholar, Neryosang, son of Dhaval, who flourished in about 11th century A.D., must not be confounded with the first Mobed Neryosang who is said to have come with the Parsi Pilgrim Fathers to Diu and Sanjan in about 716 A.D., in company with (according to some) Prince Hormazd, son of Emperor Yezdegird Sheheriar, the last of the Sassanides. Mr. Katrak has noticed a third Neryosang (Narsang) son of Aspal, who seems to have flourished in the middle of the 17th century A.D.

There have been other noted Zoroastrian scholars who have composed other Sanskrit treatises and works, like *Kustiya Karanam* (Dissertation on Kusti and Sudreh).

Liberal minded Parsi scholars of old—both patrons and scribes—were fond of Hebrew and Islamic tales and Indian fables and romances, as can be noticed from a few extant Hindustani and Hindi manuscripts.

One cannot avoid noticing a very old

Parsi-owned manuscript copy, in bold and decent handwriting, of the holy Al-Qur'ān, with Persian commentaries. It is dated 800 Hijri.

Zoroastrian religious works treat not only of religion, but also of ethics, theology, "theosophy," history, geography, philosophy, metaphysics and old traditions, etc. Mr. Katrak's publication is a veritable 'Oriental Treasure.' We hope that the original, MSS. now lying alone and unsearched' on the dusty shelves of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, on whose behalf Mr. Katrak had undertook investigation and searching examination of over a thousand manuscripts in many a private library, both at Bombay and abroad, during the years 1920-22, must be sifted out and published, so as to make them available and accessible to research workers and genuine scholars.

The work of the research student is much facilitated by Mr. Katrak giving thirteen separate indices of the manuscripts according to languages, scribes, authors, owners, patrons, etc.; and by giving nine appendices at the end of the tabular statement on manuscripts. The notes especially are full of literary, linguistic, philological and critical merit. The Addenda, too, is not less valuable, nor is the Bibliography in various languages including English.

We hope that the advancement of liberal knowledge might find scholars and patrons, not only Zoroastrians, but also Hindus, Jains, Muslims, Christians and Jews to encourage such exhaustive and encyclopædic works as Mr. Katrak's "Oriental Treasures."

One noted feature in Mr. Katrak's work must not be lost sight of. He gives genealogies and pedigrees of scribes and patrons as far as he could trace them, together with origin of some of the Parsi surnames. While Dr. J. M. Unvalla and Ervad Noshervan B. Desai have given mere colophons and their transcripts without any comments, Mr. Katrak's work is really unique of its kind.

B.H.D.S.

*AL-MINHĀJ, being the Evolution of Curriculum in the Muslim Educational Institution of India.* by G. M. D. Sufi. M. A., L. T., D. Litt.; published by *Shaiikh Moḥammad Ashraf, Lahore.* 1941; price Rs. 4.

THE training of Dr. Sufi as a secondary school teacher, his experience as superintendent of a Training Institution, and his wide knowledge of educational problems as registrar of an Indian University, have specially qualified him to write on this subject. The work which is now before us was submitted as thesis for the D. Litt. Degree of the Paris University, which has approved it.

No one denies the importance of Curriculum in education. 'In fact much of our efficiency and well-being rests on what we decide to be the ultimate form of curriculum.' In this way Dr. Sufi has taken up one aspect of the problem.

The book contains four chapters dealing with the curriculum under the Turks and Afghans, Mughals, British Rule in India and Thoughts on curriculum in Autonomous India. The object of writing this book is to trace the various stages of the development of curriculum from the advent of Islam to the present-day Muslim education. In the first 9 pages, the author gives a rapid survey of 93 Hijri Years, starting with the education of Muslims under the Holy Prophet, its spread under the Khalifs, Ommayyads, Abbasids, right up to the reign of Mahmūd of Ghazna. From here the author proceeds in detail. With the historical background, the educational development unfolds itself gently, but in a sketchy form. The curriculum becomes most interesting under the Mughals. The author has done his best to make the discussion fascinating, otherwise the reading would have been dull and boring.

A few minor mistakes of omission and commission should be pointed out here. The author while referring to the scholars that adorned the court of Mahmūd of Ghazna, cites Al-Bīrūnī's work *Al-Qānūn-al-Mas'ūdī* (vide page 13) but does not mention his treatise *Athār-*

*al-Bāqiya-fī-Qurūn-al-Khāliyah*, edited by Edward Sachau, or *Kitāb-al-Taḥīm-li-awail-i-Sina'at-al-Tanjīm*. On page 39, the author refers to only two monographs of the greatest Muslim physician of the 3rd century, i.e., Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn-Zakariya-al-Rāzī although al-Rāzī (Latin Rhazes), had a number of books to his credit, such as *al-Hawī* (Latin *Continens*), *Kitāb-al-Mansūrī* (Liber-Almanzor) and *al-Judari-wa-al-Hasbah* (available in English through A. Grenhill's translation). From Ibn-Abi-'Uṣaybi'ah, (Vol. I, Pages 309-310), we find al-Rāzī is credited with the authorship of 113 major and 28 minor works. On the same page (39), Ibn-Sinā's book the *Qānūn* is referred to by the author, but Ibn-Sinā's other works, such as *Kitāb-al-Shifā'* (*Sanatio*), are omitted. Talking of medicine, the author mentions a few books, but we know that Ophthalmology was especially a favourite subject of Arab physicians. 'Alī-ibn-Isā's book, the *Tadhkirat-al-Kaḥḥālīn*, treats of 132 diseases of the eye, while a number of books on medicine are left out. As the chief aim of the author is to trace the development of Muslim curriculum in India, a detailed description of all the works of the authors may be of little importance, but failure to mention the following subjects as taught in the Madrasas opened by Firūz Shāh Tughlaq, i.e., *Fiqh*, *Uṣūl-i-Kalām*, *Tafsīr*, *Hadīth*, *Bayān*, *Naḥw*, *Sharf*, *'Ilm-i-Nazar*, *'Ilm-i-Riyāḍī*, *'Ilm-i-Ṭib*, *Taḥrīr* and *Khaṭ*, is more serious. No mention is made about the education of women in this period, although we know that there were 13 schools for girls. There is scanty mention of technical education under the Mughals, but we know they had a commercial and naval department, but, due to the paucity of material, the author has not been able to trace their connection with education. The author has not thrown light on those factors that led to the change of curriculum from period to period.

We do not understand how the author has fallen into an error regarding the period of sovereignty of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmani. The date given about this king (p. 41) as 1378-1396 is incorrect. The

correct date is 1482-1518; or perhaps, he means Muḥammad Shāh II. (1378-1397).

The last chapter, 'Thoughts on the Curriculum in Autonomous India,' although a little out of date, is the most thought-provoking one. However, we deprecate the attempt of the author to rush the book print in 1940, without making it up to date, when he had four years at his disposal. Moreover, from the Muslim point of view, his scheme of education for the future leaves much to be desired.

These remarks are not meant to disparage Dr. Ṣufi, who has written an excellent book and deserves sincere congratulations. The book has a short bibliography which could have been much improved and an appendix of 24 pages with a good serviceable index. Lastly, the publisher deserves our congratulation for the excellent printing and the get up of the book, as also for the moderate price.

K. S.

TARTIB NŪZŪL QUR'ĀN-E-KARĪM,  
by Muḥammad Ajmal Khān (in Urdu  
Language); publisher, Kitāb-Ghar, Allah-  
abad; pp. 99; price Rs. 5.

THE study of arranging the verses of the Qur'ān according to the dates of their revelation has been popular among eminent orientalists like Muir, Nöldeke, Herschfeld, Rodwell, etc. They have treated this subject from the viewpoint of historical, literary and psychological evolution of the Prophet's mission. After laborious and painstaking researches the orientalists themselves have arrived at the conclusion that these attempts have not proved very much successful. Disregarding the prevailing opinion, the author of the work under review has tried to arrange the surahs in their chronological order. If the author had confined his study to the rearrangement

of surahs with the purpose of collecting historical data for the Qur'ānic Verses as other scholars have done, it would have yielded fruitful results. But the author's claim that the Qur'ān cannot be understood without such rearrangement (see p. 2) is very intriguing and therefore requires a close examination.

It is a well-known fact that all verses of the Qur'ān have not been revealed in direct answer to particular questions or in connection with certain incidents. There are comparatively very few verses which have direct bearing on certain incidents. Even these verses, as far as their relations to certain incidents are concerned, are acknowledged to be general and applicable to all circumstances by all jurists. It is therefore wrong to suppose that chronological data of each verse or surah can be determined now after a lapse of 13 centuries.

Moreover, the Holy Qur'ān was revealed within a period of twenty-three years and five months. The first revelation was surah *Al-'Alaq* from *Iqra*, to *Ma Lam Ya'lam*, and it was revealed on the night of Al-Qadr in the month of Ramaḍān when the Prophet was 40 years old. This revelation was not connected with any event or incident. It had not come down in answer to a question or in explanation of any intricate problem of life; and most of the verses were generally revelations unconnected with any events. Even the verses revealed under certain circumstances contain such legal maxims as are applicable to all circumstances and at all times. All these verses therefore are general in character although they are revealed in reply to particular questions and therefore nobody holds today that the utility of a particular verse is limited to the circumstances in which it was revealed.

Moreover, all that was revealed was either committed to memory by the Companions of the Prophet or put down in black and white. Both memorisation and writing were used in preserving the Qur'ān during the time of the Prophet. There were some Companions of the Prophet, who used to take down on white stones, bones and pieces of paper all that

was dictated by the Prophet at the time of revelation, and the Prophet pointed out the place and position of the verse and the surahs in the Qur'ān when a scribe sat down to write. This shows that the Prophet did not follow chronological order of the revelation in the arrangement of the Qur'ān; and it was in the present order of surahs that the Prophet and his Companions daily read the Qur'ān, and so were its copies which were sent to different parts of Arabia, as the Holy Qur'ān says:---

رسول من الله يتلو صحفا مطهرة فيها كتب قيمة (98: 1, 2)

and

كَلَّا إِنَّمَا تَذَكِّرُنَا فَمَنْ شَاءَ ذَكَرْهُ فِي صُحُفٍ مُّكَرَّمَةٍ مَّرْفُوعَةٍ  
مُطَهَّرَةٍ بِأَيْدِي سَفَرَةٍ كِرَامٍ بَرَرَةٍ (80: 10-16)

Further, the following verse (17: 87).

قُلْ لَّيْنِ اجْتَمَعَتِ الْإِنْسُ وَالْجِنُّ عَلَى أَنْ يَأْتُوا بِمِثْلِ هَذَا  
الْقُرْآنِ لَا يَأْتُونَ بِمِثْلِهِ

is admitted by all scholars to have been revealed at Mecca. In the words *هذا القرآن* the demonstrative pronoun points out that Meccan revelations were actually preserved in book-form by that time, and some copies of the same were sent to the people of Al-Madīna, who had memorised it long before the Prophet's flight to Al-Madina. Accordingly, Zaid was only ten years old and he had learnt by heart more than ten long surahs of the Qur'ān, and when he read them out to the Prophet, he was so much pleased with Zaid that he made him his (Prophet's) scribe.

It is now obvious that the Prophet himself arranged the verses and the surahs according to the divine inspiration. In any case, he never followed the chronological order of revelation. It is therefore wrong to suppose that the Prophet did not arrange the surahs of the Qur'ān in his lifetime. Since the Prophet did not adopt chronological order in its arrange-

ment, it does not behove the Muslims of today that they should arrange them according to the dates of their revelation. It does not matter, however, if one takes up such study in order to quench one's thirst for research, but the fact remains that the utility of the verses of the Qur'ān lies in the existing order and not in the chronological arrangement of the surahs. The value of the chronological order is limited to its supplying historical data, but after the Prophet had arranged the surahs according to divine instructions, no importance can be attached to the chronological order. Truly, all the verses dealing with one subject-matter should be considered as if they were revealed at one and the same period; and no extraneous reason or the period of revelation should be allowed to hamper the continuity of the message latent in the existing order of the Qur'ānic verses.

Briefly speaking, the chronological order of the surahs was not considered worthwhile by the pious Muslims of the good old days since the Prophet and his companions did not give it any importance for comprehending the meaning of the Qur'ān. Some Imāms, of course, indulged in such study and they derived some useful conclusions; but nothing original or useful to the Muslim world has been contributed by modern researches in this respect. The gist of all the arguments is that the chronological arrangement of the Qur'ān was overlooked by the Prophet who brought this divine message to this world, and that such an arrangement was disregarded by the leaders of Muslim thought in the exposition of the Muslim Faith in the first and second centuries of Islam. Neither Imām Mālik or Imām Abū-Ḥanifa, nor their predecessors, or their successors paid any attention to the chronological order of the surahs in the domain of Qur'ānic exegesis, Apostolic Tradition and Fiqh.

There was no Qur'ān based on the chronological order in the hands of the Prophet. The Qur'ān of Caliph 'Alī which is said to have been arranged according to the dates of its revelation has disappeared like the Imām-al-Muntaẓar (the expected one). And if ever it sees the light of the day along with the return of

the expected one, it would be no other than the Qur'ān which we daily recite; because none could expect of Caliph 'Alī that he would adopt an arrangement different from that made by the Prophet who had discarded the chronological order. Even if it is supposed that he arranged the surahs chronologically, it is not in anyway possible that he would have kept it concealed, especially when after 'Uthmān he became the Khalif, he had all the power of making it a legally authorised document.

In addition to the above, it must be noted that the meaning of the Qur'ānic Verses is not dependent upon circumstances exterior to the verses. The Teachings of the Qur'ān in social and political affairs and its explanation of the physical Universe and the other world are all self-explanatory. Some scholars have even compiled a number of books on inter-relation and inter-dependence of these surahs. To put it briefly, no scholar in the past considered the history of revelation as a means of understanding the Qur'ān.

Moreover, a perusal of this book reveals that the subject has not been thoroughly investigated. The author has not added anything original, nor has he added anything new to the historical, literary and psychological methods already adopted and utilized by the orientlists. He has simply combined all these methods of enquiry. Further, the author is of the opinion that in the early stage of the Qur'ānic revelation the verses were not written down, (see p. 11) but the fact is that *Al-'Alaq* and *Al-Mudaththar* were very early committed to paper. Long before the Prophet's flight to al-Madīna, Caliph 'Omar found in the possession of his sister a written Qur'ān.

A short list of references, which is not exhaustive, is also attached to this book. No mention is made to the latest publications on this subject such as *Tārīkh-al-Qur'ān* by Al-Zanjani in Arabic and *Tārīkh-al-Qur'ān* by Abdul Ṣamad in Urdu, in which the order of the suras ascribed to Ibn al-'Abbās is different from what the author of this work has described. For example, a few differences

are quoted below :—

اجل خان	عبدالصمد	زنجانی	اجل خان	عبدالصمد	زنجانی
۸	۹	۵۱ (۸۹)	۱	۱	۱ (۹۶) العلق
۹	۱۰	۳ (۹۳) والضحی	۲	۳	۲ (۶۸) ن
۱۰	۱۱	۱۲ (۹۴) الم نشرح	۳	۳	۳ (۷۳) الزمّل
۱۱	۱۲	۱۴ (۱۰۳) والعصر	۴	۴	۴ (۷۴) الدثر
۱۲	۱۳	۱۱۲ (۱۰۰) والمادیات	۵	۵	۵ (۱۱۱) تبت ید
۱۳, etc.	۱۴	۱۵ (۱۰۸) والکوثر	۶	۶	۶ (۸۹) کورت
			۷	۷	۷ (۸۷) الاعلی
			۸	۸	۸ (۹۳) واللیل

Furthermore, no reference to the order of the surahs arranged by Caliph 'Alī, 'Ubayy ibn Ka'b and 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd is given.

M. A. M.



